THE REFORMATION IN DUBLIN

1536 - 1558

MYLES V. RONAN

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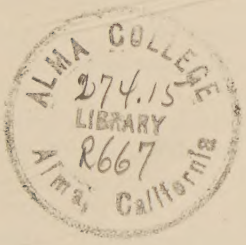
1536-1558

(*FROM ORIGINAL SOURCES*)

BY

MYLES V. RONAN, C.C.



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FOREWORD.

WHATEVER work has been done on this period is practically confined to Protestant historians whose books have been spoiled by lamentable bigotry. I sincerely hope I have not soiled any of my pages in any similar manner. My main object has been to gather together all available documents from the State Papers, published and unpublished, and from other reliable sources. The reader must have patience with them. It would have been much easier for me to have written a more popular book, but then it would have been less valuable. No work so far has dealt exhaustively with these documents. But it must not be supposed that I claim anything like finality. Such is not to be expected in a work of this kind. Until the Papal Registers are brought up to date we must be content with one-sided information. Had we from the pen of a contemporary in Dublin anything like Bishop Bale's *Vocacyon* (of Ossory) we should be able to get a little colouring into the picture. However, the intelligent reader will be able to supplement the tale told by the documents. Very little comment is necessary, and whatever is made is given simply and tersely, and, I hope, is justified by the documents. I find it necessary to call attention here to Robert Ware's *Life of Archbishop Browne* (*Harleian Miscellany*, Vol. V.). In reality it is just a collection in twenty pages of a few letters, etc., purporting to be Browne's. It was printed in London and in Dublin in the year 1681. This compilation has been taken, as containing genuine documents, by important historians, such as Cox (1689), Harris (1745), Leland (1814), Monck Mason (1820), Mant (1840), Bagwell (1885), and by the *National Biographical Dictionary*. King has also inserted some of them in his *Collectanea*. Although at first I took these documents seriously, and showed in my text that they were inconsistent with facts that were unknown to Robert Ware, and indeed showed that they were spurious, I now consider that it would be waste of space to include them in this history. I have accordingly cut them out completely, and consider Robert Ware a forger, and not worthy of the name of

historian. I am glad to see that Fr. T. E. Bridgett (*Blunders and Forgeries*) has come to the same conclusion from a different standpoint. It is only just, however, to give here some reasons for this attitude. Briefly, they are as follows.

The forgeries of Robert Ware began in 1678 contemporaneously with the revelations of Titus Oates, and continued for some years. At first they were anonymous, but afterwards, when Ware saw they were in favour, he fathered them, for they had won credit for the monstrous stories of the "Popish Plot." The success of Ware's forgeries during two centuries was mostly due to their adoption by the historian Strype, and the great historians mentioned above have all unquestioningly accepted them. Robert Ware traded on the name of his illustrious father, Sir James Ware, and professed to draw from his father's collections. He made a parade of the high sources from which his father, according to his story, had received the various items, as, for instance, from Sir Robert Cotton, Archbishop Ussher, etc. But unfortunately for Ware, some of these items are not to be found in the places mentioned. Others are there, but they have been inserted by Ware. The collections of Sir J. Ware, formerly known as the Clarendon MSS., are now among the Additional Manuscripts, British Museum.

The documents that I consider spurious and which I have discarded are: (1) Browne's Letter to Cromwell, September, 1535; (2) Browne's Speech in Parliament, May, 1536; (3) Browne to Cromwell, 8 April, 1538; (4) Browne to Cromwell, May, 1538; (5) Order of 6 February, 1551, to Lord Deputy St. Leger, to introduce the Liturgy into Ireland; (6) Browne's Sermon, 29 March, 1551; (7) Dispute between Primate Dowdall and St. Leger, March, 1551; (8) Dispute between Dowdall and Staples at St. Sepulchre's, May, 1551; (9) Conference between Dowdall, Staples, and Lord Deputy Crofts in June, 1551; (10) the story of Dr. Cole.

(1) Browne was not archbishop at that time; by no possible juggling can the dates be reconciled. The letter is a tissue of absolute absurdities of which Browne could scarcely be guilty.

(2) Browne was still in England in May, 1536, and therefore could not have made this celebrated speech in the Dublin Parliament of that date. Robert Ware says that Sir James Ware copied the speech from a letter of Brabazon to Cromwell preserved in the library of Sir Robert Cotton. There is no such letter in that library, nor has it been discovered anywhere else.

(3) The contents of this letter about the removal of images and relics of saints from the Dublin Cathedrals are of a piece with letter (1), several paragraphs being almost identical in their terms

and their abuse. It is extremely improbable that Basnet, Dean of St. Patrick's, would have opposed the removal of images from his cathedral.

(4) This letter deals with a supposed commission from the Pope to the Irish people, and contains a form of oath to be taken by the people to be obedient to the Holy See and to resist heretics. Ware also gives an account of a Franciscan friar, afterwards hanged, on whom certain papers were found, among which was one supposed to come from a certain "Episcopus Metensis" (whoever that bishop is) to "My Son O'Neal," calling on that northern chieftain to suppress heresy, and quoting a prophecy of "one St. Laserianus, an Irish Bishop of Cashel" (*sic*).

(5) This is supposed to be the Order of Edward VI. Intrinsically, it is absurd, and makes Edward attribute to Henry VIII statements that the astute monarch was never guilty of.

(6) Browne's sermon in Christ Church on Easter Sunday, 1551, when the service was celebrated in Ireland for the first time according to the New Liturgy, is full of the most glaring nonsense and distortions. It shows Browne as prophesying the future of the Jesuits! A more impudent forgery could scarcely be imagined.

(7) This represents Lord Deputy St. Leger as disputing the Mass with Dowdall. Now St. Leger was a friend of Dowdall, and also was opposed to doctrinal reform. His attitude was the very opposite to that given in this dispute.

(8) and (9) are simply dialogues between Dowdall and Staples, so constructed as to give Staples an opportunity of scoring over Dowdall in disputes about the Mass and the Pope's authority. Dowdall is made to cut a sorry figure indeed. The dialogues are full of historical and doctrinal inaccuracies, which neither Dowdall nor Staples would likely be guilty of.

(10) This story, given on the word of Archbishop Ussher, represents Dr. Cole, Dean of St. Paul's, sent to Ireland with a commission from Queen Mary for the persecution of the Protestants in Ireland; telling his secret to the innkeeper at Chester, where he broke his journey; letter taken out of Cole's leather box, and a pack of cards substituted, the knave of clubs uppermost; consternation at Dublin Castle when the box was opened; a new commission asked for and received by Cole; an unfavourable wind preventing Cole from again taking ship to Dublin; news that Mary had died; and so "God preserved the Protestants in Ireland." The story is incredible, even on the supposed authority of Ussher.

An extraordinary feature of these forgeries is that Ware did not succeed in discovering any of Browne's genuine letters now

preserved in the Public Record Office, London, and, of course, the originals of the forged ones have never appeared, except in Ware's *Life of Browne*. Moreover, the signature to the forged letters is given as "George Browne," whereas in the genuine letters Browne signs himself "George Dublin," which is the usual official style. Only in one case in his genuine letters does he subscribe himself "George Browne," and that is in a letter to Cromwell prior to his departure to Dublin to take up his duties as archbishop. I give the reasons for that signature in the text.

I acknowledge with great pleasure my indebtedness to the officials of the various libraries, Trinity College, National Library, Marsh's Library, Gilbert Library, Charleville Mall, British Museum, and Public Record Office, London. I have also to thank Mr. Marsh Thompson of London for his transcription of the Latin Roll of the Extent of the Religious Houses in Dublin at the Suppression, an abridgment of which is now published for the first time. Lastly, I return my sincere thanks to Fr. Gogarty for his valuable service in reading over the MS., and for his useful suggestions.

MYLES V. RONAN.

DUN LAOGHAIRE,
19th July, 1926.

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INTRODUCTION.

In order that this book may be intelligible to all readers, it will be necessary to survey the organisation of the Church in Ireland before Henry VIII came to the throne, and also before he broke off relations with the Holy See.

Before the coming of the Anglo-Normans to this country bishops were, as a rule, elected to their sees by the priests and people of each diocese severally. No lay ruler had any right or privilege of presentation or of confirmation. The spiritualities and the temporalities of a see were freely controlled by the occupants, and, in time of vacancy in a see, by ecclesiastical administrators. Ecclesiastical courts from time immemorial had their rights independent of any lay ruler. It was not until Henry II., having drawn up the constitutions of Clarendon for England, sought to impose them upon Ireland, that the Church here found itself being organised in terms of feudal law. The first instance of interference by the King was his appointment of Augustine, an Irishman, to the See of Waterford in 1175, at the Council of Windsor. On that occasion Henry bade Laurence, Archbishop of Dublin, have the new bishop consecrated by Donat, Archbishop of Cashel.

This early assumption of power in the appointment of bishops to Irish Sees occurred before the Lateran Council of 1179. To that Council went Laurence with five or six other Irish bishops, but before they were allowed to depart from the shores of England they were compelled to take an oath before the King that they would do nothing at the Council detrimental to the dignity and authority of Henry. Evidently the King was uneasy about his exercise of this usurped power. But this did not prevent Laurence from laying before the Pope the whole question of the liberties of the Irish Church. As a result of the interview, Laurence was appointed Papal Legate, and worked, during the remaining short period of his life, in support of those liberties. We cannot help but think that the case of Augustine of Waterford, indicative of Henry's new rôle, was uppermost in the mind of Laurence. But

Laurence's office and his carrying out of it brought him under Henry's suspicion. Even Giraldus Cambrensis admits this, and the *Vita Secunda* of St. Laurence states that the Archbishop was "sent into exile by the persecution of the English." It was not for anything connected with King Roderick O'Connor that Laurence was forbidden by Henry to leave from any English or Welsh port, but simply because of the Archbishop's fight for the liberties of the Church of Ireland. And when Laurence, defying the prohibition, set out for Normandy in pursuit of the King, and died on his way, his object was to fight out the question with the English King.

When Laurence had gone to his reward, Henry showed immediately what his purpose was. No election of a successor was permitted to the clergy and people of Dublin, but Henry, acting on the constitutions of Clarendon, summoned some of the clergy over to England, and, proposing to them the name of John Comin, an English ecclesiastical lawyer, had, after a mock election, Comin appointed. Moreover, during the vacancy in the see, Henry appointed his own officials to take the temporalities into the King's hand. Even were Adrian's Bull proved to be spurious, yet all this was in direct violation of the clause in that document which decreed the inviolability of the rights of the Irish Church, and which was sanctioned at the time by the King. But Henry had now marked out the lines for himself and his successors in dealing with Irish Sees under his influence, and these subsequently received papal approval. Comin went to Rome to be consecrated, and, his successors having been sanctioned by successive kings, were proposed to the Popes for appointment.

The newly established procedure in filling vacancies in Irish Sees was usually as follows: On the death of the incumbent, the canons sent two of their number to the King to announce the vacancy and to ask for the licence to elect. These having returned to their diocese and announced the licence, the canons proceeded to elect a successor whose name they sent on by their messengers to the King for approval, and the King in turn sent them on to Rome with his recommendation. The Pope's appointment was then sanctioned by the King, and the latter extorted from the elect the oath of fealty for his temporalities which were in the King's hands during the vacancy, and swept into the royal exchequer. Indeed, frequently the King delayed the licence to elect—it would seem purposely—in order to fill his coffers. There was no remedy against all this. No doubt occasionally the Popes did administer a sharp reminder to the English Kings in their attempt to interfere with the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical courts,

but the other usurped royal privileges were down through the centuries recognised by the Holy See.

When Henry VIII came to the throne in 1509 there were four archbishoprics and twenty-eight suffragan bishoprics in Ireland. Between that year and 1547, the year of his death, there were about seventy-three appointments to Irish Sees. About forty-two of those appointments were made during the years previous to 1534, while Henry clung faithfully to his allegiance to the Holy See. It will be remembered that until Henry's failure to secure a divorce from Queen Catherine, the Holy See had no more devoted son than himself. He enjoyed all the privileges of a rich monarch in whose fidelity the Holy See placed implicit trust. It is not surprising that amongst the privileges handed down to him through a long line of Catholic ancestors, the power of presenting bishops to Irish Sees should have been one of the most important. It is not likely that he exercised this privilege with regard to all the Irish Sees, as some of them were outside the sphere of his authority and of his influence. But he certainly enjoyed it in the case of most of them. This will appear the more remarkable when it is borne in mind that during the entire period of Henry's fidelity to the Holy See, the Pale boundary, beyond which his English subjects did not dare to venture, and which protected them from the "Irish rebels," was confined to the four obedient shires. Dublin, Meath, Kildare, and Oriel (Louth) constituted the region of the King's civil influence as a ruler in Ireland.

It is worth while recording the bounds of the Pale in 1515. "The English Pale doth stretch and extend from the town of Dundalk to the town of Darver, to the town of Ardee, always on the left side, leaving the March [boundary] on the right, and so to the town of Siddan, to the town of Keels, to the town of Dangan, to Kilcock, to the town of Clane, to the town of Naas, to the Bridge of Kilcullen, to the town of Ballymore-Eustace and so backward to the town of Rathmore, and to the town of Rathcool, to the town of Tallaght, and to the town of Dalkey, leaving always the march on the right hand from the said Dundalk to the said town of Dalkey." Yet this region, by the year 1537, had been considerably diminished by the encroachments of the Irish clans, and the new line ran from Dundalk to Dunboyne, to Leixlip, Kildrought (Celbridge), Oughterard, Rathcoole, Saggart, Tallaght, and on to the walls of Dublin. Kilcock, Clane, Naas, Rathmore, Ballymore-Eustace, and the whole of South Co. Dublin had been removed from English control. Thus the Pale had dwindled into a district of not more than "twenty miles in compass." And yet Henry VIII writes to the Pope presenting bishops to sees as far distant from

the Pale as Raphoe (1514), Clogher (1515), Clonmacnoise (1515), Ross (1517), Ardagh (1517).

There can be no doubt, therefore, that Henry enjoyed a real power over the Irish Church. His influence was recognised by Irish churchmen themselves, who had recourse to him to secure provisions to sees. It was recognised by the Holy See, which in the nine cases in which there is record of his request, appointed the candidate he named. It was by no means an advantageous circumstance that the influences of English Kings and English Churchmen thus interposed in the relations between the Irish Church and the Holy See. The efforts of England were directed to destroying all direct intercourse between Ireland and Rome. This was the meaning of the contempt hurled by John Alen [1] against the Irish " Rome runners," namely, in 1529, before Henry broke off relations with the Holy See. The man who was the instrument of this concentration of ecclesiastical power within the shores of England was Thomas Cardinal Wolsey, Papal Legate.

Thomas Wolsey, the son of a wealthy townsman of Ipswich, had risen to the post of Minister of Henry VIII. The new statesman reversed the policy of his predecessor; he concentrated all authority in home and foreign affairs in his own hands. As Chancellor he stood at the head of public justice, and as Papal Legate he was supreme in the Church. As Chancellor, even More—his avowed enemy—confessed that he surpassed all men's expectation. The Court of Chancery became crowded with business through the character for expedition and justice which it acquired under his rule. His vast powers in Church and State made it incumbent upon the Cardinal to erect a court which had hitherto been unknown to the common law, called the Legatine Court, where matters of conscience were inquired into. It was this vast concentration of all secular and ecclesiastical power in a single hand which accustomed England to the personal government that began with Henry VIII. It was, above all, Wolsey's long tenure of the whole papal authority within the realm, and the consequent suspension of appeals to Rome, which led men to acquiesce at a later time in Henry's religious supremacy.[2] One of Wolsey's energetic and trusted officials, in legatine and chancery court, was John Alen. Alen was educated at Oxford,[3] where his brilliant abilities brought him under the notice of Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, who in 1515 entrusted him with important negotiations at

[1] A relative of John Alen, Archbishop of Dublin.

[2] Green, *Hist. of the English People*, p. 317.

[3] He afterwards went to Cambridge where he was made M.A., or, as some think, LL.B. (*Athen. Oxon.*, i. 35).

the Court of Rome. He remained there about nine years, and received the degree of LL.D., either there or in some university in Italy. The satisfaction he had given was sufficient introduction to Wolsey. By him he was appointed as a kind of overseer to Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury (18 March, 1519),[1] and a few years later (20 Oct., 1522) [2] he was evidently judge in Chancery, whilst in 1524 he was making out, in the Legatine Court, the procurations due to Wolsey from various places in and around London.[3] "In that office he was thought to be a perjured and wicked person." [4] In the latter end of 1525 he was incorporated LL.D. of Oxford.

Having appointed him his chaplain, Wolsey issued to Alen a commission to dissolve forty of the lesser monasteries for the endowment of the Cardinal's colleges at Oxford and Ipswich (1524).[5] At this time Dr. Alen was a canon of Lincoln. Soon he was appointed one of the ministers of the King's Chapel, and was employed in the re-examination of the Hanse merchants who were suspected of heresy. During the judicial proceedings in connection with the King's divorce, 17 May, 1527, Alen was one of the law doctors who were present as *testes*, and in the list of members of Wolsey's suite he is mentioned as one of the two *audiencers*.[6] In fact, Alen's presence seems to have become indispensable to Wolsey. He was in France with him, 27 July, 1527, and Wolsey, in a letter to the King from Amiens, says he is sending Dr. Alen to him to learn his pleasure and receive his instructions in regard to State affairs.

[1] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vol. iii., Part I. [2] *Ib.*, vol. iii., Part II.
[3] *Ib.*, vol. iv., Part I. [4] *Athen. Oxon.*, i. 35.
[5] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vol. iv., Part I. Alen incurred great odium for his part in this transaction. Roy's satire against Wolsey shows this :—

Wat. And who did for the show pay ?
Jeff. Truly many a rich abbaye
To be eased of his visitation.
Wat. Doth he in his own person visit ?
No, another for him doth it,
That can skill of the occupation.
A fellow neither wise nor sad,
But he was never yet full mad,
Though he be frantic and more.
Dr. Alen he is named,
One that to lie is not ashamed
If he spy advantage therefore.
Wat. Are such with him in any price ?
Jeff. Yea, for they do all his advice,
Whether it be wrong or right.

(*Harleian Miscellany*, vol. ix.)

[6] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vol. iv., Part II.

As a reward for his services Alen was selected by the King, and evidently through the influence of Wolsey, for the See of Dublin. There is no indication that the usual election was held on this occasion, but Henry supplicated the Holy See to have Alen appointed. It would seem that the King did not wait for the papal appointment, but sent Alen at once to Dublin. Hugh Inge, Alen's predecessor in the see, had died on 3 August, 1528, and though Alen had been appointed about November of that year to go to Rome on State affairs, yet this arrangement was cancelled, and Alen was despatched to Dublin " with great speed." He waited from Christmas until Candlemas (1529) at Chester for a favourable wind, and evidently reached Dublin in February. But he had to wait until 3 September (1529) for the papal Bulls, and on the 10th of that month a mandate was issued that the pallium should be conferred.[1] When he was consecrated is a matter of some difficulty, but it would appear to have been on the second Sunday in Lent, 1530, and evidently in Christ Church.[2] Besides being appointed archbishop, Alen was made Chancellor of Ireland, and also vice-legate in Ireland of Cardinal Wolsey.[3]

The extraordinary haste in the sending of Alen to Dublin is explained by the hatred of Wolsey for Gerald, Earl of Kildare, " whom his Eminence by many plots and snares endeavoured to pull down." [4] Alen was a pugnacious individual, and evidently the strong man to deal with the extraordinary power over the country wielded by the Kildares. We shall see the result of this feud between the Alens and Butler (Earl of Ossory) on one side and the Fitzgeralds on the other.

A few incidents during Alen's administration of the see call for observation, as they indicate a leading up to the events of Browne's reign. One of these was concerned with the granting of faculties and dispensations, a second with Henry's treatment of Alen, and a third was contained in the Geraldine revolt. As to the first, it is useful to state that on the return of Cardinal Campeggio to Rome (he had been joint legate with Wolsey), Leo X granted to Wolsey alone, by Bull dated 6 January, 1520,[5] all the powers that

[1] Brady, *Episcopal Succession*, i. 326.

[2] Ware's *Bishops* (346) gives Christ Church as the place of consecration and 13 March, 1528 (*English style*, i.e. 1529) as the date. *Athen. Oxon.* also gives 1528 (*same style*). The *Liber Albus*, Christ Church (*Cal.* by Dr. Lawler, p. 14), gives second Sunday in Lent, 1529, which the editor makes equivalent to 1530.

[3] In 1531 a suffragan or coadjutor bishop was appointed to assist Alen. This was Richard Gama, a Franciscan, under the title of Bishop of Tiberiadis.

[4] Ware, *loc. cit.* [5] Rymer's *Fœdera*, xiii, 734.

had been enjoyed by himself and Campeggio. And Wolsey appointed Alen, on provision to Dublin, his vice-legate in Ireland. Now, in the Bull of Leo there is no mention of Ireland, but only of the Kingdom of England and its provinces.[1] Grave doubt arose among the Irish bishops and clergy as to whether Wolsey was legate in Ireland. Consequently, instead of applying to Alen for the dispensations, they applied to Rome. At this time one of the Archbishop's relatives, another John Alen, had been appointed to the clerkship of the Council in Ireland by Wolsey, through the Archbishop's influence, and to report to the Cardinal on the state of the country. This John Alen wrote a letter (1 June, 1529) to Wolsey on the question of the legatine jurisdiction, which it is well to give in its entirety :—[2]

Pleaseth it your honourable Grace to pardon me of my presumption in writing to the same, thinking it my duty, for that ye have whichsaved [vouchsafed] to admit me (much unworthily) to your service, to ascertain your Grace, from time to time, of the causes committed to me. Herein enclosed your Grace shall receive such a scrow of dispensations and other things, as hath been sped by your honourable authority, since our coming to these exile parts, containing what sums of money have and shall be received for the same. Assuring your Grace, it is great marvel that so much is done, considering the unseen poverty that is in the Englishry, at this season, otherwise than hitherto it hath been, as it is said, and thine establishment of the same : so that we have no resort to us, aught of the Irishry, for any of your faculties. And although alway messengers hitherto might pass safely, yet now many times they been robbed and spoiled or murdered.

Over this, if my Lord of Dublin were not the King's Chancellor, whereby he doth punish, with temporal power,[3] such as would resist your authority, it were not likely to be executed here with so much

[1] The Bull is addressed : " Leo episcopus, etc., dilecto filio Thomae Titulo Sanctae Ceciliae Presbytero Cardinali in Regno Angliae nostro et apostolicae Sedis legato." It concludes : " seculares ecclesiasticas personas ac clerum regni et provinciarum hujusmodi."

[2] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vol. iv., Part III, p. 2488. A similar letter is given in *State Papers, Hen. VIII*, iii. 102, dated 1 June, 1523-24. There is some mistake about the latter date. There is nothing to show when Alen was made clerk of the Council. But when he wrote the letter, " my Lord of Dublin," i.e. the Archbishop, was " the King's Chancellor." Now this must refer to Archbishop Alen. It does not refer to his predecessor Inge, who was not appointed Chancellor until 1527. Consequently, the letter refers to the state of affairs which confronted Archbishop Alen shortly after his arrival in Dublin, and to the doubt about his own office of vice-legate. The letter above is given from the *State Papers, Hen. VIII*, iii. 102, 1523-24, as the *Letters and Papers, Hen. VIII ad an.* 1529, only give a calendar of it.

[3] Namely, in virtue of his temporal jurisdiction in his manor courts.

honour, as it is ; for much doubt is made about your Grace's Bulls, whether ye be Legate here or not ; insomuch we be in fear to show the transsumptis [transcripts] of them, and besides that, we have neither [a]bridgements nor transumptes, according to your Grace's commandment. Beseeching the same, that I may have the transumptes of all your Bulls, from the day of your first creation Legate. For your Grace hath some faculties that ye use not ; whereof one is, after deprivation, by your Grace made, of an abbot or prior, etc., from their dignity, ye may make provision of the same, notwithstanding election. This was granted to Laurence [1] and your Grace jointly ; yet Leo hath innovate, and confirmed it to your Grace, in such wise, as though it had been granted to you alone. About the degrees of consanguinity and affinity, your Grace's Bulls be not very clear for this country, which hurteth. Wherefore herein enclosed I do send your Grace a copy of a Bull of this Pope, granted heretofore to the collector, which Raphael Maruff did use in Ireland, wherein the doubts, that I moved to your Grace about the same, ye shall mowe [more] see right well declared ; trusting your Grace will have yours, after the same wise.

Besides this, my Lord Chancellor is very difficile in granting of your dispensations (which hindreth your Grace), and is less to be regarded in this land than anywhere. For many parts under the King's obeisance there been penal statutes, that no Englishman shall marry with the Irish, so that they be so intricate in consanguinity or affinity, and besides that, the people of themselves be so propine to evil, they would marry without dispensation, unless be enforced to sue to the Court of Rome. Whereof hath ensued the decay of the Church of Ireland ; for, when an idle person [i.e. gentleman] goeth to the Court of Rome, the compositions be to Irishmen so small for their poverty, that by him many other exorbitant matters be sped. So that, in this land, your Grace's dispensations be necessary to be granted with less difficulty, than elsewhere, for the avoiding of contempt of holy canons, and the occasion of the inconvenience that followeth of these Rome runners. And over that, that the manner of the compositions in this land, for their poverty, should be reduced from sterling money to the money of this country ; whereby I suppose we should speed three dispensations than to one now.

Finally, may it please your noble Grace to remember us, that to do your Grace service, been returned from our own, living as it were in captivity, in great fear daily of our enemies. Insomuch the Chief Justice showeth me, that if English power cometh not shortly, we shall fain to return from hence at Michaelmas. And I (by the Deputy and Council's indifferent [impartial] election) occupying (unworthy) the clerkship of the Council, do perceive and know the patched and unhonourable truces, which, by enforcement of pure necessity, be tolerated. Whereby I do perceive how much England

[1] Cardinal Campeggio.

is bound to pray for your Grace, who peradventure sometime should know part of Ireland's misery, were not your Grace's high and excellent wisdom, experience, and noble justice. That knoweth God, who ever preserve your noble Grace in long life, with continuance in honour. From Dublin, the first of June.

Your Grace's most humble servant and Register.

(Signed) JOHN ALEN.

[*Superscribed.*]

Reverendissimo in Christo Patri, ac Domino, Domino, Thome, tituli Sancte Cecilie Presbytero Cardinali, Apostolicae Sedis in Anglia et Hibernia de Latere Legato, Domino meo colendissimo.

A brief commentary will be useful on this letter. The Irish did not resort to Archbishop Alen for the dispensations, and it was only his temporal power that secured compliance in the Pale. It was cheaper to apply to Rome, when one messenger could secure a number of dispensations. It is important to emphasise this point in view of the accusations made later on as to the excessive papal demands in such cases. But as to Wolsey's jurisdiction as legate in Ireland, even Archbishop Alen doubted, and was reluctant to grant the dispensations. He was held in little esteem by the Irish, as he was Wolsey's friend and agent. Alen, the clerk of the Council, seems also to have had some doubt as to the jurisdiction, and remarked how strange it was that no transcript of Wolsey's legatine Bulls had been sent to the Irish Chancery, and that this was according to the Cardinal's command. Henry and Wolsey had taken all power, ecclesiastical as well as civil, into their own hands, and Wolsey considered that he and the King had as much jurisdiction in Church and State over Ireland as over England. It was a dangerous move on the part of Wolsey, and made the King familiar with the Absolutism that he afterwards developed. While Wolsey was in power all was well, but, when he fell, Henry took the reins of Church and State into his own hands. We have already referred to the term "Rome runners" which Alen, the clerk, applied in contempt to those who sought the dispensations from Rome. It is significant, as it shows a certain antipathy to the papal court, and the term was afterwards applied very generally to those who did not agree with Henry's usurpation of ecclesiastical power. Lastly, so far as we can discover, Alen, the clerk, had no authority for inserting in his superscription to his letter the word *Hibernia* (Ireland) as signifying the extent of the Cardinal's legateship. Pope Leo's Bull simply mentions him as legate of the "kingdom of England." The Irish bishops and priests were doubtless aware of this, and resented the interference

of the English Cardinal and his agents in the ecclesiastical administration of Ireland.

That the King was fast developing Absolutism is shown in his treatment of Archbishop Alen. Favours had been showered by the Cardinal on the Archbishop, and the latter, like the former, was to be the object of royal anger. Wolsey, who detested Anne Boleyn, was, through her influence, removed from office, and surrendered the Great Seal on 17 October, 1529. Henry, having drifted from Rome, and finding that the clergy were his most strenuous opponents in the matter of divorce, determined to humble them. In December, 1530, the whole English nation was declared to be under *premunire* in having acquiesced in Wolsey's legatine authority.[1] The clergy were told that the King was willing " upon a reasonable composition and a full submission to pardon them." Alen did not escape the penalty for having been Wolsey's commissary and vice-legate. He was commanded by Henry to yield his archbishopric into the King's hands, and he made a formal profession [2] (4 Feb., 1531) that he held his " archbishopric and all its manors and emoluments " of the Crown. He did not receive a general pardon or the release of his possessions until 7 February, 1532.[3] For his offence against *premunire* he was fined £1466 13s. 4d.[4] During the period of his suspension he had evidently appointed to benefices in his diocese, for he was again fined for his " second great *premunire*." [5]

Moreover, Cromwell advised Henry that the revenues of the archbishopric should be called for to the King's use, and that the first fruits of the see were to be employed on the building of the castles of Wicklow, Arklow, Green Castle, Powerscourt, Newcastle McKynegan, Castlekevin, Castellankelly, and Ballymore. Some of these were the Archbishop's manors, on the borders of the Pale. Considering that Alen had not received his chancellor's fee, and that he had spent his own money in putting the Chancery in Dublin Castle, which was " more like a swine-sty," into decent condition, and in refurnishing ships and hostings for the King, he was badly rewarded by Henry. This was not all. In the articles for the

[1] Hore, *Hist. of Church of England*. " Wolsey, by acting as the Pope's legate *a latere*, had broken the law of the land, and had incurred the penalty of *premunire*. But it was a flagrant act of injustice on the part of the King to enforce it against him. Henry had himself obtained the post for him, had granted him under the Great Seal his license to hold it, and he had allowed him to perform its duties for many years."

[2] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vol. v., no. 657.

[3] *Ib.*, no. 779. Rymer, xiv. 430.

[4] About £22,000, according to *1914 value*, or about fifteen times that value.

[5] Letter to Cromwell, 19 March, 1532. *L. P. Hen. VIII*, vol. v., no. 412.

government of Ireland (1534) it was "ordained by the King and his most honourable council that the lands of the spirituality and benefices to all common charges of the country shall contribute as the lands of the temporality are charged, and all lords and other persons of the spirituality shall send companies to hostings and journeys in manner and form following: the Archbishop of Armagh 16 able archers or gunners, appointed for war; the Archbishop of Dublin, 20 ditto, etc." These were new burdens imposed on prelates to assist the spendthrift King.

An incident that cannot be passed over as having some influence on the course of events during the "reform" period is the deadly feud that arose between the Alens and the Butlers on the one side, and the Kildares on the other. It helped, so to speak, to stiffen the backs of the Irish against the Absolutism of Henry. Wolsey had been the implacable enemy of the Kildares, and had had Archbishop Alen appointed Chancellor to counteract the enormous influence of Earl Gerald. Gerald, as deputy, had dismissed the Archbishop from the chancellorship, and had given it to Cromer, Archbishop of Armagh. The Alens, relatives of Archbishop Alen, joined with the Butlers of Ossory in bringing about the downfall of Gerald. And, it is said, that the Archbishop and John Alen, Master of the Rolls, were mainly instrumental in spreading the false rumour that Gerald had been beheaded, and in thus goading on the impetuous Silken Thomas, Gerald's son, into revolt. But they did not reckon on the Geraldine preparations. Fearful of his own safety, the Archbishop took ship from Damme's Gate near Dublin Castle, but pursued and caught at Howth by Thomas's men, he was brought to Artane, where he was murdered and quartered before Thomas's eyes. Alen, like Wolsey, had suffered in his devotion to the cause of an ungrateful King.

But the revolt now takes a new turn. According to Chapuys, ambassador of Charles V at London, Silken Thomas had a following of 20,000 men, and was demanding the loyalty of the Irish towns, and this, he says, was done "in order that he may show his Holiness that all is done in behalf of the faith and the Holy See." This was on 11 August, 1534. In another letter (29 Aug.) he says that those of the towns where he has entered have sworn fealty to the Pope, to the Emperor, and to himself.[1] The introduction of the Pope into this revolt against the King of England shows the class of opposition that was being prepared in Ireland against Henry. In 1533 Henry had married Anne Boleyn, and in March of the following year he was threatened by the Pope with excommunication.

[1] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vol. vii.

Thus the rupture between Rome and England was complete, and the Convocations of Canterbury and York declared that "the Pope has no greater jurisdiction conferred on him by God in Holy Scriptures in the Kingdom of England than any other foreign bishop." Such was the state of affairs when Chapuys wrote those letters, and when Silken Thomas was demanding the fealty of the Irish towns for the Pope, and opposition to the King on religious grounds.

It will be useful to state now some of the accusations brought against the Church in Ireland at this period. Inge, Archbishop of Dublin, wrote (23 Feb., 1528) to Wolsey: "Your Grace, we doubt not, heareth the sorrowful decay of this land, as well in good Christianity, as other laudable manners: which hath grown for lack of good prelates and curates in the Church. Wherefore, your Grace may do meritoriously, to see such persons promoted to bishopricks that their manner of living may be example of goodness and virtue. The residence of such shall do more good than we can express." Inge, being an Englishman, like his predecessors in the see since the Anglo-Norman occupation, did not look with favour on Irishmen as prelates or as the occupants of vicarages among his own countrymen in Ireland. It can scarcely be presumed that he had much acquaintance with the Church in the Irish parts. As a matter of fact, his chief grievance in his letter was relative to the diocese of Meath, which had no bishop at the time.

The question of papal provisions to sees and benefices was another reason put forth for the decay in the Church. In England these provisions of foreigners to benefices had estranged the nobility in a great measure in their loyalty to the Holy See, as they thus deprived the lords of patronage to benefices and their sons of easy and lucrative livings. In Ireland a similar outcry took place. The Earl of Kildare, in 1525, declared that the churches in Tipperary and Kilkenny were generally in ruins through the system, "so as, and if the King's Grace do not see for the hasty remedy of the same, there is like to be no more Christianity there, than in the midst of Turkey." [1] The Earl was not impartial. He had the patronage of a vast amount of rectories, and probably had his eyes fixed on others. The King was just beginning to quarrel with the Pope, and evidently the Earl considered that Henry would be ready enough to believe that papal provisions had ruined the churches.

A more serious indictment was that made by Sir Peter Butler,

[1] *S.P. Hen. VIII*, vol. ii., p. 123.

Earl of Ossory, the sworn enemy of the Geraldines in their revolt against the King, and one of the leaders of the "reform" under Henry. In an indenture of 31 May, 1534, he declares:—[1]

The Bishop of Rome's provisions and usurped jurisdiction have been the chief cause of the desolation and decay of Ireland, "by the abominable abuse whereof the cathedral churches, in monasteries, parish churches, and all other regular and secular, for the more part, in effect through the land, been in utter ruin and destroyed: for the said Bishop of Rome commonly hath preferred by his provisions to the administration and governance of them not only vile and vicious persons unlearned, being murderers, thieves, and of other detestable disposition, as light men of war, who, for their unjust maintenance therein for some time to expel the rightful incumbent, and other seasons by force of secular power to put the true patrons from their patronage, and other their misorders, have not only spent, wasted, and alienate such lands as the King, his noble progenitors, and his nobles gave to the augmentation of God's divine service in the churches of that land, the exhibition and maintenance of the ministers of the same, and the utensils and ornaments there, but also by occasion of the same great wars hath been stirred amongst the King's people and countries virent [*sic*],[2] bishops and divers other persons spiritual and temporal murdered, and many other detestable things have ensued thereby." Therefore the King has willed his deputy to resist with all his power the abuse and usurped jurisdiction of the said Bishop of Rome; and the Earl of Ossory has promised that he and his son will resist the said provisions with all their power.

Such of the Irish or English as shall be brought to good conformity by means of the said Earl and his son shall be favourably accepted, entertained, and aided by the Deputy and Council.

The Earl of Ossory had promised that he and his son, Lord James Butler, would assist the Deputy against the King's Irish and English rebels.

We cannot accept Butler as an impartial witness. He had already thrown in his lot with Henry against the Geraldine revolt and all it implied, and against the jurisdiction of the Pope in Ireland. He already rules himself out as an impartial witness when he declares that he is ready to resist the "usurped jurisdiction of the said Bishop of Rome." He had evidently been influenced by the progress of events in ecclesiastical affairs in England, and was preparing the way for the King's supremacy in Ireland. But we have the testimony of Henry's own words to rebut the allegation that the papal power exercised in provisions to Irish benefices had brought the Irish Church to a state of utter ruin and left it in

[1] *Car. Cal. S.P.I.*, pp. 54-5. [2] *Videlicet* (?)

need of reform. We have his own words upon the qualifications of the priests whom he recommended to the Holy See for provision to Irish dioceses and the testimonies elicited by the secretaries of the Pope. Henry's recommendation and eulogy were not accepted by the Pope without careful scrutiny; they were usually referred for inquiry. An examination of the various recommendations will show that these priests were learned, fit to govern, especially modest, of irreproachable morals, some of them of great sanctity and learning. The Pope provided neither ignorant nor unlearned, nor carelessly living prelates. It is only what we should expect.

The power of the bishop over his clergy and his churches was different in some important respects from the system obtaining to-day in Ireland. Just as the monarch stood between the Irish Episcopate and the Pope, laymen and the priors of the monasteries stood between the bishop and a great proportion of his clergy.[1] The monasteries owned an enormously large number of the parish churches, and their priors exercised the patronage of them. In the list that we give of the possessions of the religious houses of the diocese of Dublin we see the large number of rectories owned by those houses all over the country. An extent of all the religious houses of Ireland would reveal an extraordinary situation in the Irish Church. No doubt this was the growth of centuries, and these possessions and their accompanying rights of advowson or patronage were largely the gifts of pious laymen. But besides this there remained churches over which laymen continued to retain control, and while the confirmation of lay appointments belonged of right to the bishop, the clergy of such churches owed their livings to the laymen's gift, and a corresponding sense of dependence upon lay liberality was bred in them from which, when the interests of religion are considered, it would have been better they had been free. The cataclysm of the "Reformation" destroyed in the Catholic Church all these bonds of lay dependency. The Protestant Church that fell into the temporal inheritance of the Irish Church inherited also this legacy of lay control.

Neither can it be said that absenteeism on the part of bishops or beneficiaries brought decay on the Irish Church. Absenteeism amongst the bishops was an abuse that in England was attended with serious consequences to the discipline of the clergy and the spiritual care of the subject. The evidences of the presence of this abuse in the Irish Church are not frequent, but they apply, as far as can be ascertained, only to the English occupants of Irish

[1] It may be interesting to note that in the year 1531 Archbishop Alen had "about 40 collative livings in right of the Church of Dublin belonging unto him" (*Loftus MSS., ad an.*).

sees. No such complaints have been recorded, as far as we can discover, against Irishmen.

Lastly, it cannot be said that wealth was a source of corruption in the Irish Church. In earthly possessions the great majority of the Irish bishops could not be called wealthy. Compared with their English brethren, many of them were poor indeed. The Earl of Kildare replied, on a famous occasion, to a taunt of Cardinal Wolsey, that if he exchanged kingdoms with the Cardinal he would guarantee to gather up more crumbs in one month than twice the revenues of his poor earldom. If we take the papal taxation of sees as a fair basis of comparison we shall find that in this period the normal taxable capacity of all the Irish dioceses taken together was not equal to the sum levied against the opulent incumbent of the single English diocese of Winchester. Winchester was taxed at 12,000 gold florins,[1] whilst the taxation of the thirty-two dioceses of Ireland only reached 11,837.[2] Dublin and Cashel provided more than half of that sum, and Armagh and Meath more than a quarter. So that the remaining twenty-eight dioceses only contributed a paltry quarter. Yet we must admit a difficulty in accepting papal taxation as a satisfactory basis of comparison. If in the papal list the taxation figures imposed bore a uniform proportion to the revenues, it would be possible to form some estimate of the annual income of the Irish bishops in the smaller and poorer sees. But the figures show that no uniform standard was observed. On the other hand, if we take the valuation of some of the Irish Sees according to extents made in 1537-8-9,[3] we find that many of the bishops were far from poor. And in the figures given no account is taken, presumably, of the incidental revenues of the bishops. The following list will be of interest:—

Diocese.	Irish Money.	Sterling.	1914 value.
Armagh . . .	£183 17 5½	£137 18 0¾	£2070
Meath . . .	—	373 12 0	5610
Dublin . . .	534 15 2½	401 1 4½	6015
Kildare . . .	69 11 4	52 3 6	780
Ossory . . .	100 marks =	66 13 4	990
Ferns . . .	108 13 4	81 10 0	1215
Cashel . . .	66 13 4	50 0 0	750
Waterford and Lismore	72 8 1	54 6 0¾	810

From all this the general conclusion may be drawn that a great

[1] John Alen, Archbishop of Dublin, paid 2650 gold florins for his bulls.
[2] See Gogarty, *Ir. Theol. Quart.*, Oct., 1912.
[3] Harris, *Ware's Bishops*, at head of each diocese.

number of the Irish bishops enjoyed no more than a mere competence. And if we may argue from the financial condition of the Irish Episcopate in Henry's reign, we may also conclude that the Irish Church did not suffer from the evil influences to which a ponderously wealthy Church might be said to have fallen a prey.

In raising Wolsey to be head of Church and State, Henry, as we have seen, had simply gathered all religious as well as all civil authority into his personal grasp. The nation that trembled before Wolsey learned to tremble before the King, who had destroyed Wolsey with a breath. And now Thomas Cromwell, the "most terrible figure in our history" and the prince of opportunists, appears on the stage. It is difficult to get at an accurate estimate of the nature of Cromwell's first dealings with Henry. We know he gained the ear of his sovereign, and that within a comparatively short time after Wolsey's death Cromwell was Henry's most trusted adviser. "We know that the concerted attack on the Church sprang out of some suggestion of Cromwell's, but we do not know the exact nature of the suggestion." [1] Money seems to have been at the back of it all. "By 1530," continues the same writer, "perhaps long before, Henry, most extravagant of English sovereigns, had not only got through the millions left to him by his thrifty father—Stubbs credits Henry VII with having left £1,800,000—but also through the liberal supplies extorted at various times from commons and clergy by Warham, Wolsey, and More. About 1530 he was, in my opinion, at his wit's end for money: I believe he turned to Cromwell, a smart and crafty business man, for financial advice; I believe that Cromwell coolly pointed to the Church." The advice struck the keynote of the later policy by which the daring counsellor was to change the whole face of Church and State. Such was the state of affairs when a successor was appointed in Dublin to Archbishop Alen—unrest and dissatisfaction not only among the Irish but among the Anglo-Norman lords. A new element had been introduced into the conflict between England and Ireland—opposition to Henry on religious grounds. It was still a slender flame, but the appointment of George Browne to the See of Dublin, without any appeal to, or approval from, the Pope, fanned the flame and opened up a new era in the history of the Anglo-Norman colony of Dublin.

[1] J. S. Fletcher, *The Reformation in Northern England*, p. 22.

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Ware (Robert), Life of Archbishop Browne (Harleian Miscellany, vol. v.).
Whitney, The Reformation.

PART I.

EVE OF THE "REFORMATION."

Browne, an English Augustinian Friar.

Nothing seems to be known about the parents of George Browne or about the place or year of his birth. It is said that he received his early education in the house of the Augustinian Order near Holywell in Oxfordshire, where Wadham College now stands.[1] Whether he entered the Order in that house or elsewhere does not appear. The earliest date mentioned in connection with him is the year 1523 when, it is said, he appealed for the degree of bachelor of divinity, but it does not appear that he was then admitted to that degree.[2] According to the regulations obtaining in theological schools of the period it was necessary for a student to apply himself diligently to his studies for five years before obtaining the degree of bachelor. It would seem then that in 1523 Browne had already studied for the five years, and, as he could scarcely have been less than eighteen years of age when he began his theology, the year of his birth would have been about 1500. No reason has been assigned for Browne's failure to obtain the coveted degree.

The next occasion on which he appears is in connection with a business transaction with Thomas Cromwell,[3] the power

[1] *Harleian Miscellany*, v. 595, note. According to the *Athenae Oxonienses* (i. 678) he "was educated in Academicals among those of his Order in *Oxon.*," Oxford.

[2] *Athen. Oxon.*, l.c. The applying for the degree was termed the "Reading of the Sentences" (Scholastic.)

[3] Fletcher (*op. cit.*, pp. 27-8), the latest writer on the Reformation period, says of Cromwell: "Cromwell was a nobody to start with—the son of a drunken, law-breaking ale-seller at Wimbledon (others make him the son of a blacksmith at Putney). He himself lived an adventurous, and, by his own confession, an ill-behaved life in his younger days. There is a good deal of mystery about those days; he is said to have been a soldier in Italy; certainly he was well acquainted with the Italian qualities of craft, cunning, and subtlety, and with

behind the throne. Cromwell, in 1532, had succeeded to the responsible position of Master of the King's Jewels, and Browne was prior of the Austin Friars at their celebrated house in Thockmorton Street, London. For some reason Cromwell wished to have two messuages or tenements adjoining Austin Friars and belonging to the Order, and an indenture was drawn up (16 May, 1532) between William Whetherall, provincial of the Order, and George Browne, prior of Austin Friars in London, of the one part, and Thomas Cromwell, master of the jewels, on the other, granting to the latter a lease of ninety-nine years of two messuages,

"late of new builded, the fore front whereof abutteth upon the west end of the wall of the churchyard there where the pulpit now standeth"; with two gardens and a great warehouse belonging to one of the messuages late in the holding of John Cavalcanti. These messuages lie "within the precinct or close of the said house of Friars, abutting upon the lane there leading to the said Friars church on the east partie, and upon the lands pertaining to the heirs of John Braymounde of the west partie," and the lands of the said Friars north and south. Also the tenement called the Swanne, and the alley called Swanne Alley the end of which abuts on the garden belonging to that one of the said two messuages in which Cromwell now dwells on the north side, the other end abutting on the King's high street called Lothebury on the south; one side of the said alley abutting on the said warehouse on the east, and the other on the lands and tenements belonging to the heirs of the said John Braymound on the west. In one of the said two messuages, now in the tenure of Cromwell, John Cavalcanti, merchant of Florence, lately dwelt.[1]

From this transaction it would seem that Cromwell, while master of the jewels, was taking over the banking establishment of the Florence merchant with the intention

the principles of Machiavelli. But wherever he spent his young-man time, he was back in England, and practising as a solicitor in London, about the year 1512. Eight years later he appears to have attracted the notice of Wolsey, and he was certainly employed by Wolsey in one capacity or another up to the time of Wolsey's first fall. Wolsey's disappearance from the chief centre of things signalizes Cromwell's entrance into it. For several years he was Henry's right-hand man, much as Henry seems to have despised him. And during those years, and especially while he was actively engaged in suppressing the religious orders, Cromwell did very well for himself."

[1] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, 1532, no. 1028.

of carrying on that business. But a more important inference may be drawn. It would seem to have been the beginning of the great friendship between Cromwell and Browne, which, growing stronger with the years, bound those two men together to carry out the behests of their royal master in his religious "reform." Browne, anxious for favours, or beset with difficulties, always threw himself on the friendship and at the mercy of Cromwell, appealing to him as to his "powerful right hand."

Six months later (October, 1532), licence was granted to George Browne, prior of the Augustine friars in London, among other friars, to go beyond the sea. There is nothing to point out the reason of this journey or the place to which he travelled. It may have been that he wished to attend a General Chapter of the Order or to take his degree in some foreign university.[1] But the journey seems to have been an eventful one for him. It is probable that, during this sojourn abroad, he became acquainted with the writings of Luther, and was influenced by the doctrine of the "reformers" which directed that prayers and petitions should be made solely and directly to Christ.[2]

Henry VIII's Second Marriage; Browne's Assistance.

Browne's stay abroad was of short duration as he was back in London in January, 1533. In the month of April (13th) he preached in London, and at once ranged himself on the side of the King against the Pope. Chapuys, the ambassador of the Emperor Charles V at the Court of Henry, in a letter [3] to his master (27 April, 1533) writes about this sermon with his usual accuracy and detail:—

"This feast of Easter, the prior of the Augustines [Geo. Browne] in his sermon recommended the people expressly to pray for Queen Anne; at which they were astonished and scandalized, and almost every one took his departure with great murmuring and ill looks, without waiting for the rest of the sermon. The King was greatly displeased, and sent word to the Mayor that on dread of his displeasure he should take order that nothing of the kind happened

[1] *Harleian Miscellany*, v. 596. [2] Harris, *Ware's Bishops*, 348.
[3] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, 1533, no. 391.

again, and that no one should be so bold as to murmur at his marriage. The Mayor thereupon assembled the trades and their officers of the several halls [gilds], and commanded them, on pain of the King's indignation, not to murmur at his marriage, and to prevent their apprentices from so doing, and, what is worse and more difficult, their wives."

It is not to our purpose to dwell on the temper of the people in refusing to listen to Browne's approval of the King's marriage with Anne Boleyn. In this approval, Browne was justifying his own action, as, according to Chapuys, it was he who performed the ceremony on that occasion.[1] Here we see the hand of friendship held out by Cromwell to Browne in having him selected for such an important function and thus bringing him prominently before the eyes of the King. Cromwell sought promotion for his friend, and it was not long delayed.

Oxford and Cambridge Confer Doctorate on Browne.

Meanwhile, Browne was making use of his friendship with Cromwell to awaken the latter's interest in the University of Oxford. In a letter (March, 1534) which he sent by hand, from London, to Cromwell, he makes a poor show in trying to conceal his underhand dealings with the University. The letter[2] reads as follows:—

Our father and Mr. Provincial have written to me by this bearer to bring "this master and friend on to your speech and to instand your good mastership to be good unto the university," as your goodness is known to every man. The whole university, out of love for your mastership, have, without solicitation, given me "my incorporation of doctor *simpliciter*" without costs or charges. I beg you to thank the bearer for his [trouble] for your sake.

[1] *Letter*, 28 *Jan.*, 1535. *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, no. 121. The exact date of the marriage does not appear. Cranmer says "about St. Paul's Day" (25 Jan., 1533), but it was not until 29 May that Cranmer declared the marriage lawful. The coronation took place on 1 June, and on 7 Sept. the Princess Elizabeth was born. It would seem that Browne was called in to perform a secret marriage in January. Dr. Gairdner (*Lollardy and the Reformation*, i. 452) states, on the authority of Harpsfield, that it was Roland Lee (afterwards Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield) who performed the ceremony. Chapuys, who had inside information in Court affairs, is probably the more reliable authority.

[2] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vol. vii., no. 404.

It was a cunning piece of business on the part of Browne. He received the coveted Master of Theology [1] which would raise him in the eyes of his royal patron and of his friend; he was attracting his friend's favour to Oxford University which evidently was in need of it at this time, and he was soliciting a favour for the bearer of the letter, and thus pleasing his own provincial. Cambridge University did not delay in following the good example of Oxford, and counted him among its theological doctors.[2]

Favours now began to be showered on Browne, and the King saw in him a useful instrument for the acknowledgment of his Royal Supremacy by the religious houses of the land.

Browne, Visitor-General of Friaries.

Within a month after Browne had received his degree from Oxford, he was the recipient of a royal grant (13 April, 1534): [3] "Geo. Browne, prior of the Augustinian Hermits, London, appointed by the King provincial prior of the whole Order of Friars Hermits in England, and professor of Sacred Theology. Commission to himself and Hilsey to visit the houses of all friars of whatever Order . . . to make inquiry concerning their lives, morals, and fealty to the King, to instruct them how to conduct themselves with safety, and to reduce them to uniformity, calling in, if necessary, the aid of the secular arm."

Chapuys, who was always quick in obtaining information as to the King's movements, and quick in communicating them to his imperial master, wrote about a week afterwards (22 April) to Charles V:—[4]

> The Archbishop of Canterbury [Cranmer] has begun to exercise his antipapality, making the bulls and despatch of three bishoprics, and he has by his own authority consecrated the three bishops. The King has also set in train the sovereignty to which he pretends over the English Church, and has appointed a Jacobin and an Augustinian [John Hilsey and Geo. Browne] provincials

[1] *Fasti Oxonienses*, i. 56: "George Browne, a friar of the Order of St. Austen, and Doctor of Divinity of another University, was then incorporated Doctor of Divinity" (20 July, 1534).

[2] Chalmers' *Biog. Nat.*

[3] *Pat.* 25 *Hen. VIII*, p. 2, m. 6d.

[4] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, 1534, no. 530.

and general visitors of all the religious, giving them among other things the commission contained in the Bill hereto adjoined, which will strike your Majesty as something very novel.

The Bill to which Chapuys refers is the Act of Supremacy, the great Statute by which the new character of the Church was defined. By the year 1534, Henry's quarrel with the Pope had reached its height, and the severance of the Church in England from its ancient dependence on Rome was complete. The Act ordered that the King "shall be taken, accepted, and reputed the only supreme Head in earth of the Church of England." Authority in all matters ecclesiastical, as well as civil, was vested solely in the Crown. The "courts spiritual" became as thoroughly the King's courts as the temporal courts at Westminster. But the full meaning that Cromwell attached to the Supremacy was seen on his elevation to the new post of Vicar-General, or Vice-gerent of the King in all matters ecclesiastical. He was thus, a mere layman, placed above the archbishops and bishops, even in convocation and other strictly ecclesiastical assemblies.

There remained, therefore, no further obstacle to prevent the King's dealing according to his royal pleasure with the friars. He conceived the ingenious plan of appointing over them a general superior upon whose faithful subservience to himself he could depend. As a first step, Cromwell and his master selected two worthy instruments, John Hilsey, a Dominican friar, afterwards successor to the saintly John Fisher in the See of Rochester, and George Browne. Cranmer had previously begun that visitation of his province which had for its object the obtaining of the signatures of the clergy to the declaration that the Bishop of Rome had no greater jurisdiction in England than any other foreign bishop. This was generally obtained, and was also secured from the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and from the monasteries. As it was judged necessary to obtain it also from the friars, the above commission was issued to Browne and Hilsey empowering them to visit the friars of all Orders and require the signature of every inmate. The Franciscans offered a stout resistance, and seven houses of the Observants (Reformed Franciscans) were cleared of their inhabitants, and the more refractory members were sent to the Tower, some

of them hanged at Tyburn, while the less obstinate brethren were transferred to houses of the unreformed Order and were there loaded with chains.[1]

The members of the friaries, having been assembled in their chapter-houses, were examined separately concerning their faith and their obedience to the King and Anne Boleyn. Having made their grand tour, the visitors drew up the following report :—

Declaration of obedience to Henry VIII and queen Anne, and of the lawfulness of their marriage, with a repudiation of the bishop of Rome's authority, and acknowledgment of the King as Supreme Head of the Church, by the convents of the Franciscan, Dominican, Augustinian, Carmelite, and Crutched Friars of London under the signatures of the priors, namely, of Edmund Streatham, prior [of the Crutched Friars], Robert Strowddyll, S.T.P., prior of the Dominicans, George Burnham, prior of the Carmelites, Thomas Cudner, warden of the Friars Minors, and Geo. Browne, S.T.P., prior of the Augustinians. Dated in their chapter-houses, 17 April, 1534.[2] Acknowledged in chancery by the above heads of houses before Geo. Browne, prior provincial of the Augustinians, and John Hylsey, prior provincial of the Order of Friars Preachers, on the 17, 18, 20 April, *an. presen.*

Similar declarations were made, 6, 9, 16 May, by the convents of the Friars Preachers, Langley Regis, the Minors of Alisbury, the Preachers of Dunstable, the Minors of Bedford, the Carmelites of Hechynge, and the Minors of Ware, and afterwards in chancery before Browne and Hilsey. Other declarations were made by the prioress and convent of Dertford, Kent, diocese of Rochester.

The two visitors had made no delay in executing their commission. Within four days they had got the declaration of the London friaries in the chapter-houses, and within a week in chancery, and those of the southern parts of England within a month. Besides the above declaration, the religious were bound to swear solemnly that they would preach and persuade the people to accept the royal supremacy, and to confess that the Bishop of Rome had no more power than any other bishop, and to call him Pope no longer. Further, the sermons of each preacher severally were to be carefully

[1] See Fletcher, *op. cit.*, p. 77. [2] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, 1534, no. 665.

examined, and if not orthodox they were to be burned.[1] Every friar was to be strictly enjoined to commend the King as head of the Church, the Queen, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the clergy to the prayers of the faithful. Lastly, each house was "to be obliged to show its gold, silver, and other moveable goods, and deliver an inventory of them," and to take a common oath, sealed with the convent seal, to observe the above orders.

Cromwell's was the master mind, of Machiavellian type, which first conceived the idea of attacking the papal power in its strongholds, the monasteries, and of procuring thereby the wealth to gratify the covetousness of the King.[2] Perhaps no actor on the stage of history has ever possessed greater powers, personal and political. He had been employed by Wolsey in the work of suppressing the monasteries, and acquired great experience of these houses. He escaped the fate of Wolsey by pointing out to Henry the way of getting rid entirely of allegiance to the Pope.

[1] Gasquet, *Hen. VIII and the English Monasteries.*

[2] Of the two men, Thomas Legh and Richard Layton, whom Cromwell sent into the north of England to visit the monasteries as distinct from the friaries, a writer in the *Athenæum* of 1886 says: "Seldom in the world's history has a tyrant found baser instruments for his basest designs than Henry found for carrying out the visitations of the English monasteries. That any monastery in England contained half a dozen such wretches as the more prominent of the visitors who came to despoil them is almost inconceivable. It is a sickening story. The reader is in danger of disbelieving everything that these men report in his indignation at the audacious and manifest lying which characterizes their reports," and Fletcher (*op. cit.*, p. 33) says that they "were adepts at bullying and cajoling—for they used both methods—the heads of the various institutions on which they descended." And Dr. Whitney (*The Reformation*) remarks: "It must be said that the evidence upon which the monasteries were condemned invites, and the agents who destroyed them compel, suspicions of the good faith of the Government." Again he says: "The Monastic Orders may have lost their former zeal, but they had not sunk to the low level of life that satirists and unfounded tradition ascribed to them." It may be observed that Dr. Whitney is the present Dixie Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Cambridge. And Dr. Gairdner, the editor of the *State Papers of Henry VIII*, with Dr. Brewer, after remarking (*Lollardy and the Reformation*) that the tradition against monasticism which has existed in England from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century arose from old nourished prejudices against men defenceless after they were dead, sums up the whole case in a sentence: "The defaming of the monasteries was simply a step towards their suppression and the confiscation of their endowments; and apart from the gratification of avarice, their suppression was a necessary step in the policy which the King and Cromwell had been carefully engineering."

Browne, Master-General of Religion.

Browne now assumed the position of Master-General of all the religious houses in England, and appointed friar Olyver as prior of the Black Friars at Cambridge. Cranmer in a letter to Cromwell (7 June) found fault with this appointment as Olyver had preached against the King's cause and defended the authority of the Bishop of Rome, and begged Cromwell to remove Olyver from this office and give it to Hilsey.[1] Whatever may have been the reason of Browne's appointment of Olyver, it is quite clear that Hilsey and Browne had not been agreeing of late, and that Hilsey resented this assumption of power by Browne. He complained of it in a letter[2] to Cromwell (16 Oct.), saying that Cromwell had appointed him (Hilsey) to the office of master-general, and that Browne had "broken certain assignations made by our general chapter, saying he is our master-general and we shall do nothing but under him."

Browne, however, was employed alone by Cromwell as bearer of letters[3] (15 June) to Bishop Roland Lee and Thos. Bedyll appointing them as commissioners to Richmond and Greenwich to receive submission to the King, as Head of the Church in England, from the convents of St. Francis there.

A few weeks afterwards Browne was again busy in visiting religious houses and taking their submission. Of this expedition he sends a report[4] to Cromwell, 6 July :—

Came on the 4 July to Beverley [S.E. Yorkshire] and visited the Grey and Black Friars, "where all did agree according to my commission." One Grey Friar, named Dr. Gwynborne, whome he has sent to Cromwell by the bearer, has written divers libels against the King, especially one "not only seditious, but much presueus [presumptuous?] and of high stomach," which he has presented to the King : yet he would have sworn to me, but I did not take his oath. He pretended to have no knowledge ; but on my interrogating him, he confessed he knew that the Queen was crowned and had a princess. "Why then," said I, "did you write so shameful a book against this just matrimony and the book the which the Council set forth ?" He said he wrote according to his conscience, and confessed that his conscience confirmed it

[1] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, 1534, vol. vii., no. 807.
[2] *Ib.*, no. 1265. [3] *Ib.*, no. 841. [4] *Ib.*, no. 953

all. [Brown] sends all his writings and copies. Thinks he has given copies about. He is a lunatic, or in a frenzy, as you will see if you common [commune] with him. [Browne] sends a register of all his goods and books. Thinks the writings are not his own composition, for he owns he is "poorly booked and poorly learned."

To-day, 6 July, I took my journey towards Newcastle; received all the convent seals hitherto with loving thanks. I beg you to favor the bearer who is my kinsman born in the same town.

Rarely did Browne write a letter to Cromwell that he did not ask a favour for some relative or attendant of his own. However, he again returned to London and, within a few days, he and Hilsey were appointed by the King (16 July) as visitors to the friars of Southampton. For the next few months nothing is chronicled about his doings, but evidently he was busy and taking upon himself the sole work of visitation. It was on 16 October that Hilsey complained to Cromwell about Browne's attitude in this respect.

The Act of Supremacy had, indeed, added greatly to the royal power, and there was no pretence that it was framed with any scrupulous concern for civil liberty. By the beginning of 1535 any doubts that might have been entertained as to the full intentions of Henry were at an end. On 15 January, the new title of "Supreme Head" was incorporated in the King's style by decree of Council, though the rupture with Rome and the causes that led to it were unquestionably deeply distasteful to the English nation at large.[1]

Chapuys, in his regular correspondence with the Emperor Charles V, gives an account of this latest movement of the King, in a letter[2] of 28 January, 1535:—

[1] "History shows that up to the very eve of the rejection of the Papal Supremacy, the attitude of Englishmen, in spite of difficulties and misunderstandings, had been persistently one of respect for the Pope as their Spiritual head. No doubt there were at times disagreements and quarrels, but these were rather in the temporal domain, without affecting the real attitude and uninterrupted spiritual dependence of England on the Holy See. . . . The claim of authority by the Popes to determine matters more or less of the temporal order tended to obscure the higher and supernatural powers which are the enduring heritage of St. Peter's successors in the See of Rome. To the ordinary man, the distinction between the necessary and the accidental prerogatives was not clear, and when one was called in question the other was imperilled. Moreover, English national feeling had grown by leaps and bounds in the early years of the 16th century" (Gasquet, *Eve of the Reformation*, pp. 73 ff.).

[2] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, 1535, no. 121.

The King has added to his titles that of Sovereign Head of the Church of England on earth, and it is proposed to burn all the bulls and provisions hitherto granted by the Holy See. With this view, on Sunday last, an Augustinian friar [Dr. Geo. Brown] who has been appointed by the King general of all the Mendicent Orders in reward for having married the King and the Lady [Anne Boleyn], preached a very solemn sermon maintaining that the bishops and all others who did not burn all their bulls obtained from the Holy See, and get new ones from the King, deserved very severe punishment, and that without that they could not discharge any episcopal duty; that the sacred chrism of the bishops would be inefficacious, as made by men without authority, seeing that they obeyed the bishop or idol of Rome, who was a limb of the devil; and that to-morrow or after, it would be a question whether to rebaptise those baptised during that time. This language is so abominable that it is clear it must have been prompted by the King or by Cromwell, who makes the said monk his right-hand man in all things unlawful.

By the word "abominable" Chapuys evidently means heretical. He means that Browne knew enough theology not to be the author of such doctrines, and indeed not to believe in them himself. Browne could scarcely believe that the consecration of bishops without the King's sanction was invalid, and that ordinations of priests by such bishops were invalid. Nor indeed could he hold that baptisms performed by those priests would be invalid. Yet, in his sermon, he gives expression to these beliefs; but Chapuys shrewdly says that he believes he was prompted to them by either the King or Cromwell. By instilling these beliefs into the minds of the common people it was calculated that the Pope's authority would be undermined in no uncertain fashion, and thus the road would be cleared for the acceptance of the King as Supreme Head.

In other ways, too, continental Protestantism was obtaining a hold, and the Sacrament of the Altar [1] was becoming a subject of debate and doubt.

[1] "William Broman says that he has learned from the teaching of Dr. Barret, sometime a White Friar of Ipswich, about three or four years past [1531-2] that the Sacrament of the Altar is but a figure and remembrance of the Passion of Christ, and that the lifting up of the Host betokened only the sending down of the Son by the Father to suffer death for man; and the lifting up of the Chalice signified that the Father of Heaven sent down his Son to shed his

Browne and Hilsey seem to have been again employed by Cromwell to obtain recognition of the King's new title. In some notes of Cromwell (March, 1535), it is stated that the oath and form of profession of the bishops were to be delivered to the prior of Augustine Friars (Browne) and to the provincial of the Black Friars (Hilsey), so that they might have such oath and profession taken by all the Orders of Friars throughout the land.[1] Whether or when these visitors carried out such instructions does not appear. The visitations might have taken place between March and July. Meanwhile, Browne was with the Court at Richmond and employed as special preacher to the King. He was so busy that he was unable to go to see Cromwell over an important matter that had arisen in connection with the abbot of Meryvall and Mr. Turoylle (Tirylle). He wrote [2] to Cromwell (6 March) asking him to defer this matter until he is able to come in person and state his case. This will be, he says, immediately after he has preached before the King on the morrow. If he could, he would have come now and returned again to Court. But he tells Cromwell a few things about my lord of Meryvall. He says that when Cromwell's letters were delivered to that abbot, the latter declared that Cromwell was not his visitor, and that he would ask counsel of the fathers of his abbey. Browne concludes by saying that he has certain shameful accusations against the abbot.

Cromwell and Cranmer Discuss Doctrinal Matters.

Doctrinal matters were now being discussed by those at the head of affairs, and continental Protestants were being consulted by the English "reformers." As far back as July,

blood for man's salvation. That one Bale, a White Friar, sometime prior of Doncaster [afterwards Bishop of Ossory], taught him about four years ago that Christ would dwell in no church made of lime and stone by man's hands, but only in heaven above, and in man's heart in earth. That last Lent the parson of Hathfield taught the same doctrine, adding that no man ought to put trust in the Host when it was lifted up, but to remember and trust in the Passion of Christ. He had heard it reported by a dozen at least that the said parson preached that Our Lady was not Queen of Heaven, but the mother of Christ, and could do no more for us than another woman, likening her to a saffron bag. By his sermon he turned a hundred men's hearts to his opinion" (*L. and P. Hen. VIII*, 1535, vol. viii., no. 230).

[1] *Ib.*, no. 345. [2] *Ib.*, no. 351.

1534, these intrigues were taking place. Chapuys in a letter[1] to Charles V (15 July, 1534) says that—

the ambassadors of Lubeck and Hamburg had a conversation with Cranmer and Cromwell, and [he] was told that the chief subject of their conversation was about certain articles of the Lutheran sect, both relating to the Pope and other things, on which those here wished to consult the doctor of Lubeck and to consider the best means of enforcing them among the people. This is very probable, because the above-named persons are the most perfect Lutherans in the world. I will inquire about it all I can.

In a second letter[2] Chapuys remarks that—

the doctor of Hamburg, whom those of Lubeck promised to bring here, has come, and it is said that the King has sent for Melanchton and another.

In another letter of September,[3] Chapuys states that—

the ambassadors of Lubeck and Hamburg have returned, leaving here three doctors to decide the rest of the articles, already mentioned, and to discuss the whole at the coming Parliament. They are at present occupied in writing on the question of the [Blessed] Sacrament. God grant that they may conclude about it and about confession otherwise than the world expects.

Again, in March, 1535, Chapuys writes :—[4]

matters of Church and of the Faith get worse every day. On Sunday last one preached before the King, and said openly that the King would do well to assemble the doctors of his realm, and determine whether in the consecrated host was the real (?) body of God (*le preneulx* [precious] *corps de Dieu*), and whether there was a purgatory ; and for his part he would not say till the said assembly.

It would seem that the preacher mentioned by Chapuys was none other than Browne who, as has been seen, was engaged in preaching before the King in that very month of March. If this be so, it will help to explain Browne's attitude towards the Mass during his occupation of the See of Dublin. He seems to have been permeated with continental Protestantism since his return to England. On the other

[1] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, 15 July, 1534, no. 980.
[2] *Ib.*, 27 July. [3] *Ib.*, September. [4] *Ib.*, no. 355.

hand, it is scarcely necessary to remark that but a few years previously Henry had upheld the doctrine of Transubstantiation against Luther and received from the Pope the title "Defender of the Faith." And now he allows a preacher in his presence to cast a doubt upon the doctrine. But we shall see later how he put a stop to this Lutheran propaganda.

Meanwhile, Cranmer and Cromwell were attempting to carry out their scheme of greater "reform" than the King had a taste for. The following articles[1] drawn up for this purpose are found in the State Papers:—

How the false heresies which the bishop of Rome hath taught the people should be brought out of their conscience and hearts. 1. The archbishop of Canterbury should summon a council of bishops and doctors, and have them sign their decision on each of the articles contained in the "book of the charge." Which done, copies should be sent to each county with command to every sheriff, *custos rotulorum* and justice of the peace, to have them read at every session and great leet [court]. All parish churches should be visited, and the curates examined how they instruct the people. Let six or seven masters of the Chancery, "of the right sort, nothing favoring the Pope's laws, nor having living thereby," be appointed to judge questions of heresy. And let sermons in English be drawn up and appointed to be preached by the curates every Sunday.

Pamphlets against the doctrines of celibacy of the clergy, honoring of images and prayers for the dead to be printed before Parliament begins.

Bills to be drawn against the next Parliament:—

1. Allowing priests to marry and to work for their living.
2. Prohibiting on a penalty of £10 all offerings to images.

These were probably Cromwell's notes and showed his leaning towards Lutheranism. But he was never able to carry them into effect. Henry's "Six Articles" put a stop to these efforts.

Browne now began to occupy himself with other doctrinal matters besides the Supremacy of the Pope.

Browne's Sermons on Purgatory.

He was back in London in the month of July (1535) and was appointed by Cromwell to preach in the Cathedral. The

[1] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vol. vii., no. 1043.

Bishop of London, John Stokesley, hearing of this, sent the following letter [1] to Cromwell on 17 July :—

Because I had perfect knowledge four days ago that this provincial of the Friars [Geo. Browne] was appointed to preach and rail this Sunday, not only in reproach of me and my order, but also to maintain his indiscreet fashion of remembrance of the souls departed, I appointed Mr. Symons to preach, and sent for the Friar, requiring him to conform himself in praying for the souls departed as Mr. Latamer, Croome, and others did, or else to forbear this day. He made no answer. I beg, therefore, that Mr. Symons may preach, and when I am departed I shall suffer the Friar to rail at the Cross at his pleasure. He will set forth more fervently some pernicious doctrine unless he do all things very weakly; for he has neither authority nor argument in these matters. If he preach to-morrow it will be with such contumely to me (such is his rashness) that I shall think all my services in this matter little regarded if in my presence he be maintained to excite sedition against me in my own church. Let him take his pleasure at home, and give public warning. If, after my departure, he contaminate my church, it shall less offend me.

My chaplain has just showed me that your pleasure was for an order "which, though I suspect that he shall utter this prior's ware," yet, for your sake, I am content to suffer him this Sunday; but do not be displeased with me if his sermon be hereafter replied unto if he speak intolerably, as I hope, being by you beforehand, he will not.

It would appear from this that Browne had set out on a new crusade, namely, against the doctrine of Purgatory, in conformity with the articles of "reform" drawn up by Cromwell, and that he was far in advance of the other "reformers" who offered prayers for the dead in the old Catholic manner. It is clear that he had been preaching his own doctrine in other churches, probably, in Austin Friars, and that the Bishop, having heard about it, was much displeased. And it was too much for the latter when Browne was appointed to preach this doctrine in the Bishop's own cathedral. Stokesley made a dignified attempt to prevent this, but against such a man as Cromwell it was useless. Nevertheless, he warns Cromwell that he will not let the sermon go without replying

[1] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vol. vii., no. 1054.

to it. His poor opinion of Browne's theological learning is quite illuminating. He had evidently heard all the arguments put forward by the friar and thought them of no weight or authority. One thing apparent from all this is that Browne stood in high favour with the Vice-gerent Cromwell. That he was preaching to order is sufficiently clear, and Chapuys[1] easily guessed the source of his inspiration. Cromwell had been questioning the bishops one after another to see how much ecclesiastical authority they would concede to the head of the State, and at a special Council required their opinion whether the King could not by his own authority make and unmake bishops.[2] Of course if any of them had said No, the validity of his denial would immediately have been brought to the test; so as to preserve their dignities they all replied in the affirmative. Cromwell himself confessed privately that that Council had been summoned only to entrap the bishops.[3] The Machiavellian policy of Cromwell is everywhere apparent.

Browne's sermons seem to have been the crown of all his efforts in pushing on the "reform" outlined by Cranmer and Cromwell. Browne was the energetic, unscrupulous instrument that Cromwell required for his schemes. The Archbishopric of Dublin was now vacant, and as, so far, the "reform" had had no promoter in Ireland, Browne was considered the one man who would be capable of pushing it on, and bringing that intractable land into line with England.

Browne Appointed Archbishop of Dublin.

Through the influence of Cromwell and Lord Rochford, Anne Boleyn's brother, Browne was chosen by the King to be Archbishop of Dublin. The See had been allowed by the King to remain vacant for nineteen months, during which time he took the profits of the temporalities. The *Congé d'élire* was granted at Eltham on 28 December, 1535, to the "Dean and chapter of the metropolitan church of Dublin," but was not issued from Westminster until 11 January of the following year. Though the election was nominally free,

[1] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, 1535. Letter *re* Browne's Sermons.
[2] *Ib.*, Intr., vol. ix., p. 25. [3] *Ib.*, no. 121.

the King's recommendation of Browne settled the matter, and the Chapters of St. Patrick's and Christ Church unanimously elected him. The royal sanction was granted on the 4 March, 1536, and on the 13th, the order was given for his consecration. On Sunday the 19th, Browne was consecrated in the chapel of Lambeth by Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, Nicholas Shaxton, Bishop of Salisbury, and John Hilsey, Bishop of Rochester.[1] The same day he was invested by the same prelates with the pallium and in accordance with an Act then lately passed, and the certificate of his confirmation and consecration was issued. In all this, of course, there was no reference to Rome, as Henry had already constituted himself Head of the Church. But the conferring of the pallium, the symbol of the bond of union between an archbishop and the See of Peter, was certainly singular.

Browne, having taken the usual oath of fealty to the King, had the temporalities of his See restored to him on 23 March. A writ was sent to the Lord Chancellor of Ireland commanding him to issue a mandate accordingly to the several escheators of the counties of Dublin, Meath, and Louth where the temporalities lay. On the same day another writ was issued to the escheator of the county of Stafford to restore to him the temporalities of the archbishopric within the escheator's bailiwick, namely, the revenues of Penkridge Chapel of which the archbishops of Dublin were deans.[2]

Parliament at Dublin; Acts for the "King's Advantage and the Common Weal."

Meanwhile, the Council of Ireland had thought it full time that this country should fall into line with England in the matter of "reform." On 16 June, 1535, Lord-Deputy Skeffington and Council wrote to the King informing him that they were sending over John Alen, Master of the Rolls, and Gerald Aylmer, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, with Acts for an Irish Parliament. These articles were declared to be "for the King's advantage and for the common weal of

[1] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vol. x.; Rymer, *Fœdera*, xiv. 560; Harris, *Ware's Bishops*, 348.

[2] Rymer, xiv. 561; *Pat.* 27 *Hen. VIII*, m. 1.

the land and reformation."[1] It was felt that Parliament alone could bring about their acceptance.

A few months afterwards (10 Oct.), Cromwell sent to Alen a commission to hold a Parliament and pass an Act acknowledging the King as head of the Church.[2] A similar commission was sent to Lionel Gray from the King appointing him Lord-Deputy and commanding him to hold a Parliament. This commission was brought by Thomas Alen, brother of the Master of the Rolls.[3] As the new Lord-Deputy was then engaged in suppressing the remains of the Geraldine revolt, nothing was done to open Parliament. But the transactions of a recent Parliament at Westminster informed the "Irish subjects" what Acts would be most acceptable to the King. These were afterwards made the model of the ordinances of the Irish Parliament.

The commission received by John Alen for the holding of the Parliament is contained in the following receipt :—

This Bill indented, made the tenth day of October, in the 27th year [1535] of the reign of our Sovereign Lord King Henry VIII[th] witnesseth that I, John Alen, Master of the Rolls in Ireland, have received of the right honourable Mr. Thomas Cromwell, Principal Secretary to our said Sovereign Lord, two patents, one of creation for Thomas Eustace, another like to Sir Richard Power, of Barons of Parliament in Ireland : a commission for holding of a Parliament within the same land, with certain schedules thereunto annexed, of causes and considerations of Acts to be passed in the said Parliament ; that is to say, an article for the attainder of the Earl of Kildare and others ; for the First Fruits ; for the granting of the subsidy ; to make the King Supreme Head of the Church

[1] *Cal. S.P.I., Hen. VIII*, p. 13. The word "reformation" was used in the material sense. With regard to the common weal of the land, Cox says : "He [Alen] was instructed to inform the king about the decay of the land, and that neither the English order, tongue, or habit, nor the king's laws are used above 20 miles in compass. That this decay was occasioned, among other things, by the taking of coyn and livery without order ; that they want English inhabitants who formerly had arms and servants to defend the country ; but of late, the English proprietors had taken Irish tenants who can live without bread or good victuals, and expelled the English. The country is all Irish, without order, security, or hospitality. The making of a native chief governor [Earl of Kildare], and the frequent change of lord-deputy, are great faults. The greatest grievance is the alienation of crown lands, so that the king's revenue is not sufficient to defend the realm" (*Hib. Angl.*, i. 225).

[2] *Cal. S.P.I., Hen. VIII*, p. 15. [3] *State Papers, Hen. VIII*, ii. 306.

there; for the King's succession: the act for declaration of Treasons: another for taking away tributes, censes, dispensations, and all other jurisdictions from the Bishop of Rome; for pursuing of appeals into England, and not to the Bishop of Rome; a Resumption of certain possessions to the King: a Repeal of Poyning's Act,[1] etc.

It will be seen that these acts differ somewhat from those afterwards drawn up and reported to Cromwell by Brabazon.[2]

Parliament was opened at Dublin on Monday, 1 May, 1536, and on the following Sunday (7 May) Gray informed Cromwell by letter[3] "that the Parliament began here the last Monday, and such matters as yet hath been preferred for our Sovereign Lord the King goeth forward without any stop, and I doubt not but all the rest concerning His Grace shall have like expedition. Howbeit, according your mind to me, there be divers things deferred, waiting the coming of the Chief Justice and Master of the Rolls."

About a fortnight after its opening the Acts to be passed were finally drawn up and communicated by Brabazon to Cromwell (17 May, 1536) in the following letter:—[4]

Pleaseth it your honourable mastership to be advertised that these acts subsequent be passed the Common House: the act of attainder; the act of the King's succession; the act of the first fruits; the act of the Supreme Head; the act of slander; the act of appeals; an act of the lands of the Duke of Norfolk, my lord of Wiltshire, my lord of Shrewsbury, and other, with the possessions, as well of the spiritualities as the temporalities of such religious houses in England, as had any possessions, tithes, or other hereditaments here; the repealing of Poyning's Act; an act for the Earl of Ossory. The proctors of the spiritualities somewhat do stick, in divers of these acts; and loth they are that the King's grace should be Supreme Head of the Church. Divers of these acts are passed the Higher House, and lack nothing but the Royal Assent, which hath been deferred, because of the coming of the Master of the Rolls and the Chief Justice; but their abode [delay] is so long that my Lord [Gray] now intendeth that the Royal Assent shall pass. The Common House is marvellous good for the King's causes, and all the learned men within the same be very good; so that I think all causes concerning the King's Grace

[1] *S.P. Hen. VIII*, ii. 320, note. [2] See below. [3] *Loc. cit.*
[4] *Ib.*, p. 315. *Athen. Oxon.*, ii. 759.

will take good effect. In brief time your honourable mastership shall be certified of all such causes as here do pass.

And Gray in a letter [1] to Cromwell (21 May, 1536) states that—

The proceedings of the Parliament goeth forward in such wise as our said Sovereign Lord's pleasure is, so that divers acts be passed to the Royal Assent, and the same were stayed, waiting the coming of the Chief Justice, and Master of the Rolls; and by reason of their long tarrying it is thought good by me and the Council here that they shall pass.

Aylmer and Alen arrived in Dublin just a few days before Parliament was adjourned,[2] with the King's letters empowering Gray to give the royal assent to those Acts already passed. Parliament adjourned on the last day of May; "want of money prevents them [the Council] from repelling John of Desmond and O'Brien, and obliges them to adjourn the Parliament to Kilkenny." [3]

The Lord-Deputy and Council of Ireland in a letter [4] to Cromwell (1 June, 1536) state that they have adjourned the Parliament to Kilkenny against the 25 July, and thence to pass with the Army and all the strength of these quarters to the city of Limerick to proceed against Desmond, O'Brien, and others. They then mention that the following Acts, amongst others, had been passed in the Parliament: Act of Succession; Act of Declaration of Treasons; Act of Attainder of Earl of Kildare and others; Act of Supreme Head; Repeal of Poyning's Act; Act of the First Fruits; Act of Appeals; Act of Subsidy; Act for the resumption of Leislepe.

(Signed) Leonard Gray; John Barnewall (Chancellor); John Rawson, prior of Kilmainham; William Brabazon; Gerald Aylmer, Justice; John Alen, Master of the Rolls; Thomas Lutterell, Justice; Patrick Fynglas, Baron; Thomas Houth, Justice.

[1] *S.P. Hen. VIII*, ii. 318.

[2] Alen in a letter to Cromwell (20 May) tells him that he has arrived at Chester. He evidently arrived in Dublin during the following week, as on 29 May Gray, in a letter to the King, acknowledges receipt of the royal letters through the Chief Justice and the Master of the Rolls (*Cal. S.P.I., Hen. VIII*, p. 18).

[3] *Ib.*, p. 19.

[4] *S.P. Hen. VIII*, ii. 319-20

In these accounts it is useful to observe that the Parliament, in its first session, passed the Act of the King's Supremacy, but, it must be remembered, not without great opposition on the part of the spiritual lords and their proctors. Their opposition was not confined to this Act but extended to "divers of these Acts." Now, the only other Acts that they presumably objected to were the "Act of Appeals" to the Pope, and the "Act of the First Fruits." In the list of Acts drawn up as passed both Houses, these are included. It is not so clear that the Act of First Fruits was passed at this session. The *Annats*, as they were called, were usually paid to the Pope, and were the revenues for the first year coming to prelates, prebendaries, etc. Though appeals to the Pope had been abolished, it is not so clear that the Spiritual Lords deprived the Pope of these *Annats* which were an acknowledgment of his spiritual jurisdiction. Whatever they may have thought of the King as the Head of the Church in Ireland, for the control of ecclesiastical affairs, it is unfair to infer at this stage that they were cutting themselves off altogether from Rome. As to the First Fruits, the King in his instructions to the Commissioners (31 July, 1537) states that he wishes, among other Acts, "an Act for the payment of First Fruits" to be passed. And Cromwell wrote, on the same day, to the Sheriff of Wexford informing him that such an Act should be passed.[1] Thus, more than a year after the Parliament of May, 1536, the Act of First Fruits had evidently not been passed.[2]

Acts of Succession and Absentees.

Having drawn up an Act of Attainder [3] against the late Earl of Kildare, and the associates of his rebellious son, Parliament proceeded to adjust the right of succession to the Crown of England, and lordship of Ireland. They pronounced the

[1] *S.P. Hen. VIII*, ii. 452.

[2] Loftus MSS. (Marsh's Library) *ad an.* 1534, state: "Many first fruits were granted to the King by the clergy of Ireland."

[3] *Ir. Stat.* 28 *Hen. VIII*, c. 1. In this Act it is stated that "Thomas FitzGerald did send his letters addressed as well to the bishop of Rome, as the emperor, by one Cale mac Grauyll, otherwise called Charles Raynolde, archdeacon of Kelles, for to have their aid against our said sovereign lord and his heirs for the winning of the said land of Ireland out of their possession and he to hold the same of them for ever."

marriage of the King with Catherine of Arragon to be null and void, and the sentence of separation by the Archbishop of Canterbury to be good and effectual. They declared the inheritance of the Crown to be in the King and his heirs by Queen Anne; pronounced it high treason to oppose this succession, misprision of treason to slander it; and drew up an oath of allegiance to be taken by the subjects of Ireland for the sure establishment of it.[1]

A few days after Parliament had been adjourned to Kilkenny, Cromwell, in a letter (3 June, 1536) to Lord-Deputy and Council, acknowledges receipt of Brabazon's letter which set forth the Acts passed in Parliament, and adds that "in case the Act for the Succession be not passed thoroughly, ye shall stay the same till further knowledge of his Grace's pleasure, which shall be shortly signified unto you in that behalf," etc.

Brabazon had written on 17 May to Cromwell telling him of the passing of this Act. This was only two days before Anne Boleyn's execution. Before the letter reached London Jane Seymour had already been Queen a full fortnight, and Cromwell's concern was, if possible, to stop the passing of an Act which would have to be repeated so soon. It was too late to do this, but the Irish Parliament made no difficulty about enacting the same stringent rule of succession for the third as they had done for the second wife. They thus achieved the unique distinction of passing two contradictory Acts of Settlement within eighteen months. This remarkable performance does not adorn the Statute Book, because that compilation was made when Elizabeth, Anne's daughter, was firmly seated on the throne.[2]

A very easy and effective means of providing for the "King's advantage" was adopted in the Act of Absentees [3] which vested in the King the honours and estates of the following who held lands in Ireland: the abbot of Furness, the abbot of St. Augustine's of Bristol, the prior of Christ Church, Canterbury; the prior of Lanthony, the prior of Cartinel, the

[1] *Loc. cit.*, c. 2.

[2] See Bagwell, *Ireland under the Tudors*, i. 196. The contemporary Schedue of the Acts is in *S.P.* ii. 526.

[3] *Ir. Stat.*, c. 3.

abbot of Kentesham, the abbot of Osney, the abbot of Bath, and the master of St. Thomas of Dacres, besides the Duke of Norfolk and other absentee landlords.

The weakening of the English power in Ireland by the non-residence of great proprietors had long been recognised. Edward III, on the occasion of his son Lionel's mission, announced by proclamation that the lands of absentees would be granted to Englishmen willing and able to defend them against the Irish. The momentous Act now passed declared that many great proprietors had notoriously failed to defend their lands, whereby the King was forced to incur great expense in bringing an army to Ireland. All their property was resumed to the Crown, saving the rights of residents in Ireland, who held under the dispossessed lords. The Crown thus became one of the greatest of Irish landlords, and the foundations of a reconquest were laid.

Repeal of Poyning's Act.

By a Statute (10 Henry VII, chap. 4) commonly called Poyning's Act, it had been ordained "that no Parliament should thenceforth be holden in Ireland, till the King's lieutenant and council should first have certified to the King, under the great seal of the land, the causes and considerations, and all such Acts as them seemed should pass in the Parliament; and should have received the King's affirmation of their goodness and expediency, and his licence to summon the Parliament under the great seal of England." But soon after the opening of the present Parliament, Poyning's Act was declared to be repealed by the assent of the King; and it was

> enacted that this Parliament, and all its acts and ordinances should be valid, provided they should be thought expedient for the King's honour, the increase of his revenue, and the common weal of Ireland.[1]

In chapter 20 of the Irish Statutes of 28 Henry VIII, attention was paid to the doubt occasioned by the copulative *and* in the last clause of the provision (chap. 4). The provision in that Statute is, therefore, to be taken, that every

[1] *Ir. Stat.* 28 *Hen. VIII*, c. 4.

Act of this Parliament concerning either the King's honour and profit, or increase of his revenues, or otherwise concerning the commonwealth, shall be good in law, according to the tenor of that Statute. It is a felony to attempt to avoid this Parliament, or such provisions thereof as aforesaid, after notice of this Act given by the judge where a suit for that purpose commenced, and such suit, etc., void.

The repeal of Poyning's law was passed, therefore, to validate the proceedings of this Parliament, though it had been held contrary to that law. But the spirit, if not the letter of that famous measure, had been observed by preparing the Bills in England. Indeed, the Parliament was absolutely subservient. "The Common House," wrote Brabazon, "is marvellous good for the King's causes, and all the learned men within the same be very good; so that I think all causes concerning the King's grace will take good effect." [1]

Act Authorising the King to be Supreme Head of the Church in Ireland.

An Act [2] was next passed authorising the King, his heirs and successors to be Supreme Head of the Church in Ireland:—

Like as the King's Majesty justly and rightfully is and ought to be supreme head of the Church of England, and so is recognised by the clergy, and authorised by an act of Parliament made and established in the said realm: so in like manner of wise, forasmuch as this land of Ireland is depending and belonging justly and rightfully to the imperial crown of England, for increase of virtue in Christ's religion within the said land of Ireland, and to repress and extirp all errors, heresies, and other enormities and abuses, heretofore used in the same; be it enacted by authority of this present Parliament, That the King our sovereign lord, his heirs and successors, Kings of the said realm of England, and lords of this said land of Ireland, shall be accepted, taken, and reputed the only supreme head in earth of the whole church of Ireland, called (*Hibernica Ecclesia*) and shall have and enjoy, annexed and united to the imperial crown of England, as well the title and stile thereof, as all honours, dignities, preeminences, jurisdictions, privileges, authorities, immunities, profits, and commodities to

[1] Brabazon to Cromwell, 17 May, 1536. [2] *Ir. Stat. Hen. VIII*, c. 5.

the said dignity of supreme head of the same church belonging and appertaining, and that our said sovereign lord, his heirs and successors, Kings of the said realm of England, and lords of this land of Ireland, shall have full power and authority from time to time to visit, repress, redress, reform, order, correct, restrain and amend all such errors, heresies, abuses, offences, contempts and enormities, whatsoever they be, which by any manner, spiritual authority, or jurisdiction, ought or may lawfully be reformed, restrained, [etc.] or amended, most to the pleasure of Almighty God, the increase of virtue in Christ's religion, and for the conservation of peace, unity, and tranquillity of this land of Ireland; any usage, custom, foreign laws, foreign authority, prescription, or any other thing or things to the contrary notwithstanding.

Provided alway, and be it enacted by the authority of this present Parliament, That if it fortune our sovereign lord the King, his heirs or successors, to authorise and depute any person or persons to visit, repress etc. by force of the present and foresaid act, that then any such person or persons shall go with such company, as shall be convenient and necessary for the same; and that according the ability, substance, and power of the person, house, or monastery, which they shall so fortune to visit, repress etc.; and that no such person or persons so appointed or authorised to visit, repress etc., shall take or cause to be taken any process money, or other exactions of any such person, house, or monastery, which they shall so fortune to visit, repress etc., but only convenient meat, drink, and lodging for themselves, their company, servants, and horses; and if any such person or persons, so appointed and authorised as aforesaid, do take or cause to be taken, any process money or any other exactions (other than is aforesaid) that every of them so offending shall forfeit four times the value of that that he receiveth or cause to be received, the one half thereof to our sovereign lord the King, his heirs and successors, and the other half to any person or persons that will sue for the same by action of debt, information, or otherwise, wherein no wager of law, essoine, nor protection shall lie.

An Act of Appeals.

An Act of Appeals[1] was introduced for the purpose of taking away all appeals to Rome in spiritual causes, and referring all such appeals to the Crown. It enacted:—

[1] *Ir. Stat. Hen. VIII*, c. 6.

Where divers good and wholesome laws and statutes be made and established within the realm of England for the annulling and utter taking away of appeals in cases spiritual from the bishop of Rome and See Apostolic, and such other as claim by authority of the same, not only for great speed of justice to the King's subjects of the said realm, but also in taking away the long delays, costs, charges, and expenses that the said subjects sustained by reason of such appeals;[1] and forasmuch as this land of Ireland is the King's proper dominion of England, and united, knit, and belonging to the imperial crown of the same realm, which crown of itself, and by itself, is fully, wholly, entirely, and rightfully endowed, and garnished with all power, authority and preeminence, sufficient to yield and render to all and singular subjects of the same full and plenary remedies in all causes of strife, debate, contention, or division, without any suit, provocation, appeal or any other process to be had, made, or sued to any foreign prince or potentate spiritual or temporal: be it therefore, and for the common weal of the subjects of this land, ordained, and enacted by authority of this present Parliament, That no person or persons, subjects or residents of this land, shall from the first day of this present Parliament pursue, commence, use or execute any manner of provocations, appeals, or other process, to or from the bishop of Rome, or from the See of Rome, or to or from any other that claim authority by reason of the same, for any manner of case, grief, or cause, of what nature soever it be, upon the pain that the offenders, their aiders, counsellors, and abettors, contrary to this act, shall incur and run into such pains, forfeitures, and penalties, as be specified and contained in the act of provision and premunire, made in the realm of England in the 16th year of King Richard II,[2] sometime King

[1] We have already seen Alen's observation as to Wolsey's charges for dispensations compared to the expenses in receiving them from Rome (see *Introd.*).

[2] *An Act against Provisors to Rome*: "Praying the commons assembled in this present Parliament, that where before this time there hath been, and yet be within the said land of Ireland, many debates and strifes betwixt the prelates and other of the church of Ireland, by reason of divers provisors suing by false and untrue suggestions made unto the court of Rome, for to deprive and put out of possession the said prelates and other beneficers from their livelihood and benefices, and by colour and cause whereof many of the King's true subjects, prelates and beneficers in that land, wrongfully by strength and might be put out of their livelihood, and such persons provisors be put in their places, contrary to the statutes of provision in that behalf ordained, and contrary to reason, right, and good conscience; Wherefore be it ordained, enacted, and established by the authority of this present Parliament, That all manner of statutes, as well made within the realm of England, as within the said land of Ireland, against provisors, by the authority of this present Parliament, be authorised,

of England and lord of Ireland, against such as procure to the court of Rome or elsewhere to the derogation or contrary to the prerogative or jurisdiction of the said crown of England. And that no manner of person, subject or resident within this said land, shall attempt, procure, or obtain any manner of process, of what kind or nature soever it be, to or from the same bishop of Rome, or court of Rome, or See Apostolic, or from any other having authority by the same, nor in any wise obey or execute within this land such manner of process, upon like pains or forfeits as been above rehearsed.

It was further enacted that all such appeals in future shall be made

To the King of England and lord of Ireland, his heirs and successors, or to his or their lieutenant, deputy, justice, or other governor, whatsoever he be, of this land of Ireland for the time being, to his or their court of chancery within the said realm of England or land of Ireland . . . [who] shall grant a commission or delegacy to some discreet and well learned persons of this land of Ireland, or else in the realm of England, for final determination of all causes and griefs contained in the said provocations and appeals etc. And upon every such provocation, appeal [to aforesaid], the chancellor of this said land of Ireland, or keeper of the great seal of the same for the time being, by the assent of the chief justices of the king's bench and common place, the master of the rolls, and the undertreasurer of the said land for the time being, or to any two of them, so as the undertreasurer be one, shall grant a commission or delegacy to some discreet and well learned persons within this land of Ireland, for final determination of all causes and griefs contained in the said provocation etc.

In reference to these Acts, Robert Cowley, in a letter [1] to Cromwell (August, 1536), says :—

approved, and confirmed, and be deemed good and effectual in the law; and also by authority aforesaid, That all and every of the statutes, made against provisors, be from henceforth duly and straightly executed in all points within the said land, according to the effect of the same. And the King's justices, and commissioners of the said land diligently enquire at their sessions, and all other times requisite and behoveful, of all and every manner of person or persons that hereafter offend the said statutes, or any of them, and every of the said persons so founden defective or trespassing in any of the said statutes, from henceforth be duly corrected and punished, in example of all other in time to come, according to the tenure and purport of the said statute" (*Rot. Parl.*, c. 10, *Ir. Stat.*, i. 45, 1495).

[1] *S.P. Hen. VIII, Ir.*, i. 366.

that your good Lordship would vouchsafe either to substitute under your Lordship some able person in Ireland to exercise your Lordship's high authority and faculties, or some part thereof, in Ireland; or else to assign a certain person or persons in this realm to whom the suitors of Ireland might resort for expedition of their impetrations, whereof might grow a profit and a means to stop all marchers [borderers] and Irishmen from recourse to the Bishop of Rome. Item, that the King's deputy and council may have injunctions principally to prosecute all provisors going to Rome and papists with extreme punishment with all their authors and factors.

So as, in conclusion, they condescended that when the bills were passed the Common House the Speaker should deliver them to the Convocation House; but whether they agreed or not agreed they would nevertheless proceed to . . . whereunto we condescended the rather that . . . for the assurance to the King of the lands and p[ossessions that] lately appertained to the eight abbeys expressed in [the commission][1] under the Great Seal of England[2] which by v[irtue thereof] according the King's pleasure we have lately supp[ressed].

The bill of the 20th part of the spirituality (whereunto at th[eir] session they assented) and divers others, being passed the Common House, and presented by the Speaker according the said determination, in the end the Spiritual Lords in the High House, conspiring together, denied to assent to any of the same, making r[esolute] answer, first to the Chancellor and after to us in . . . Parliament that they would not agree to the passing of [the said] Act.

There is no mention in the letter of the Council to Cromwell (1 June, 1536) that any Act for suppression of religious houses had been passed. This Act, as well as that of the 20th part of spiritualities, and the First Fruits, was evidently held up by the spiritual lords and proctors until a later session when the proctors of the bishops had been deprived of their vote. The Act for the 20th was not passed until about Easter, 1537. Likewise the Act of Faculties was not passed until the Act against the proctors had passed. It would seem that the commission, mentioned by Cowley, and brought by

[1] This portion of the letter is much mutilated.

[2] No minute or copy of this commission for the suppression of the eight religious houses having been found, search has been made for it on the Patent Rolls of 27, 28, and 29 Hen. VIII, but without success.

Alen and Aylmer, for the suppression of eight houses, was not presented to Parliament, for fear of arousing too much opposition. It was thought more discreet quietly to suppress them in virtue of that commission and of the King's jurisdiction under the Supremacy Act. This was carried out, according to Cowley. It was an experiment with a view to further suppressions.

Browne about to Set Out for Dublin.

Whilst Parliament was being held at Dublin, Browne was still in London getting his horses and retinue ready for his journey to his See. In that month (May, 1536) he wrote a letter to Cromwell which contains many points of great importance. This letter [1] reads as follows :—

To the right honourable Mr. Thomas Crumwell, High Secretary unto the King's Highness.

Right honourable sir, I desire you of your goodness as I have been always singularly bound unto you, so now at this chiefest point of all to stand by me and aid me in these extremes [extremities]. I have of long season (as your Mastership) knoweth full well made daily suit unto you as concerning my departure unto the promotion that it hath pleased the King's Highness of his most abundant grace to grant and give unto me (at your Mastership's instant labour) in the parts of Ireland the which I cannot attain without your Mastership. Be good unto me now as I have always found your immortal benefits in times past, partly for the consuete [usual] charges that I was at, even of duty paid by custom of all that entereth unto any such room [i.e. the archbishopric]. And since that of no small expenses diversely laid out, both for necessaries concerning mine own person, and also my servants' weekly board wages, besides the both costly price and also the chargeable finding of so many horses as I intend (God willing) and as very congruence [congruity] shall require to have with me. I have besides this to commune with your Mastership as concerning a certain matter betwixt my Lord of Rochford and me. Sir, I hear how that Mr. Agar and other of that party be despatched with favour; wherefore I beseech your Mastership for God's love to tender the cause [acquaint him] how and in

[1] *S.P. Hen. VIII*, vol. iii., no. 31, P.R.O., London. We have modernised the spelling in this as in other letters.

what case I stand in. It had been better for me never to have been named [promoted] than thus utterly to be shamed. I and all mine be at your Mastership's commandment and pleasure.

Your poor orator and bedman,[1]

GEORGE BROWNE.

It seems strange that Browne signs himself simply "George Browne" and not "George, Dublin" as he was entitled to do, being already consecrated for that See. The letter explains this point. It was a friendly letter, a begging letter, if we like to call it. Browne had for a considerable time been calling daily on Cromwell to consult him about his expenses for his journey and how he was to meet them. Evidently, Cromwell was too busy or did not wish to be troubled about such trifles. Almost in despair, Browne, still in London, sent this letter, probably, by hand, by one of his servants, and he did not wish to assume any dignity in such a plight and especially towards his benefactor.

As to the date of the letter, it must be said that it is not given in the original. That is also explained by what we have already said as to the sending of the letter by one of Browne's servants. In the State Papers it is given as belonging to May, 1536. That seems reasonable, first because of the position it occupies in the collection, and secondly because it must come about midway between March (month of his consecration) and July (month of his arrival in Dublin). Moreover, it is confirmed by Browne's own words: "I have of long season daily made suit unto you," probably, for a month or more.

We have no reason to believe that Browne had amassed any considerable wealth during his tenure of office in England as visitor-general. And, no doubt, to gather together a retinue of servants and horses, paying not only for the horses and their equipment but for the buying of them, was a costly business for him. The wages of these men, their board and lodging, the upkeep of the horses during the journey from London to Holyhead, all these must have amounted to a large

[1] *Orator*, i.e. *petitioner* (Latin, *Oro*, I pray). *Bĕdman*, i.e. supplicant, one who prays (Anglo-Saxon, *biddan*, to pray. Ex. gr. to bid one's beads.) A curious mixture of Latin and Anglo-Saxon!

sum. Browne pleads his inability to pay. Besides he has to pay the usual fine to the King on entering into the Archbishopric, and, probably, a bonus to Cromwell also. Cromwell had undoubtedly been a constant friend of Browne, and presumably on this occasion he befriended the new Archbishop whom he had had appointed to the office.

The matter "betwixt my Lord of Rochford and me" is of special interest. Rochford was brother to Anne Boleyn whom Browne had worked hard to have recognised as lawful wife of Henry. Browne had made a compact with Rochford for the sum of £250 on condition that the latter used his influence with Henry through Anne to obtain Browne's promotion to the Archbishopric. What exactly Browne wished to mention to Cromwell about this deed does not appear, but it was probably in reference to Rochford's fall from power along with his sister. Evidently Browne expected to escape payment of the debt under the circumstances. We shall see later how this matter worked out.

But more interesting from the general historical standpoint is the complaint made by Browne in the last portion of his letter. The complaint was to the effect that Agard and another, Cromwell's servants, were being sent over to Ireland. No one knew better than Browne the Cromwellian system, and he thus saw these men as spies, which they undoubtedly were.[1] But, if they were to spy on his actions from the very moment when he was taking on his shoulders the burden of the Archbishopric of Dublin, then indeed, he declares, it were better for him never to have been appointed to such a position than thus to be made little of. But this was not all. Body, another of Cromwell's servants and spies, was even sent by his master to accompany Browne to Dublin. In a letter (1 July) to Cromwell,[2] Body tells how he hired a good ship at Westchester which was to be ready at Holyhead for the first

[1] "Thomas Cromwell," says Fletcher (*op. cit.*, p. 26), "in addition to being the most unscrupulous statesman that England has ever known, was also a perfect master of the spy system. No man was safe under the Cromwell régime. 'Early in 1532,' says Mr. Merriman, 'Cromwell began to create a system of espionage, the most effective that England had ever seen, that in a short time was to render unsafe the most guarded expression of dissent in politics or religion. The success which this organized method of reporting treason later obtained, is one of the most striking proofs of the relentless energy of its originator.'"

[2] *Cal. S.P. Ir.*, p. 21.

wind. And Browne, in a letter to the same (19 July)[1] tells how he arrived in Dublin with Mr. Body on Saturday, 15 July. There was other work for Body to do besides spying. He received instructions from Cromwell to induce the Lord-Deputy and Council to use every effort to increase the King's revenues in Ireland. We shall see the means adopted by Gray in Parliament to satisfy the wants of the penniless King.

Meanwhile Cromwell had not forgotten the begging appeal of Browne, and conferred a favour on him by having restored to him the temporalities of the diocese from Michaelmas, 1535. In a letter[2] to the Lord-Deputy and Council of Ireland (3 June, 1536), Cromwell, having thanked them for passing the Acts in Parliament, proceeds :—

> Ye shall also understand that, for as much as the King's Majesty hath given unto the Archbishop of Dublin the whole revenue due of his Archbishopric since Michaelmas last passed, his pleasure is that you, Master Brabazon, shall either deliver the same to the said Body or else, in case it be employed in the King's affairs there,[3] signify the certain sum thereof, to the intent it may be deducted of such [sum as] shall shortly be sent thither. For ye shall understand that his charges here [hath been] great, by reason whereof he is much [endebted], and must discharge the same of the [revenue] said bishopric unto him. For whom, in the meantime [I] have undertaken with all his creditors, and therefore desire and pray you to take such order, as he may, either from thence, or [otherwise] by your limitation, receive his duty accordingly.

From this it would seem that Cromwell had gone security for Browne for all the debts he had incurred in fitting out his retinue for their journey to Dublin, and that the Archbishop was to pay these debts through Brabazon out of his temporalities.

Meanwhile Browne endeavoured to keep in the good

[1] *Loc. cit.* [2] *S.P. Hen. VIII*, i. 330.

[3] Brabazon was the King's undertreasurer. In his account for the archbishopric from Alen's death until Michaelmas, 1535 (about one year), he gives the receipts as £623 5s. 8d. Browne was thus granted the temporalities of nine months (i.e. from Michaelmas, 1535, to June, 1536), or roughly about three-fourths of this sum. As to the money having been employed in the King's affairs, it is interesting to mention that Body stated that the Geraldine rebellion cost the King above £40,000 sterling.

graces of Body and Agard, shamed though he was at Cromwell's want of trust in him. Indeed, as this history proceeds it will be seen that neither his so-called friends of the "reform" nor his enemies had the least respect for him. Within four days of his arrival in Dublin, Browne collated Body to the richest benefice in his diocese, that of Swords. Lord-Deputy Gray was furious over this promotion of a layman, and declared in a letter to Cromwell (24 Nov., 1536) [1] that Browne had no right to do so and that he did it simply to win over Body. Gray likewise tells how he brought Body with him to the journey of Munster and the assault of O'Brien's Bridge and entertained him "as if he had been a great man." Body, with the insolence of a great man's favourite, had throughout this expedition assumed the character of a Royal Commissioner, to which he had not the shadow of title. He blamed Gray for his methods of attack and afterwards sought to undermine his influence. Such was the agent and spy sent over by Cromwell to report on Irish affairs, a low drunkard, "full unmeet both in experience and temperance, being once a day, commonly, in that case that I was sorry to see it," namely, drunk. No wonder Gray held himself aloof, as much as possible, from the "religious reform" which men like Browne, Alen, and Brabazon, aided by Cromwell's spies, Body and Agard, were endeavouring to push forward. We shall see the development of these characters as we proceed.

Though Browne arrived in Dublin in July, it was not until December that he thought well to preach in his cathedral. There is nothing to indicate the reason of his reluctance or remissness. It may be that he did not find the people or his clergy anxious to hear the doctrine of the King's Supremacy preached. Parliament had removed from Dublin to the South and, in the absence of the Council, and the consequent revulsion of feeling against many of the Acts introduced, he may have considered it rather venturesome to take any determined step. But Parliament had returned to Dublin on 15 September, and progress was being made in making the Acts more acceptable. All this evidently had its effect

[1] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xi., no. 1157.

on Browne, and he preached his first sermon early in December. Martin Pelles tells us about it in a letter [1] to Cromwell (4 Dec., 1536): "The Archbishop of Dublin preached his first sermon in this land the Sunday after Saint Andrew (30 Nov.) in the Cree [Christ] Church, Dublin, and set forth the word of God so sincerely, that those men that be learned and unlearned both give him high praise. Those who favour the word of God are very glad of him."

Those who favoured "the word of God," in the opinion of Pelles, were, of course, the opponents of Rome.

Council of Ireland—Jealousy and Distrust.

Besides obstinacy on the part of the spiritual lords and members of the Common House, there was another cause that prevented the carrying out of the King's wishes to their full extent. The Council of Ireland was composed of men who distrusted one another and who constantly complained to Cromwell about one another's line of action.

Immediately after the adjournment of Parliament, in a letter (1 June, 1536) [2] to Cromwell, they state:—

> For although it hath been reported and bruited that division is among us of the Council here, we assure your Mastership there is no such matter, nor yet, by the grace of God, shall none be; but that we are, and shall be, in one conformity about every of the King's affairs, as doth become us.
>
> Signed, Barnewall, Rawson, Brabazon, Aylmer, Alen, Lutterel, Fynglas, Howth.[3]

But this hope of the Lord-Deputy was not to be fulfilled. What with Agar and Body assuming place of authority as royal commissioners, and the Lord-Deputy, with Aylmer and Alen, also claiming superiority, the King's business was being obstructed in no uncertain fashion. A brief survey of the situation will be useful.

After the surrender of Lord Thomas Fitzgerald, Gray succeeded, to some extent, in winning over the other lords and chieftains to the King's peace. Con O'Neill agreed to

[1] *Carew Cal.*, p. 111. [2] *S.P. Hen. VIII*, ii. 322.

[3] It is to be noted that Browne's name does not appear among the signatories, for the simple reason that he had not at this time arrived in Dublin.

serve the King against all rebels and enemies, and, according to a letter from Gray to Cromwell, peace was concluded also with O'Brien, O'Connor, O'More, McGillpatrick, and the Geraldines. Gray recommended the granting of the forfeited lands to those who held the King's peace, and the reduction of the army. At the same time he recommended the conquest of McMurrough, O'Murroughoe, O'Byrne, O'Toole, and their kinsmen inhabiting between Dublin and Wexford.[1] The reduction of the army did not find favour with Brabazon, the King's Treasurer in Ireland. Though the pay of the soldiers was a year in arrears, Brabazon would prefer to see a larger army and allow the soldiers to take loot and pay themselves, as they requested. Gray, endeavouring to bring about peace in the country, was friendly towards Ireland, but Brabazon aimed at the conquest of the country by spoliation.

Gray, in a letter to Cromwell (23 Nov., 1536), points out jealousy in the Council, and mentions Body and Brabazon as the chief causes. Yet, the next day, the Council, including Gray, wrote to the King declaring there was no dissension in the Council. Gray evidently was in a minority and had to subscribe to the majority report. His methods did not find favour with the majority of the Council. He complained, in another letter (31 Oct.) to Cromwell, that he could not effectually serve the King without greater confidence being placed in him, and mentioned the interference of Brabazon, Agard, Pole, Cusake, and Walter Cowley. The two men that he trusted were Chief Justice Aylmer and John Alen, Master of the Rolls. They had previously pressed for his appointment as Lord-Deputy. Gray says that they seem honest men, but Brabazon tried to make trouble between him and them. These men had evidently been reported to Cromwell as favouring Gray rather than Brabazon, and they sent a letter[2] to the Lord Privy Seal to show that they were not opposers of Brabazon: "According to your command to us and Master Treasurer of the Wars, since the coming of the army into Ireland we have always kept company together from place to place. Irishmen were never in such fear as now.

[1] *Cal. S.P.I.*, p. 20. [2] *Carew Cal.*, p. 80.

"I, Aylmer, have received by the Master of the Rolls your letter, willing the Master of the Rolls and me 'to persevere in our old amity with Master Treasurer, and to join in one conformity' to serve the King."

Agard, Cromwell's servant, was in touch with both parties, hearing their complaints against one another and reporting them to Cromwell. Aylmer and Alen complain of this in a letter[1] to Agard (28 Dec., 1535), in which they say: "You must be aware that hitherto we and Mr. Treasurer [Brabazon] have joined in one conformity to serve the King according to Mr. Secretary's pleasure. Both you and Mr. Treasurer have had our good hearts for Mr. Secretary's [Cromwell] sake, nor did we breathe a word of displeasure towards Mr. Treasurer but for your cause and by your conveyance; for we knew nothing of your secret working toward both parties till we left Dublin; whereat we can but marvel as we were always glad to report your will to Mr. Secretary. And if in discharge of our consciences to the King we had said anything to Mr. Secretary, you had no right to make yourself privy thereto. 'Remember what ye said to my lord Leonard in the garden at St. Sepulchre's.' As to your statement that either of us would have put Mr. Treasurer from his office, and advised you to labour for it, even if it were true it was not half honest in you to disclose it, but we will prove it false, and come to Mr. Secretary for the declaration of our honesty."

It is interesting to read what Martin Pelles has to say of these men and of the condition of the country. In a letter[2] to Cromwell (4 Dec., 1536), he says: "The saying of all the country is, that the changing of so many deputies has been the chief hurt of this land. It is a year or two before a new deputy becomes acquainted with the condition of the Pale and of the Irishry. . . .

"Mr. Treasurer is very well beloved, is a good justiciary, favourable to the common weal, and very hardy in the field. . . .

"The Master of the Rolls [Alen] is a man of great capacity and good wit in compassing any of the King's causes, and favours the poor people. . . .

[1] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vol. viii., no. 1027. [2] *Carew Cal.*, p. 110.

"My Lord-Deputy has more discretion than he had when he came last out of England. He is also pityful to the poor people, and executes justice with charity, and without corruption, and is very 'painful, forward and hardy in the field.'"

In another letter[1] (6 Feb., 1537), he says: "If your Lordship do give command to the Deputy, the Treasurer, the Prior of Cellmaynam [Kilmainham] and the Master of the Rolls 'to avoid covetousness,' then the King and you will hear of such things done as will please you, which cannot be done so long as the Irishmen know as much of the King's counsel as the Englishmen who are the King's Council." In a further letter[2] (4 Dec., 1536), he says that the principal rulers should be native Englishmen; for otherwise, if any of the lords of the Irishry came and rob within the English Pale, they will probably have friends among the rulers, and be able to make peace on returning a portion only of the spoil. Your Lordship should cause the Lord-Deputy, the Treasurer, and the Master of the Rolls "to be all three in one assent, above all other."

We cannot omit a reference to Walter Cowley's part in reporting the doings of the members of the Council. He was an underling of the Earl of Ossory, and was seeking his fortune by his adherence to the "reform." In a letter to Cromwell (10 June, 1536), he states that he "has forborne to write to Cromwell, knowing that other persons did; that he is roughly handled for his truth, and untruly reported of in consequence of his refusal to bear tales against Mr. Agard. He trusts in Cromwell's judgment. He excuses Agard for not having written to Mr. Pole, and 'touched' Alen and Aylmer. He was inflamed with excess of gladness at being restored to Cromwell's favour. The strife between them is beginning to rise again. Agard is known to be diligent, so that 'great mish should be of him.' He meddles not with Mr. Treasurer's praise; but no one could soon stint in declaring his service, and he flees occasion of strife.

"Lately Ossory, the Lord Treasurer, the bishop of Meath, the lord of Kilmainham, and others, sent letters to Cromwell by Robt. Case, and they were opened by the Deputy and

[1] *Carew Cal.*, p. 115. [2] *Ib.*, p. 110.

others without Master Treasurer's knowledge. Case is now in England, and can be examined. He asks Cromwell to exhort the Deputy to leave such conduct.

"Nothing can be done until the army is out of debt, and no great power can continue unless the revenues are sufficient to pay for it. The profits acquired by this Parliament will draw to a good sum. A general reformation must consist principally in inhabiting, and in building and repairing defences. Meanwhile the Deputy, with Ossory, Butler, and the English Pale, should endeavour to enfeeble the Irishry.

"He disapproves of the King's granting away the lands now had by this Parliament. Those who make suit can be preferred to farms or other kinds that do not diminish the King's inheritance.

"Manors and castles in the Marches might well be given to hardy gentlemen in fee-farm. Ossory and his son deserve as a reward the restoration of their old honor and inheritance which exceeds not £100 a year.

"He hears that his father [Robert] is like to have further preferment. He must be exempted from any particular devises, and as having his only preferment by the King, to dwell among the Council here in Dublin, devising only the advancement of the King's affairs and profit." [1]

It is scarcely necessary to draw attention to the pleading for favour for his patrons the Butlers of Ossory and to that for his own father who was to be a kind of free-lance to report on every member of the Council "for the advancement of the King's affairs."

Gray had many enemies, for he was not conciliatory, and his relationship to the Geraldines laid him open to the suspicions of all who had risen on the ruins of the House of Kildare. With Brabazon, the ablest man about him, he had long been on cold terms, and many supposed that the Vice-Treasurer thought he himself ought to have been Deputy. Thomas Agard, Vice-Treasurer of the Mint, a sour but apparently honest Puritan, hated Gray for his attachment to the old religious forms, and Browne lost no opportunity of attacking him on the same grounds. Alen, Master of the Rolls, a useful public servant, but with an inborn love of intrigue, gave trouble

[1] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vol. x. *ad an.*

to every successive chief governor. Robert Cowley and his son Walter were devoted agents of the House of Ormond (Butlers), which Gray thought too powerful. The deputy did not favour the innovations in religion, and took no pains to hide his dislike of Browne and Agard; but with the rest he was always ready to co-operate.[1] Such was the Council that were entrusted with "reform" in Ireland, men jealous and distrustful of one another, seeking for promotion by fair and foul means, and looking with avaricious eyes on the monastic possessions, many of which they already held by lease from the abbots and priors.

Gray Secures Treaties with Irish Chiefs.

During the interval between the adjournment of Parliament (31 May) and its reopening at Dublin (15 Sept.) in 1536, Gray traversed the provinces and obliged the Irish chieftains to subscribe to indentures of peace and submission to the English Government. "In these indentures we find, among the royal titles, that of the Supreme Head of the Church of Ireland, but as yet no more explicit acknowledgment of his supremacy. Nor are the stipulations on the part of the Irish lords uniformly the same in all."[2] They simply

[1] See Bagwell, *Ireland under the Tudors*, i. 207-8.

[2] Leland, *Ireland*, ii. 168. *Rot. Can. Hib.*, 28 and 29 *Hen. VIII.* Cox holds differently. He says: "It seems that the Lord-Deputy had new instructions to oblige all the Irish by indenture to own the King's supremacy, and to renounce the Pope's usurpations, and to contribute something towards the support of the Government, and to find a quota of men to every hosting." He continues: "And so, on the 28 [June, 1537], he [Gray] came to Limerick, where the Mayor and Aldermen took the oath of Supremacy, and swore to renounce the Bishop of Rome's usurped authority: and the Bishop of Limerick did the like, without scruple or hesitation: and order was left for the clergy and commonalty of that city to follow that example, and that certificates of their performance be returned into Chancery." He adds: "And on the 11th [July] he came to Galway . . . and the Mayor and aldermen followed the example of Limerick, and took the oath of the King's supremacy, and renounced the Pope's usurped authority. . . . And it is to be noted, that all those that submitted were bound by indenture, as well as oath, to own the King's supremacy and to renounce the Pope's usurpations; but when the King had an account of what was done, he answered by his letter to the Lord-Deputy, that their oaths, submissions, and indentures were not worth a farthing, since they did not give hostages, and so it afterward proved" (*Hib. Angl.*, i. 252-3). All this is true of the indentures made on later occasions, but on this occasion there is nothing to show that the Irish chiefs were asked to renounce "the Pope's usurped authority."

stipulated as to keeping the peace, or not harbouring rebels, or attending general hostings, or remaining true and faithful subjects of the King, or contributing to the support of its Government. Amongst the submissions received was that of Thady O'Byrne, "chief captain of his nation," which says nothing about renouncing the "Pope's usurped authority." It relates: "According to the award of the Earl of Ossory, and others indifferently chosen, it is agreed that O'Byrne, and all under his rule and power, shall be loyal and obedient to the King, his heirs and assigns; he shall not adhere to the Irishry nor harbour any messenger or rebel of the King, and particularly of the 'O'Tooly's,' nor succour any of them flying to him for protection; and at hostings, out of Leinster, send a banner with 20 horsemen and a proportionate number of footmen, according to the usage of his country, at his own charges, to proceed with the Justice or Deputy; and in Leinster, shall attend at such times with the whole 'posse' of his country; also, in case of necessity, shall find and support 120 armed Irish footmen, called galloglaghes, for 4, 6, or 8 weeks, or 3 months and that all those conditions shall be inviolably observed, the castle of Symondswood is to be delivered into the hands of the Lord-Deputy." [1]

Lands on the marches of the Pale were to be let upon condition that the tenants should use the English tongue, English habit, and forbear from alliance or familiarity with the Irish (31 July, 1537).[2] It was proposed to Cromwell that five or six thousand persons, part soldiers and part husbandmen should be planted between Dublin and Wexford.[3]

Though the four commissioners who came over, namely, Sir Anthony Sentleger, Sir George Pawlet, Sir Thomas Moyle, and Sir Wm. Barnes, had been appointed by the King to inquire chiefly into the abettors of the late rebellion and to give a general pardon, yet they received a new order to let the march lands for a period of twenty-one years.[4] Aylmer

[1] *Cal. Pat. and Cl. Rolls, Hen. VIII,* etc., p. 46.

[2] In an abstract of the disorders and evil rule within the land of Ireland it is stated that all the English March borderers use Irish apparel and the Irish tongue, as well in peace as in war, and for the most part use the same in the English Pale, unless they come to Parliament or Council (*Cal. S.P.I.*, 1509-1573 [Sept., 1537], p 32).

[3] *Ib.*, p 27. [4] *Cal. Pat. and Cl. Rolls, Hen. VIII,* p. 35.

and Alen were appointed to join them, and Gray and Brabazon to assist them.[1]

Robert Cowley, writing to Cromwell in 1537, says: "Balymore and Tallagh 'longing to the Archbishop of Dublin, standeth most for the defence of the counties of Dublin and Kildare, against the O'Tooles and the O'Byrnes, be it therefore ordered that the commissioners shall see such farmers or tenants there as shall be hardy marchers, able to defend that marches." We shall soon see what success the commissioners achieved in defending or letting the archiepiscopal and other lands between Ballymore and Tallaght. Browne wished to have nothing to do with these lands as he found them too troublesome. They had, as we have seen, been cut off from the Pale. Even the manor lands in peaceful north Co. Dublin seem to have been a burden to the Archbishop.[2]

Subjection of Ireland.

As a military exploit Gray's journey through the provinces, attacking and forcing to peace the Irish chiefs, was by no means contemptible, but his critics at the time seem to have been right in thinking it useless. The settled policy had long been to reduce the tribes bordering on the Pale, and not to overrun districts which there was no hope of reducing and holding. Browne was one of the Council who signed a letter (10 Feb., 1537) sent to the King which set forth the plan for the reduction of Leinster.[3] The signatories recommended that the towns of Wicklow and Arklow, which already had good castles, be walled, and certain companies of soldiers be appointed to inhabit and colonise them. Castledermot,

[1] *Cal. S.P.I.*, 1509-1573, p. 28.

[2] *Cal. Pat. and Cl. Rolls, Hen. VIII, circa* 1538. He was granted "licence with the consent of the chapters of the Cathedrals of Holy Trinity and St. Patrick, to alienate to Patrick Barnewell, of Feldaston, Solicitor-General, all messuages, burgages, lands, and tenements in Balgeith, in the parish of Swords, 3 a. of meadow in 'le Brode Mede' [Broadmeadow] in same parish, 50 a. of land near Wourganeston in Clonmethan parish, commonly called 'lez fyftie acres,' 1 burgage or tenement in Swerdes, lying between the holding of Patrick Uryell, on the north, and the street of Swerdes, on the east, a park in the occupation of Ellen Hancoke, on the west, and a tenement of the said Archbishop, wherein Maurice Serjaunt dwells, on the south, and 13 a. in the west part of the Castellfelde in Swerdes. Rent for the premises in Balgeith and Wourganeston, £3 12s. 8d. Ir., and for the premises in Swerdes, 9s. Ir."

[3] *S.P. Hen. VIII, Ir.*, p. 414, *an.* 1537.

already a walled town, was to have another company. Certain gentlemen of England, "of good discretion," who had little or nothing to live on, should be selected so that they might give their whole attention to the lands granted them by the King in those Irish parts, and bring with them men who would settle down in the country. The colonisation of those districts would keep the Irish in check.

One of those impecunious gentlemen of England was to have Powerscourt, Fasagh Roe, Rathdown, and all Fercullen [1] for himself and his heirs. Another was to receive Castelkevin and the Ferture [2] with money to rebuild the castle, unless the Archbishop of Dublin, to whom the castle belonged, should rebuild it and occupy it. Another was to be made Lord of Wicklow with a barony, and to have the district between Wicklow and Arklow, namely, the O'Byrne country, reserving to the King the ownership of the castle, the appointment of the constable, the customs of the harbours, and the fee farm of the town. Another was to be made Lord of Arklow, with Inis-Kynshelan and other adjoining lands, comprising two baronies, reserving to the King the same rights as in the case of Wicklow.

All this looked very plausible, but to make it a reality required more than pen and paper. As usual the indefatigable Robert Cowley had plans of his own similar to those. The district from the Dodder to Bray was the debatable ground, favourably situated for the Irish attacks from the mountains above Glencree. It was thus desirable to have tried and true men to occupy the plains, especially about Shankhill. Accordingly, he recommended certain gentlemen, like Peter Talbot and the Walshes of Carrickmines, to occupy the district and resist the O'Tooles. Talbot was appointed Captain and Governor of the Harrold's country, with its castles and forts, instead of John Harold.[3]

[1] Fercualann was the territory from the crest of the mountains above Rathfarnham to Windgates between Bray and Greystones.

[2] Castlekevin, between Roundwood and Glendaloch, near Annamoe, was one of the Archbishop's manors. Ferture or Vartry was the district watered by that river, namely, from Roundwood down to Newcastle and Wicklow town. This was part of the O'Toole country.

[3] *Cal. Pat. and Cl. Rolls, Hen. VIII*, p. 26, 20 April, 1537. The Harrold country was the slopes of the Dublin mountains from above Rathfarnham to Shankill.

Having recommended stout marchers to have the castles and garrisons in the Marches, Cowley advised that, on the arrival of the King's commissioners for the subjugation of the country, the Lord-Deputy, the Earl of Ossory, with the help of the Palesmen, should negotiate with the Irishry on the borders of the Pale and secure treaties until some time in the following year when the King could set about in earnest to reduce the whole land to obedience. He was of opinion that, if his plan were carried out, the English Pale, instead of being 20 miles in length would be 200. He warned the King that except for the Butlers (his own great lords) and a very few others, all the rest, Irish and Anglo-Norman chiefs, were murmuring among themselves that the King intended such a reformation that he would take no account of loyal or disloyal subjects but would put them all together into, what we now call, the glue-pot, and which Cowley called the "hodgpot." [1]

On the very day (31 July, 1537) that Cowley wrote this letter, the King issued instructions [2] to his commissioners, Anthony Sentleger of Ulcombe, George Poulet, Thomas Moyle, and William Berners, to suppress the Geraldines and reduce the country to good order.

An interesting piece of information is given [3] in reference to the reception of the commissioners by the Council in Dublin: "This year there came to Dublin 4 commissioners instructed with extraordinary authority whose names hereafter followeth, Sir Anthony S. Leger, George Pallet, Tho. Moyle, Wm. Barnes | men of the country and of the city | and they had a noble dinner given them in Walter Tirrels house in December, there sate in the midst of the table the Lord Deputy, and on his left hand Sir George Brown Archbp. of Dublin, Sir Anthony. St. Leger, George Pallet, the Bp. of Meath, the Prior of Kilmainham called Rowson, there sate without the table before the Lord Deputy the Lord Chancellor called Barnwell, Lord of Trimletston, and upon his right hand sate Thomas Moyle, Wm. Barnes, on the right of the Lord Deputy sate the Baron of Delvin, Wm. Brabazon, Tres. and John Allen Master of the Rolles, and the left side of the Lord Chancellour sate the

[1] *S.P. Hen. VIII, Ir.*, i. 445, 31 July, 1537. Letter to Cromwell.
[2] *Ib.*, ii. 452.
[3] *Loftus MSS., ad an.* 1538.

Lord Cheife Justice of the Kings Bench and next him Thomas Luttrell Chief Justice of the Common Place, and next to him Rich. Delahide Chief Baron of the Exchequer."

Browne Accuses Brabazon of Fraud.

The jealousies and enmities existing among the members of the Council of Ireland now grew more bitter, and more disastrous to the project they had in hand. Browne, for one reason or another, found fault with the actions of almost all the members of the Council in turn. Indeed, he manufactured grievances and accusations, out of a desire to find greater favour with Cromwell and as a set off against his own failure to secure general acceptance of the Supremacy even among his own diocesans. Though at first in agreement with Brabazon, he now sent to Cromwell certain accusations against him. In reply to these charges of fraud and peculation against the Treasurer of the King's wars, Gray and Council wrote [1] to Cromwell (30 April, 1537) :—

To the right honourable
The Lord Crumwell
Lord of the private seale.

[Endorsed]

The Council of Ireland
for the discharge of Brabazon
ultimo Aprilis 1537.

May it please your good lordship to be advertised that whereas the King's deputy did write unto you of late how I was advertised by some of the Council that Mr. Brabazon thesaurer [treasurer] of the King's wars should deceive the King in diverse sums of money, which for my discharge I signified unto you (as by the same way my letters appeareth). But to the intent that your lordship might know the playnes [plainness] hereof, I with others of the Council whom I have made privy of the same whose names be here unto subscribed, have thought good to open unto the occasions whereupon we send writing principally proceeded. The truth is that the Archbishop of Dublin showed unto me against him both the same and other things together with that expressedly and precisely that he [Brabazon] had beguiled the King in the account of the receipts of his lands of the bishoprick above an *Cl* [£100].

[1] *S.P. Hen. VIII*, vol. iv., no. 22, P.R.O., London.

Which things he showed me first betwixt him and me saying that except I would advertise the King thereof he would accuse me to the King of the same. And after he declared the same matters to me the said deputy in the presence of part of us. Whereof both I advertised the same Mr. Brabazon, and, after having opportunity, others of the Council (whose names been subscribed). And we together remembering that the said Mr. Brabazon was one of the Council and put in high trust, and again considering that the other was an Archbishop and of the Council likewise: thought we could no less do than write with the same Archbishop therein. Whereupon in a secret faction [session] we called him to us for the same purpose. And to be plain to your lordship he cannot justify before us his sayings against the said Mr. Brabazon, but in manner deemeth that even he spoke the same things. Which nevertheless undoubtedly he did divers times precisely affirm and say. And when we had heard this denial of him, and much marvelling thereof; yet upon such privy knowledge as we had we objected unto him that we marvelled that he could deem that thing which (as we were informed he had written to the King or your good Lordship or to both). Whereupon he confessed that he had advertised your good lordship thereof. And therefore my lord we shall beseech you, that you suspend your credit both herein and all other such reports until the truth appear otherwise. For we perceive that by these particular writings and untrue reports, your lordship is not only oft disquieted, but also we hindered and blamed causeless. Wherefore, my good lord setting forth things apart, we beseech you eftesones for the love of God to have respect to our good wills and proceedings, and according thereunto to judge us. Repelling these seditious depravers of men's good doing; whereby your lordship shall be greatly quieted; and we highly comforted in our service, so knoweth God whom we heartily beseech to preserve your right honourable lordship in long and prosperous life. From Dublin the last of April.

Your Lordship's most assured,

Leonard Gray.
J. Barnewall, Lord Chancellor.
J. Rawson, prior of Kyllmaynan.
Gerald Aylmer, Justice.
Patricke Fynglas, Baron.
Thomas Lutrell, Justice.
John Alen, Master of the Rolls.
Thomas Houth, Justice.

Browne's underhand method of dealing with State affairs did not find favour with the Council. Whether he was right or wrong in his accusation, it was not a personal matter. It was the business of the Council to see to it. The accusation evidently turned on the profits of the temporalities of the See,[1] during vacancy, which were in the King's hands, and to which Browne had nothing to say as these were matters gone into before he came to Dublin. Browne's craftiness did not enhance his reputation, and the Council told him so very plainly. It is another example of the system of espionage deliberately fostered by Cromwell. It must, however, be remarked that Brabazon was not above suspicion. His accounts in connection with the suppression of religious houses later show him to have been lacking in honesty.

Acts still Unpassed. The King's Rebuke.

Though many Acts had been passed in Parliament, others that were for the "King's advantage," namely,which would fill his coffers, were held up by the spiritual lords and their proctors in the Higher House and by other leaders in the Common House. These were the King's customs, the suppression of religious houses, the twentieths of all revenues, and probably the First Fruits. Robert Cowley, always on the alert to find favour with Cromwell, tells the whole story in a letter[2] to his patron (4 Oct., 1536) :—

My duty premised to your honourable lordship, as your most bounden orator. It might please the same to be advertised, that where certain acts were moved to have passed in the Common House here, one for a resumption of the King's customs,[3] cockets,

[1] Brabazon had entered the temporalities of the See from July, 1534, to Sept., 1535, as £623. Browne said they should have been about £723 (about £10,845, *1914 value*). In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries they varied between £15,000 and £20,000 a year (*1914 value*), but in those days revenue was derived also from Ballymore, Castlekevin, and Shankhill manors.

[2] *S.P. Hen. VIII, Ir.*, i. 370.

[3] *Customs.*—In the time of Henry VII complaints were raised by alien merchants against navigation acts and customs duties. Besides export and import duties there were some twenty-four petty exactions by the officers of the King and of the municipalities. This King's policy was one of lavish encouragement to foreigners, dispensing them from the restrictive statutes. When Henry VIII came to the throne petitions were made by the English trading companies and gilds against alien trading. But the King and Wolsey held against them. According to Cowley's letter above it would appear that the

and poundage, into the King's hands; the second, for the suppressing of certain religious houses, comprised in the King's commission sent hither for the executing thereof; and the third, that the King should have the twenty part of all the rents and revenues of every man's lands during ten years; which acts be yet rejected in the Common House by the seduction of certain ring leaders or belwedders, applying more to their own sensualities, singular profits, and affections, than to any good reason or towardness to prefer the King's advantage or commodity; and have determined now to send into England two of the said house, such as they think will hold fast, and stiffly argue to maintain their forward opinions, to vanquish the reasons of such, as would speak in the King's causes; to persuade, and if they could, inveigle the King's council to defeat and reject the King's advantage and profit by feigned suggestions. Of which two, Patrick Barnewall, the King's Serjeant, is one principal champion; who, and in effect all his lineage of the Barnewalls, have been great doers and adherents, privy councillors to the late Earl of Kildare.

We have already said that no minute has been found in the State Papers which gives the particulars of the commission issued to Aylmer and Alen for the Parliament of 1536. But Cowley is quite definite in stating that the Suppression of Religious Houses was amongst the Acts to be passed, and that it was thrown out in the Commons by the influence of such laymen and lawyers, ringleaders, like Patrick Barnewall. This champion and another were despatched by their party to the King to show that, even though they had admitted the King's supremacy, they did not grant that the King had in law any right to suppress but only to reform religious houses. They were also opposed to imposing any taxation on the people in the way of extra customs duties, the twentieths of revenues, and the First Fruits of ecclesiastical offices. The country was sufficiently poverty-stricken as not to be able to bear this undue taxation for the King's "advantage," namely, his wars and his pleasures. Cowley was

Dublin community were also in favour of reviving the duties against alien trading.

Cocket, or *coket*, was a document drawn up by the customer from the declarations of merchants exporting goods. It was the duty of the searcher in the port of export to search the goods when on shipboard, and verify by aid of *cocket* the consignor's declarations. *Cocket-money* was the fee for the customer's certificate of payment of export duties.

intent on the King's "advantage" with a view to his own advantage.

These Acts remained in abeyance during the winter, and the King's decision was evidently waited for. Early in the year 1537, a report was spread that Lord Thomas Fitzgerald and his five uncles had been liberated and were returning to Dublin. Lord Gray, in a letter [1] to Cromwell (4 Feb.), says that the Commons in the Parliament of Ireland were astonished at the report, and "the spirituality hath taken such an audacity, as it should seem, of the ruffle which hath been there, as they little regard to pass any thing."

The clergy evidently had begun to believe that with the return of the Fitzgeralds the question of the King as Head of the Church would sink into insignificance, as the cause of the Pope was identified with the success of the Fitzgeralds. Soon, however, this vain hope was to be shattered.[2] A few weeks afterwards Henry wrote to the Council in Ireland (25 Feb.) telling them very plainly what his wishes were.

Amongst many important matters referred to in the letter, the King mentions :—

> Seventh, you shall understand that it is much to our marvel, that you have not yet proceeded to the suppression of the monasteries, and that you have had no more regard to our sundry letters written unto you for the alleviating of our charges there. If you, that should be the advancers of our things there, will either in open Parliament hinder them, or be so remiss in the execution of them, when we be once entitled, that all men may see you proceed but for a form, against your minds, you do your parts but evil towards Us; and we would you should all think that we have such a zeal to the advancement of the good of that country, that like as we

[1] *S.P. Hen. VIII, Ir.*, i. 407.

[2] As a matter of fact the day before (3 Feb.) Gray wrote his letter to Cromwell, Lord Thomas Fitzgerald and his five uncles were executed at Tyburn. Chapuys, in one of his letters to the Emperor, says that Henry would readily have sent Thomas back to Ireland in the hope that a rebellion might be started so that he could annihilate the whole Fitzgerald tribe.

The preservation of the House of Kildare is in a great measure due to Thomas Leverous, who was tutor to Gerald, brother of Thomas. Gerald was, by the aid of Leverous, sent abroad until Edward VI (1552) restored to him the greater part of his estates, and Mary (1554) restored him to his titles. Leverous was appointed by Mary dean of the restored chapter of St. Patrick's, Dublin, and, shortly afterwards, Bishop of Kildare. (See Harris, *Ware's Bishops*, 390.)

propose earnestly to devise for the reformation thereof, and the reducing of it to a perfect civility, so let every man, whom we there put in trust, be assured, that if we shall find he hath against our expectation, directly or indirectly, devised or practised the let, hindrance, or impeachment of this our purpose for any respect, wherunto we will not fail to have a special eye, we shall so look upon him, what degree soever he be of, for the same, as other shall, by his example, beware how they shall misuse their Prince and Soveraign Lord, and transgress his most dread commandment, etc.

The letter concluded by saying that all legal matters in connection with the Acts were to be left to the opinion of Patrick Barnewell, the King's Serjeant-at-law. Cowley's accusations against Barnewell were clearly of no avail, and it is worthy of note that the King gave no reason, such as Cowley advanced, for the suppression of the religious houses. He simply says he is entitled to their property, and in the same breath speaks about the "alleviating of our charges," namely, the expenses of the government of that land. Revenue was uppermost in Henry's mind. The Council's reply (20 April) was to the effect that they would proceed with the suppression with all due speed.[1]

A few days afterwards (29 April), Gray, Brabazon, Alen, and Aylmer wrote to Cromwell [2] and put before him a plan in connection with the possessions of the religious houses, as follows :—

Again, the Archbishop of Dublin, and others of the Spirituality, have divers temporal possessions, which been situate in such place as they were meet for the King, His Grace may make exchange with them for the spiritualities of these abbeys, which shall come to him ; which were best for His Grace, for the tithes will be better paid to them, than they shall be to the King, and with less grudge among the people.

The letter refers to the archiepiscopal manor of Ballymore (Eustace) situated in the marches, that is, adjacent to the Irish enemy. Browne himself asked later on that he might have the religious house of Grace Dieu in lieu of Ballymore

[1] *S.P. Hen. VIII, Ir.*, i. 433. [2] *Ib.*, 434.

which he would gladly give to the King. The reason given in both instances was the same, namely, that the King could better keep these lands and get their rent than the Archbishop could, and, moreover, they would act as a defence against the Irish of those parts. The last portion of the letter is quite interesting—that the tenants of the abbeys would more readily pay their tithes and rents to the prelates than to the King. It is a nice comment on the suppression of those abbeys.

But the very condition of Leinster was a source of great trouble to the Council, for the whole coast line from Dublin to Waterford was dominated by the Irish. This is set out in a letter from the Council to Cromwell (2 Jan., 1536) :—

> The Byrnes, Tholes, and Kavenaghs, which inhabiting within the same [Leinster] betwixt Dublin and Waterford, requiring of all others first and principal reformation, and unless the same be attempted, and achieved effectually, the King's Majesty shall never be at any stay or likelihood of reformation of this land, or yet in security of keeping of the same without continual charges . . . having considered that the said nations of Birnes, Tholes, and Kavenaghs, part of whom the Lord Leonard [Grey] had lately depredate, invaded, and persecuted, have, in effect, the rule and dominion betwixt Dublin and Waterford by the sea coast, which been the only let that the King hath not a pale entire but divided by quarters.[1]

The condition of the English dwellers also calls forth a lamentation from Cowley. In a letter[2] to Cromwell (July, 1537) he says :—

> The poor English earth tillers in the English pale, who cannot skill upon penury nor wretchedness, as the Irish tenants do sustain and bear, but must keep honest residence, the lords and inheritors taketh such a greedy lust of profit, that they bring into the heart of the English pale Irish tenants, which neither can speak the English tongue nor wear cap or bonnet, and expulseth oft the ancient good English tenants, that therefore the same be likewise provided ; for, in effect, by that means, the poor English tenants are driven hither into England and Wales, and the Irish tenants in their rooms [places] and farms.

[1] *S.P. Hen. VIII*, i. 297. [2] *Ib.*, i. 448.

The King asks Browne for Ballymore.

In pursuance of his policy of strengthening the strongholds of the Pale against the Irish, Henry had already granted Powerscourt to Talbot.[1] But across the mountains, at Ballymore (Eustace), the defence required much more strengthening. Consequently the King decided to ask Patrick Barnewall, Serjeant-at-law, to take over the constableship of the castle there. As the castle and manor belonged to the Archbishopric, Browne could not alienate them without the consent of the chapters of the two cathedrals. To the King's request that the Archbishop should make over the castle to Barnewall, Browne sent the following reply (30 April, 1537) :—[2]

Received your letters dated Westminster 13th March in favour of your servant Patrick Barnewall, to whom and his heirs male you direct us to confirm our right to the constableship of Ballymore with the mill of the same, which, as it seems by your letters, will presently be void and in your gift by the attainder of Christopher Eustace.[3] I, the Archbishop, whom this request principally touches, was not privy to the finding of any office whereby your Grace should be entitled in this behalf, if any such be taken. Eustace had no estate in the Constableship ; nor have his ancestors held it since 1478, in Edward IV's reign ; and in that of Henry VII, Parliament repealed the grant to the Eustaces, and all other such grants made by the Archbishops of Dublin. The lord of Trymlettiston, your chancellor, who had the custody of the body and lands of the said Christopher during his nonage,[4] claimed the constableship, and the matter was brought before the

[1] Grant to "Peter Talbote, of Kilmahyoke, of the manors and castles of Powerscowrte, Fasagh Roo, and Rathdowne, with the appurtenances, in the county of Dublin ; the messuages and lands of Powerscourte, Fasaghe Roo, Rathdowne, Cookeston, Teamplegayrge, Killegrye [Killegar], Kylgarran, and Cowlneskeage ; and all lands, tenements, hereditaments, formerly the estate of Richard Fitzgerald, which came to the hands of the Crown by reason of his attainder, together with the lands of Fercolyn ; to hold to the said Peter, his heirs and assigns for ever, at the rent of 40s. Ir." (*Cal. Pat. and Cl. Rolls, Hen. VIII*, pp. 38-9, *an.* 1538-9).

[2] Though this letter is given among the State Papers of 1540, it really belongs to 1537 when Barnewall was Serjeant-at-law.

[3] The Christopher Eustace mentioned in this letter was of Ballycutlane, alias Cotlandstown, alias Coghlanstown. He took part in the rebellion of Silken Thomas, for which he was outlawed, taken prisoner, and hanged in 1535. He had married Elizabeth, daughter of John Barnewall, third baron of Trimlestown.

[4] Minority.

Dean of Litchfield, Sir Ralph Egerton, and Sir Anthony Fitz-Herbert, then your commissioners here, who decreed that the Archbishop and his successors ought to enjoy it, notwithstanding the said grant. Before the grant was repealed, it was considered that the revenues of the Archbishop laying in the heart of the English Pale were not sufficient for the Archbishop to defend the residue of his lands lying in the marches and borders of Irishmen, as the said manor doth, joining the O'Tooles, O'Byrnes, and Kavanaghs. At present the lands appertaining thereunto are almost made waste, and the rent of assize thereof yearly not leviable above £20 sterling, when in times past it was 340 marks [£226 13s. 4d., or £3400, *1914 value*] yearly. The rent cannot be increased, or the poor tenants there defended, but by the personal residence of an active person. We think Master Barnewall, who is your serjeant-at-law, would not attend thereto, but substitute some other gentleman there of the country under him, who would oppress the poor tenants there, under pretence of their defence, as the Geraldines and Eustaces used to do in times past; and thus both your lands and revenues and the poor living of the ministers of the church have decreased there. Sometimes, I, the Archbishop, must resort thither and lie there, as my predecessors have done, for the stay [defence] of the country; and lacking the use as then of the castle and room of my house, which is very small, with the profits of the mill there, I should not have provision nor lodging in all those parts. We beseech you to have us excused for not conforming ourselves herein.

Browne was unequal to the task of defending his manors of Shankhill and Ballymore. Though he denied the right of the King to take Ballymore from him, yet, in the end, he would consent, provided someone else besides Barnewall received it. The old spleen against the latter was still in Browne's heart. Cowley had previously written to the King condemning Barnewall for his opposition to some of the Acts of Parliament. As will be seen later, Browne was willing to yield Ballymore to the King provided he received Grace Dieu, near Lusk, in exchange. Curiously, it was the same Barnewall who received the convent of Grace Dieu at the suppression and not Browne. It is interesting to see how Browne was concerned about the poor tenants of Ballymore and was fearful lest Barnewall should oppress them. Browne frankly confesses that the archiepiscopal castle of Ballymore

had been used by his predecessors as "the stay of the country," that is, as a stronghold against the Irish in the mountains, and for the defence of the Pale.

St. Patrick's Cathedral grants First Fruits.

The Acts for the Twentieths and First Fruits were probably brought before Parliament about Easter, 1537, but that they were then passed is not so clear. According to the King's instructions to the commissioners, dated 31 July, 1537, the Act for First Fruits had not yet been passed. It would seem that these Acts were not actually passed until the last session of 1537 which began in October. But there is no doubt that St. Patrick's Cathedral voted compliance with them as early as Easter, 1537. It is to be observed that the Act says the canons granted the taxes "of their own free wills." And it is remarkable that when the Parliament was prorogued from 8 May to 20 July, Gray and Brabazon, in their letter to Cromwell (18 May) state that the spirituality are froward.[1] It would seem then that the bishops were still opposed to granting Twentieths and First Fruits. The Canons of St. Patrick's were rewarded for their loyalty and generosity to the King by being styled in the statutes as "the only lantern and light of any godly ecclesiastical rule or order within the land," and by being dispensed from furnishing armed men at hostings of the army to which they might be bound by reason of their prebends and dignities. Edward Basnet, appointed dean of the Chapter shortly before Easter (1537),[2] compounded for the first fruits of his deanery, and was dispensed from paying the twentieth until Christmas, 1538.

The Statute relating to this matter tells all this, and is worth setting out here :—

> And forasmuch as the dean, chauntour, chauncellor, thesaurer, and archdeacon, and all other the dignities and prebends of the Cathedral Church of St. Patrick besides Dublin, for the time being, of their own free wills, and by their loving and obedient assent, immediately upon their admission, institution, and induction to any such dignities or prebendary be chargeable by authority of Parliament to the payment and satisfaction of the first fruits

[1] *Cal. S.P.I., Hen. VIII*, p. 26.
[2] Mason, *St. Patrick's*, 147. *S.P. Hen. VIII*, ii. 512.

(that is to say) the very yearly value of one whole year of their said dignities . . . and likewise chargeable to the payment . . . of the 20th part of the yearly value of their dignities . . . whereby and divers other their conformable acts their loving hearts towards the King's highness plainly and evidently may appear. And to the intent that the dean and other his brethren . . . being, in manner, the only lantern and light of any godly ecclesiastical rule or order within the land. It was enacted that they should not be so exacted or charged through which the divine service and other laudable usages and customs and keeping of hospitalities, might be decreased; and to that extent it was enacted that the dignitaries and prebendaries should be, by the authority of the same, declared quit and discharged to go or send to any hosting, rode, voyage or journey, at any time to be had or assigned within this land. If they should be amerced or assessed contrary to this act, or if any sheriff or other person should distrain for the same, they were to forfeit for every such offence the sum of £10; one half to the King, and the other to the part grieved.

And forasmuch as the purport and meaning of this act is, whensoever any person or persons is or be chargeable at his or their admission to any promotion spiritual to the payment of the first fruits to the King's highness, that upon the composition for the payment of the said first fruits, the said twentieth part, to be payed to the King's highness by authority of this act, should be allowed in the same; and for that, that Edward Basnett, now dean of the said cathedral church, for this year, to be ended after the feast of Easter next ensuing, had compounded for the first fruits, that is to say, the yearly value of the said deanery, for one whole year, ending after the said feast of Easter, having none allowance, nor deduction of the 20th part of the yearly revenue or profit of the said deanery, to be due to our sovereign lord the King, at the feast of the Nativity of our Lord, which shall be in the year of our Lord God a thousand five hundred thirty and seven, being in the said year for which he compounded for the said first year's fruits; be it provided and also enacted that this present act, or anything therein contained, for the payment of the said 20th part, shall not extend in any wise to charge the said Sir Edward, now dean of the said cathedral church, for the payment of the said twentieth part of the yearly profit or revenue of the said deanery, till the feast of the Nativity of our Lord God a thousand five hundred thirty and eight.

Provided, and also be it enacted by authority aforesaid, That the Lord prior of Saint John's Jerusalem in Ireland, and his successors, from time to time shall be charged and chargeable with the

gathering, levying, receiving, and paying of the 20th part, to be due to the King's highness by authority of this act, in and of the priory of Saint John's Jerusalem in Ireland, and the commanderies of the same religion, in like manner, form, condition, quality, and degree, as any archbishop or bishop of this land, within his diocese, is charged and chargeable, by authority of this act, for the collecting, receiving, and paying of the 20th part, likewise to be due unto his highness, of any spiritual promotion, within any such archbishops or bishops diocese.

And that no archbishop or bishop shall be charged or chargeable for the collection . . . of same . . .

[The clergy shall have 2 days of payment for the 20th, i.e. half at Easter and half at Michaelmas.]

Spiritual Lords Refuse to Legislate.

On the last day of May, 1536, the Parliament had been adjourned to Kilkenny, where it sat till 25 July. It was then adjourned to Cashel, and on the 28th it was adjourned to Limerick, where it sat on 2 August and continued until the 19th. It was then adjourned to Dublin to meet Friday, 15 September, and continued until Thursday, 28 September. It was prorogued until Saturday, 20 January, 1537. Again it was held from 20 January until Tuesday, 5 February, and again prorogued until 1 May. It sat from 1 to 8 May. From Tuesday, 8 May,[1] till Friday, 20 July, it was prorogued. It sat again from 20 July till the next day and was prorogued till 13 October. Finally, it sat from 13 October until 20 December, when it was dissolved.

When Parliament re-assembled in Dublin on 15 September, 1536, little seems to have been done in passing the Bills. During the winter, 1536-37, and up to May, 1537, the Proctors still were in opposition to the passing of the Bills, notwithstanding the King's letter of February, and Parliament was prorogued from 18 May until 20 July in order to receive from the King a decision on the situation.

The opposition is set forth in a letter from Lord-Deputy Gray and Justice Brabazon to Lord Cromwell (18 May, 1537) :—

[1] The *Ir. Stat.* give 8 May, but the Letter of the Council (see p. 56) gives 16 May.

Advertising his lordship that the Wednesday before Pentecost, being the 16th of this month [May], the Parliament was prorogued until the 20th day of July next coming, albeit that the Commons and Lords made instant petition that it might have been prorogued until *Crastino Animarum* (*morrow of All Souls*, i.e. 3rd Nov.).

But considering both the obstinacy of the Spirituality used in this session, and having remembered if the King's Highness would send any commissioner hither, we thought it good to have the Parliament open at his coming, to the intent that the wilfulness of the Spirituality being refrained, things for the King's honour and profit, and the common weal of this land, now by them denied to be granted, may then pass accordingly. The frowardness and obstinacy of the Proctors of the clergy, from the beginning of this Parliament, and at this session, both of them the Bishops and Abbots, hath been such, that we think we can no less do than advertise your lordship thereof. After the assembly of the Parliament, at this session, some bills were passed the Common House, and by the Speaker delivered to the High House, to be debated there. The Spiritual lords thereupon made a general answer that they would not come in, nor debate upon any bill till they knew whether the proctors in the convocation had a voice or not. Whereupon we perceiving that by this means they sought an occasion to deny all things that should be presented unto the Upper House, where they were the most in number, and at every other session divers of them either came out, or else within three or four days many of them would ask licence to depart; at this time nevertheless appearing, and having like licence continued (of a set course) wholly together, every day, in the parliament house; I, the king's deputy, called to me all the king's learned counsel, to debate with them about their doubt of their proctors; who not only showed unto them the opinions of the learned men of England, together with their own reasons, that the said proctors had no voice in the parliament, but also proved unto them by parliaments holden there, that it should seem by the entries of the rolls, that their denial or assent was not material, but that it was written under divers acts, "procuratores cleri non consenserunt,"[1] yet were the same acts good and effectual in law. . . .

Whereupon, considering their obstinacy, we thought good to prorogue the parliament for this time; and against the next session provide a remedy for them. And therefore, my lord, it were well done that some mean be devised whereby they may be

[1] "The proctors clerical did not consent."

brought to remember their duties better. Except the mean may be found that these proctors may be put from voice in the parliament, there shall but few things pass for the king's profit. For hitherto, since this parliament, have they shewed themselves in nothing conformable. We think that no reasonable man would judge them to have such pre-eminence in a parliament, that though the king, the lords, and the commons, assent to an act, the proctors in the Convocation House, though they were but seven or eight in number, as sometime they be here no more, shall stay the same at their pleasure, be the matter never so good, honest, and reasonable. But it doth well appear that it is a crafty cast, devised betwixt their masters, the bishops, and them. It is good that we have against the next session a declaration from thence, under the King's great seal of England, of this question, whether the proctors have a voice in the parliament or not? and that every act, passed without their assents, is nevertheless good and effectual.

The bishops, abbots, and proctors were making a determined stand against the passing of such Bills as the Suppression, Twentieths, First Fruits, etc. Two proctors of the bishops of every diocese had usually been summoned to Parliament. They composed a formidable body and claimed to be members of the legislature, with full right of suffrage, and that nothing could be enacted without their consent. They had a majority over the lay lords in the Upper House. As their right of suffrage was questioned, the bishops refused to legislate until the question of the proctors' vote was settled. This question, then, was one of the first things settled by this oft-prorogued Parliament.

The King's Commission.

As Parliament had been prorogued from 21 July to 13 October, and as the principal Acts for the King's material interests had not yet been passed, Henry sent his Commissioners Sentleger, Poulet, Moyle and Berners, with instructions not only for the subjugation of the country but also for the passing of Acts held up by the bishops and proctors. The brief is dated 31 July, 1537.[1]

The Commission included Lord-Chief-Justice Aylmer, Under-Treasurer Brabazon, and Alen, Master of the Rolls.

[1] *S.P. Hen. VIII, Ir.*, ii. 452.

It empowered them to grant leases for twenty-one years, and every lease was to contain a clause obliging the tenant to observe the Acts made for the use of the English tongue and the English habit, and the inhibition of alliances, familiarity, and intelligence with the Irish rebels, upon pain of forfeiting his lease, beside the penalty of the law.

A separate letter was sent to Brabazon exhorting him to give credit to the Commissioners, make all things plain to them, and to see their determinations put in execution; his service therein should not be forgotten. The brief then continues:—

> And where as there be divers acts drawn and delivered at this time to the said commissioners under the Great Seal of England to be conveyed thither, and passed there by Parliament, which shall be holden at the being there of the said commissioners; that is to say, an act to determine the authority of the Proctors of the Convocation, which take upon them to direct the whole parliament; an act for the utter extinguishment and extirpation of the usurped power of the Bishop of Rome; an act for the payment of the First Fruits,[1] generally by all archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, abbesses, prioresses, parsons, vicars, chauntry priests, wardens of colleges, fellows of the deans, prebendaries, and ministers of all churches cathedral and collegiate, of the Prior and his brethren of the Order of St. John Jerusalem, etc.
>
> And where as diverse of the King's Highness lands, as well of those coming to His Grace by the Act of Suppression, as others, etc., are much waste and not let, the commissioners shall see that they are let.

For our purpose, the important points of this Commission are the limitation of the proctors' powers, the definite abolition of Papal power, and the payment to the King of the First Fruits of all ecclesiastical offices.

The King Rebukes Browne for Neglect.

On the same day that Henry issued his instructions to his Commissioners he wrote a severe and threatening letter to Browne rebuking him for neglect of the royal interests. He was evidently exasperated at the slackness of his officials and the opposition of the bishops and proctors. The "re-

[1] Cromwell wrote to the Sheriff of Wexford, 31 July, 1537, to inform him that such an Act should be passed.

form" was proceeding too slowly, and he considered that Browne was not doing his part to hasten it. Browne, the zealous suppressor of English friaries, had failed to live up to his reputation and to his former zeal for the King's "advantage." The opposition in Ireland was evidently too strong to allow his influence to bear any weight. His inactivity, or half-heartedness, whatever it was, had been reported by some over-loyal official, or more probably, by one of Cromwell's spies. This working on the irritable, suspicious, and capricious temper of the arbitrary king, brought down on Browne's head the royal wrath which was poured out in the following letter :—[1]

Right Reverend father in God, trusty and well beloved! We greet you well, signifying unto you, that whereas, before your promotion and advancement to that order, dignity, and authority of an archbishop, ye shewed an appearance of such entire zeal and affection, as well to the setting forth and preaching the sincere word of God, and avoiding of all superstition used against the honour of the same, as to employ yourself always diligently for your part, to procure the good furtherance of any our affairs as much as in you lay, and might appear to be our contentment and satisfaction, that thinking your mind to be so earnestly fixed upon the same, that ye would persevere and continue still in that your good purpose; yet, nevertheless, as we do both partly perceive, and partly by sundry ways and advertisements be informed, the good opinion that we had conceived of you is in manner utterly frustrate. For neither do ye give yourself to the instruction of our people there in the word of God, nor frame yourself to stand as in any stead for the furtherance of our affairs, such is the lightness of your behaviour, and such is the elation of your mind in pride, that glorying in foolish ceremonies, and delighting in "we" and "us," in your dream comparing yourself so near to a prince in honour and estimation, that all virtue and honesty is almost banished from you. Reform yourself therefore with this gentle advertisement, and do first your duty towards God, in the due execution of your office, do then your duty towards us in the advancement of our affairs there, and in the signification hither from time to time of the state of same, and we shall put your former negligence in oblivion. If this will not serve to induce you to it, but, that ye will still so persevere in your fond folly and ingrate ungentleness, that ye

[1] *S.P. Hen. VIII, Ir.*, i. 465.

cannot remember what we have done, and how much above many others ye be bound in all the points before touched to do your duty, let it sink into your remembrance, that we be as able for the not doing thereof to remove you again, and to put another man of more virtue and honesty in your place, both for our discharge against God, and for the comfort of our good subjects there, as we were at the beginning to refer you, upon hope that you would in the same do your office, as to your profession and our opinion conceived of you appertaineth.

A similar letter, on the same day, was sent to Edward Staples, Bishop of Meath, in which it was stated that the King had advanced him to the bishopric on account of his zeal in preaching the pure word of God. It charges him with slackness and negligence, but not with affecting princely titles, and contains no further threat than that "if he does not ensue this advertisement, the King will look upon him for his remissness, as shall appertain." [1]

There is nothing to show how Staples took this admonition, but that Browne took his own rebuke to heart appears from the following letter addressed to the King on 26 September :—[2]

May it please your most excellent highness to be advertised, that on the 11th day of September I received your most gracious letters, bearing date at your majesty's manor of Sunning-hill, the last day of July, which perused, did not only cause me to take fruitful and gracious monitions, but also made me to tremble in body for fear of incurring your majesty's displeasure. And where your majesty writeth unto me, I have not endeavoured myself in setting forth and preaching the sincere word of God, avoiding all superstition used against the honour of the same, I may signify unto your highness of a verity, that for my small abode here, there hath not these many years any my predecessors so much exercised in declaring to the people the only gospel of Christ, persuading and inducing the hearers unto the true meaning of the same, utterly despising the usurped power of the Bishop of Rome, being a thing not a little rooted among the inhabitants here. Touching the second article in your grace's letters, concerning your majesty's affairs here, I refer me to judgment for the most part of your highness's council here, how in that behalf I have used myself, being the first spiritual man that moved the twentieth parts and first fruits, setting forth, in what me lay, the like first fruits of all

[1] *Cal. S.P.I. Hen. VIII*, vol. iv., no. 56.
[2] *S.P. Hen. VIII, Ir.*, ii. 512

monasteries being before not motioned. But given is it to this land, miserable of what behaviour or gesture so ever men be, to have maligners; yea, those that be of such subtle nature, that of others' good proceedings themselves can find means to win the praises, which, if their doings were apparent, God knoweth right unworthy, that I beseech God, send once amongst us more charity. Concerning the third and last article of your grace's letters, that I should use writing "we" and "us," I trust it hath not been seen in me, unless it were at such time, as I with my two chapters of Christ Church and St. Patrick's, directed our humble letters unto your highness, subscribed with all our names, concerning the accomplishment of your Grace's letters to the said chapters and me, addressed for electing the dean of St. Patrick's, which, if I did, most humbly beseech your highness to take it in good part, for assuredly, it was by remissness of the writer, and great oblivion of my foreseeing the same, submitting my negligence unto your grace upon my demeanour hereafter. Finally, certifying your majesty, that I received your grace's other letters, at this season to me addressed, on behalf of Edward Vaughan, the queen's gracious servant, the contents whereof I have fully accomplished. Beseeching your highness of your most accustomed goodness, to accept this my rude letter, answerable even as I were personally doing my duty, approaching on knees before your majesty, declaring the certainty of all the premises, with knowledging my ignorances, desiring of God, that hour or minute I should prefix myself to declare the gospel of Christ, after any other sort than of my part most unworthy have heretofore done before your majesty, in rebuking the papistical power, or in any other point concerning the advancement of your grace's affairs should not be prompt to set forth benignly, that the ground should open and swallow me. Certain sacramentaries there be here, which indeed, I have spoken against, perceiving well, that I have been the more maligned at, beseeching the blessed Trinity to give them better grace, and that your grace may see redress, as, when it shall be your determinated pleasure, your majesty may. So knoweth God, who preserve your excellent highness in your regality long to persevere. From your grace's city of Dublin, the 27th day of September.

Your Grace's obedient subject,
(Signed) GEORGE DUBLINS.

[Superscribed]
To the king's majesty, his most dread
sovereign lord, be these delivered.

According to Browne, he himself had been the first bishop that proposed the Twentieths and First Fruits, and extended them to other houses besides those mentioned in the Act before Parliament. It thus appears that the grant made by the Dean and Chapter of St. Patrick's was due to his advocacy of the taxes. It will be remembered that Martin Pelles had written that Browne preached his first sermon in Christ Church early in December, 1536, namely, nearly five months after he had taken possession of his See. It would seem that for the next six months Browne had preached little or nothing. It was a period of great contention in both Irish Houses of Parliament, as has been seen. It might be inferred then that Browne was on the horns of a dilemma and found opinion amongst clergy and people too strong for him—Popery was much rooted in them. His plea that for his short time as archbishop in his See (namely a whole year) he had preached more than his predecessors was perhaps saying very little, and was the only defence on that point he had to offer. Browne's letter seems to support our contention that the Twentieths and First Fruits had not been yet passed, but were passed only in the last session from October to December, 1537. The bishops and proctors were still obdurate.

Browne had also received a letter from Cromwell written on the same day as the King's, and had sent a reply to the Lord Privy Seal and Vicar-General on 27 September, the day after his reply to the King's. This letter [1] is in almost identical terms with that sent to the King, but contains a few items of special interest which were not mentioned in the previous one. He says to Cromwell :—

Beseeching your good lordship of your accustomed goodness showed always to me, if the King's highness take it not in good part, to be mediator for me excusing my ignorance and great rudeness : Advertising your lordship that God willing now immediately after Michaelmas as soon as my rents come to my hands, I will send over a servant of mine with your good lordship's fee, desiring you for the love of God to continue my good lord the rather for that I am of your promotion. Most heartily thanking your good lordship of your fructefull counsel both now by your letters and at all other times showed unto me, which I beseech

[1] *S.P. Hen. VIII*, vol. v. no. 20, P.R.O. London.

the blessed Trinity once to give me grace to requite your goodness, who preserve your honorable estate with long life and increase of honor. From Talaugh the XXVIIth day of September.

Your lordeship's at commandement
GEORGIUS DUBLIN.

To the right honorable and his singuler good lord the lord privy seal to be this delivered
[Endorsed] Episcopus dublin, XXVII° Septembris

Once more Browne reminds his lordship that his own promotion to Dublin was due to him, and, therefore, he is entitled to special consideration at his hands. The fee mentioned by Browne was probably the annual tax paid by him for his See to Cromwell as the Vicar-General of the King in ecclesiastical affairs. It was evidently similar to the procurations paid to Wolsey as Cardinal Legate by the English bishops.

So far as the State Papers show, nothing more was heard of these charges against Browne. Henceforth, his activity in promoting the King's cause and preaching "the word of God" seems to have received a new stimulus.

ACT AGAINST PROCTORS IN PARLIAMENT.

We have already shown that since Parliament returned to Dublin it had suffered many prorogations. It seems, therefore, reasonable to infer that no important Acts had been passed during the short sittings between the prorogations. The most important point had not yet been decided, namely, the power of the proctors in Parliament—Were they entitled to the vote and thus to hold up the Acts for the King's "advantage?" The Commissioners of 31 July brought with them the power to determine the question, and naturally it was the first business they took in hand.

Outside the Acts passed in the May Parliament of 1536, we have no means of knowing what Acts, if any, had been passed in 1537 up to 13 October, as the Acts were not transferred to the Statute Book until the reign of Elizabeth. But taking the order of the Statute Book, the Act against the proctors takes first place, and the others follow as given here. The only exception is the Act for the First Fruits, which, considering its mention in the King's brief of 31 July as not

yet passed, we must place with the other Acts that follow. We take it then that all these Acts must have passed in the session October-December, 1537, when the proctor question was decided. The act for this purpose reads :—

Forasmuch [1] as at every Parliament begun and holden within this land, two proctors of every diocese within the same land have been used and accustomed to be summoned and warned to be at the same Parliament, which were never by the order of the law, usage, custom, or otherwise any member or parcel of the whole body of the Parliament, nor have had of right any voice or suffrage in the same, but only to be there as counsellors and assistants to the same [Parliament], and upon such things of learning as should happen in controversy, to declare their opinions, much like as the convocation within the realm of England is commonly at every Parliament begun and holden by the King's highness' special licence, as his majesty's judges of his said realm of England, and divers other substantial and learned men, have groundly inquired and examined the root and first establishment of the same, do clearly determine, and yet by reason of this sufferance, and by the continuance of time, and for that most commonly, the said proctors have been made privy to such matters as within this land at any time have been to be enacted and established, and their advices desired and taken to the same, they now of their ambitious minds and presumption inordinately desiring to have authority, and to intermeddle with every cause or matter without any just ground or cause reasonable to the same, do temerariously presume, and usurpedly take upon themselves to be parcel of the body, in manner claiming that without their assents nothing can be enacted at any Parliament within this land, which, as it is thought, cometh not without the procurement and maintenance of some of their superiors, to the only intent that the said proctors for the more part, being now their chaplains, and of mean degree, should be the stop and let that the devilish abuses, and usurped authority and jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome (by some men called the Pope) nor of themselves should not come to light or knowledge, that some good and godly reformation thereof might be had and provided. Wherefore be it enacted . . . that the said proctors nor any of them so summoned or warned to any Parliament begun or holden, or to be begun and holden within this land, is nor shall be any member nor parcel of the body of the same Parliament,

[1] *Ir. Stat. Hen. VIII*, c. 12.

nor shall give nor have any voice, opinion, assent, or agreement to any act, provision, etc., enacted in any Parliament within this land . . . and that every act, provision, etc., made . . . at any time in any Parliament . . . in this land, without the assent . . . of the said proctors . . . is and shall be good and effectual to all intents and purposes, etc.

Thus the way was made clear for the passing of any Acts that were for the "King's advantage." It is to be observed that, according to the Statute, the proctors were acting, in their opposition, on the express orders of the bishops who had no desire to see the "usurped authority and jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome" set aside at the bidding of the King. But, in spite of their opposition, the Parliament proceeded in its endeavour to destroy Papal power in Ireland.

Act against Authority of Bishop of Rome.

Not content with the Act of Supremacy constituting the King Head of the Church in Ireland, Parliament was now called on to pass more positive legislation abolishing all papal authority in this country, and leaving no doubt in the minds of the people as to Henry's intentions. It enacted :—

Forasmuch [1] as notwithstanding the good and wholesome laws, ordinances, and statutes heretofore made, enacted and established by the King's highness our most gracious sovereign lord, and by the whole consent of this high court of Parliament, for the extirpation, abolition, and extinguishment out of this land, of the pretended power, and usurped authority of the bishop of Rome (by some called the Pope) used within the same, which did obfuscate and wrest God's holy word and testament a long season from the spiritual and true meaning thereof, to his worldly and carnal affection, as pomp, glory, avarice, ambition, and tyranny, covering and shadowing the same with his humane and crafty devices, traditions, and inventions set forth under the cloak of virtue, only to promote and establish his dominion as well both upon the souls and bodies, as also upon the temporal goods of all Christian people, excluding not only Christ out of his kingdom and rule of man's soul as much as they might, but also other temporal Kings and princes out of their dominions which they ought to have by God's law, upon the bodies and goods of their subjects, whereby he did not only rob the King's majesty, being only the supreme

[1] *Ir. Stat. Hen. VIII*, c. 13.

head of the realm of England, and of this his land of Ireland immediately under God, of his honor, right, and preeminence due unto him by the law of God, but also spoiled this his land of Ireland yearly of innumerable treasure, and besides the losses of the same, deceived the King's loving and obedient subjects, persuading to them by his laws, bulls, and other his deceivable means, such dreams, vanities, and fantasies, as by the same many of them were seduced and conveyed unto superstitious and erroneous opinions, so that the King's majesty, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in this his land being overwearied and fatigued with the experience of the infinite abominations, and mischief proceeding of his impostures and crafty coloured deceipts, to the great damages of souls, bodies, and goods were forced of necessity for the public weal of this land to exclude that foreign pretended power, jurisdiction and authority used and usurped within this said land, and to devise such remedies for their relief in the same, as doth not only redound to the honour of God, the high praise and advancement of the King's majesty, and of this his land, but also to the great and inestimable utility of the same: which said good and wholesome laws, notwithstanding so made and heretofore established, it is come to the knowledge of the King's highness, and also to diverse, and many his loving, faithful, and obedient subjects, how that divers seditious and contentious persons, being imps of the said bishop of Rome, and of his fee, and in heart members of his pretended monarchy, do in covers and elsewhere, as they dare, whisper, inculce [inculcate], preach, and persuade, and from time to time instil, into the ears and heads of the poor, simple, and unlearned people, the advancement and continuance of the said bishop's feigned and pretended authority, pretending the same to have his ground and original of God's law, whereby the opinions of many be suspended, their judgments corrupted and deceived, and diversity in opinions augmented and increased, to the great displeasure of Almighty God, the high discontentation of our said most dread sovereign Lord, and the interruption of the unity, love, charity, concord and agreement, that ought to be in a Christian religion and congregation: for avoiding whereof and of all such seditious persons as be the means and authors of such inconveniences, be it enacted, ordained, and established by the King our sovereign lord, and the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by authority of the same, That if any person or persons, dwelling, demurring, inhabiting, or resident within this land, of what estate, dignity, etc., he or they be, after the first day of November which shall be in the year of our Lord God a thousand five hundred seven

and thirty, shall by writing, cyphering, printing, preaching or teaching, or by any deed or act, obstinately or maliciously hold or stand with to extol, set forth, maintain, or defend the authority, jurisdiction, or power of the bishop of Rome or of his fee, heretofore claimed, used, or usurped within this land, etc., then every such person or persons, etc. . . . shall incur and run into the dangers, penalties, pains, and forfeitures ordained and provided by the statute of provision and premunire, made in the 16 year of . . . King Richard the Second.

[Justices of assize and peace, shall inquire of offences against this act, as of other offences against the King's peace, and certify every presentment into the King's Bench in forty days after, if term open : if not, the first of the next term after 40 days, on pain of £40. The justices of the King's Bench shall hear and determine every such offence. All archbishops, bishops, and archdeacons within this land, their commissaries, vicars general, shall make inquiry at their visitations of all such ecclesiastical persons who offend against this act, and commit them to the next common gaol of the shire, or else let to bail on sureties to appear before the King and Council, or his Grace's deputy, in the castle of Dublin, within 15 days next after such inquiry, etc., and certify under their seals the bond of surety and the accusation into the castle of Dublin, and the accused being convicted, shall suffer the penalties laid down in the act of *Premunire*. For concealing or not certifying any such accusation to the Castle of Dublin the ecclesiastical judge or visitor shall be fined £40.]

For the stronger defence and maintenance of this act, every ecclesiastical judge, ordinary, chancellor, commissary, official, vicar-general, or other ecclesiastical officer and minister . . . and every temporal judge, justiciar, mayor, bailiff, sheriff, etc., shall, from and after the said 1st day of Nov. before he take upon him the execution of such office, take a corporal oath upon the Evangelists before such person as shall have authority to admit him, as follows :—

That he from henceforth shall utterly renounce, refuse, relinquish, and forsake the bishop of Rome, and his authority, power, and jurisdiction ; and that he shall never consent nor agree, that the bishop of Rome shall practise, exercise, or have any manner of authority, jurisdiction, or power, within this land, but that he shall resist the same at all times to the uttermost of his power ; and that from henceforth he shall accept, repute, and take the King's Majesty to be only supreme head in earth of the Church of England and of Ireland ; and that to his cunning, wit, and

uttermost of his power, and without guile, fraud, or other undue mean, he shall observe, keep, maintain, and defend the whole effects and contents of all and singular acts and statutes, made and to be made within this land in derogation, extirpation, or extinguishment of the bishop of Rome and his authority, and all other acts and statutes, made and to be made in reformation and corroboration of the King's power, or supreme head in earth of the Church of England and of Ireland; and this he shall do against all manner of persons, of what estate, dignity, degree, or condition they be, and in no wise do not attempt, nor to his power suffer to be done or attempted, directly or indirectly anything or things privily or apertly, to the let, hindrance, damage or derogation thereof, or of any part thereof, by any manner of means, or for any manner of pretence; and in case any oath be made, or hath been made, by him to any person or persons in maintenance, defence or favour of the bishop of Rome, or his authority, jurisdiction or power, be repute the same as vain and annihilate, so him help God, and all saints, and the holy evangelists.

[Every religious person, at the time of his profession or entry into religion, every ecclesiastical person at the time of his taking of orders, and every person promoted to any degree of learning in any university within this land, shall take said oath before his chancellor, ordinary, or commissary.

Every such person refusing to take said oath shall be guilty of high treason and suffer pain of death and other forfeitures.

The ceremonies and decent order used in the church are not prejudiced by this act.

Only such canons, constitutions, ordinances, and synodals provincial already made for the direction and order of spiritual and ecclesiastical causes, which are not repugnant to the King's laws, prerogatives, etc., may be used still in the name of the King only, till order to the contrary be issued by the King.

Dispensations, licences, confirmations for marriages, already granted, which are not repugnant to the King's laws or prerogatives, to be still in force.]

Comment on this far-reaching Act is unnecessary, except so far as emphasising the reasons alleged for this benign interference in the spiritual rule of Ireland on the part of King and Parliament. The Pope, as stated in the Act, had spoiled this the King's land of Ireland yearly of innumerable treasure, deceived the people by bulls, etc., and led them into superstitious and erroneous opinions, so that "the lords

spiritual and temporal," etc., were wearied of these abominations so destructful of souls, bodies, and goods. Such a shameless perversion of the truth it would be hard to beat. The King had whipped the Parliament into subjection and was soon to reveal the real reason underlying his zeal. Considering the action of the proctors of the bishops it is difficult to see how the "lords spiritual" were weary of Roman authority. The attitude of the bishops all through this episode gives the lie to this distortion of facts.

Henry II had regarded the Pope as the supreme lord of all nations and built his claim to Ireland on a papal bull, but Henry VIII now casts that plea aside and claims, under God, a royal supremacy. The machine set up for enforcing this Act was truly formidable. Inquiries by justices of assize and peace into the behaviour of men throughout the provinces, commitment to gaol by bishops, etc., of offenders without trial, enforcement of oath against papal authority on all civil and ecclesiastical officers under penalty of high treason, and the terrible threat of the penalties of *premunire*, these were indeed calculated to make strong men quake under the iron rod of Henry. From 1 November, 1537, the Church of Ireland was to witness a stirring crisis in its history which sowed the seeds, not of brotherly love as the King in his selfishness and in vague, sententious, abuse pretended to reap, but of hatred and discord which grew with the years. Even though Henry was not king but lord of Ireland, yet his supremacy might, not reasonably, be regarded by English bishops in Ireland as a national affair. That is a point which will arise later; but the destruction of all papal authority in the Church of Ireland, with power of faculties and dispensations in matters exclusively ecclesiastical, such as marriages, illegitimacy, consanguinity, affinity, etc., this was certainly a deliberate encroachment on papal jurisdiction, and a denial of its extension to the Church of Ireland. No bishop in union with the Holy See could accept this assumption of authority by the King. We take it then that 1 November, 1537, marks the parting of the ways, even if, by a charitable concession, the road was not already divided by the Act of Supremacy. Henceforward, we shall find Pope's bishops and King's bishops.

Act for First Fruits.

This Act,[1] based upon a similar one passed in England (3 Nov., 26 Hen. VIII), declared :—

And considering the great decay of the King's revenues within this his grace's land and dominion of Ireland, and what great, excessive, and inestimable charges his highness hath been at, and sustained, and also daily sustaineth for the maintenance, tuition [guardianship] and defence of his grace's subjects, and for the destruction, exile and banishing of his enemies, traditors, and rebels, within this his land and dominion of Ireland. . . . Be it ordained, enacted, and established by authority of this present Parliament, That the King our sovereign lord, his heirs and successors, Kings of the said realm of England, and lords of this land and dominion of Ireland, shall have and enjoy . . . for ever, of every such person and persons which at any time after the first day of this present Parliament, shall be nominated, elected, perfected, presented, collated, or by any other means appointed to have any archbishopric, bishopric, arch-deaconry, deanery, prebend, parsonage or vicarage, within the said land and dominion of Ireland, of what name, nature or quality soever they be, or to whose foundation, patronage, or gift soever they belong, the annate, commonly called within this land the (*ane*) first fruits, revenues and profits for one year, of every such archbishopric, bishopric, prebend, etc. whereunto any such person or persons shall at any time or times, after the said first day of this present Parliament, be nominated, etc. And that every such person or persons, before any actual or real possession, or meddling with the profits of any such archbishopric, etc., shall satisfy, content, and pay, compound, or agree to pay to the King's use, at reasonable days upon good sureties, the said annate or ane, the first fruits and profits for one year.

It was also enacted :—

That the chancellor of Ireland, the master of the rolls, and the undertreasurer, or any two of them, so as the undertreasurer be one of the said two, or such other persons or person as shall please the King's highness, his heirs or successors . . . to name and depute by commission, under the great seal, shall have power and authority as well to examine and search for the just and true value of the said annate, first fruits, and profits, . . . as to compound and agree for the rate of the said annate, and first fruits, and profits, and to stall and limit reasonable days upon payment

[1] *Ir. Stat. Hen. VIII*, c. 8.

thereof, upon good and sufficient sureties, by writings obligatory by their discretion, and if composition or agreement be had or made for the same annate, etc., that then the writings obligatory or money taken for the same, shall rest, remain, and abide in the hands of the undertreasurer, or in the hanaper of the King's Chancery in Ireland. . . . [A true account was to be made of such money.]

[Commissioners of first fruits, every 6 months to deliver by indenture to the undertreasurer, etc., such money and specialties as they receive, on pain of forfeiture of the office, fine and ransom. All the provisions in the act made in England (26 *Hen. VIII*, 3) for payment of first fruits, to be in force in Ireland. First fruits, heretofore paid to others, to be paid to the King only. Upon avoidance the King to find a priest to serve the cure, out of the profits, till one admitted.]

A similar Act was passed in reference to the first fruits of abbeys, priories, colleges, etc.[1]

And considering that for the better augmentation of the King's revenues within this land, whose majesty like a most gracious prince and sovereign lord hath, with the expense of an unportable sum of his own treasure, defended us from the ravine and spoil of such rebels and traditors as lately attempted the utter destruction of the state of this land . . . be it enacted that every person appointed to have an abbey, priory, college, hospital, priory or hospital of St. John the Baptist of Jerusalem of Ireland, or any commandery of the same religion in Ireland, shall pay to the King the *annat* commonly called the *anne first fruits*. And every such person before taking charge of such abbey, priory, etc., shall pay, compound, or agree to pay to the King at reasonable days on good sureties, the same *annat* for one whole year.

The annats, first fruits, or first year's revenue of an ecclesiastical benefice, were paid to the papal treasury or Apostolic Camera. In the narrow sense they referred to minor ecclesiastical benefices granted by the Pope outside of the Consistory. The annats in these cases were paid in full to the Apostolic Camera. In the cases of collation of bishoprics and monasteries they were divided between the cardinals and the papal treasury. Regulations were made from time to time in the Middle Ages to lessen the burden on benefices. The first fruits went to pay for the administration of the

[1] *Ir. Stat. Hen. VIII*, c. 26.

Roman Curia. Henry, the new Pope of these islands, had thus a ready source of considerable income at hand for his own "advantage."

Act for the Twentieth Part.

For the maintenance of the royal estate of the imperial Crown and the dignity as Supreme Head of the Church of England and of Ireland, it was enacted [1] that the King

shall yearly have . . . united and knit to his imperial crown for ever, one yearly rent or pension, amounting to the value of the twentieth part of all the revenues, rents, farms, tithes, offerings, emoluments, and of all other profits, as well called spiritual as temporal, now appertaining . . . or hereafter shall appertain . . . to any archbishopric, bishopric, abbacy, monastery, priory, archdeaconry, deanery, hospital, commandery, college, house collegiate, prebend, cathedral church, collegiate church, conventual church, parsonage, vicarage, chauntry, or free chapel, or other benefice or promotion spiritual . . . within any diocese of this land . . . at the feast of the Nativity of our Lord . . . the first payment at the [said] feast, 1537 . . . [and] before the 1st day of April following.

[The chancellor shall direct commissions to inquire in every diocese of the yearly value of all the said profits. The commissioners shall deduct rents payable to the chief lords, and all annual and perpetual rents and charges, and fees for stewards, bailiffs, synods, and proxies, and certify to the exchequer the whole value and the deductions.

The said commissioners shall take an oath for the due execution of the commission.

After such certificate the 20th part shall be rated and taken by the treasurer and barons of exechequer, out of the clear yearly value.

Every benefice shall be severally and distinctly charged in the proper diocese.

The Bishop of each diocese shall levy in his diocese and pay said rents or pensions yearly to receiver-general, and he or his executors shall be chargeable for said payment.

The treasurer and barons of the Exchequer shall issue a process yearly against the bishops for such portion thereof as they are taxed within the particular diocese, which the bishops may levy by censures of the church or distress. And no *replevin* (prohibi-

[1] *Ir. Stat.*, c. 14.

tion) upon any excommunication or other writ to be sued or obeyed for any one making default of payment.

Whenever a bishopric happens to be void, the dean and chapter of the cathedral church, or prior and convent, etc., shall be chargeable for the execution of this act.

Every incumbent making default of payment shall be adjudged deprived *ipso facto* of all such dignities, benefices, pensions, and promotions spiritual, and the incumbency shall be void as if the incumbent were dead.

If a bishop or any other charged with the collection and payment of the 20th report within 24 days after 1st April that a certain incumbent has not paid his part, such bishop shall be acquitted of the payment, and process shall issue out of the Exchequer against the incumbent, his executors, etc.

Acquittances by the King's undertreasurer and general receiver of this land shall be as good a discharge as if under the great seal, and shall be allowed in the Exchequer, as well as the certificates, without any bill or warrant.

No reward shall be taken by officer of the Exchequer for making account or *quietus*, on pain of fine and forfeiture of office.

Every incumbent charged with a pension to his predecessor may retain the 20th part: and he and his sureties may plead this act to discharge.

Those appointed to bishoprics, benefices, etc., after 1st Dec., 1537, shall be allowed 20th part of the whole sum paid at the composition or agreement as to the first fruits.

The farmers or lessees of the profits of spiritual promotions are not to be charged with payment of first fruits or 20th part, but the lessors shall be liable notwithstanding any covenant, contract, etc., to the contrary.

The King who was so much concerned about the material well-being of his Irish subjects did not hesitate to reap the profits not only from the first fruits but from the yearly twentieths, not to speak of the special subsidies. Neither did he refuse the profits from faculties, dispensations, etc., although in reality that source of revenue did not materialise to his satisfaction. The twentieths were a heavier burden on beneficiaries than the first fruits. The system of collecting them, by placing the burden on the bishops in ecclesiastical cases, left nothing to chance. This taxation in pre-reformation times was imposed by the Pope only in times of great crisis, such as crusades and papal wars. But Henry evidently

intended it to be an ordinary source of income. So much for his kind consideration!

Act for the English Order, Habit, and Language.

Having laid down the crop of hair and style of apparel to be allowed in Ireland, the Act then decreed that all persons in Ireland should use and speak "commonly" the English tongue and language, and cause the same to be taught to their children. Householders are to live after the English manner. All offenders are to forfeit certain sums proportionable to their degree: lord spiritual and temporal, £6 13s. 4d.; a knight, 40s.; a gentleman or merchant, 20s.; a yeoman, 10s.; a husbandman, 6s. 8d.; all others, 3s. 4d.

Spiritual promotions, i.e. to sees, dignities, benefices, vicarages, etc., shall be given only to such as can speak English, unless, after four proclamations in the next market-town, such cannot be had. Any collation, nomination, etc., contrary to this Act, shall be void, and a writ of *Quare impedit* shall be issued against such disturber, and the King may present to such office or dignity for that time.

Every archbishop, bishop, suffragan, about to confer the order of priesthood, deacon, or subdeacon, shall give to those about to receive those orders an oath that such persons will endeavour to learn and "teach the English tongue to all and every being under his rule, cure, order, or governance, and in likewise shall bid the beads in the English tongue, and preach the word of God in English, if he can preach . . . and also shall keep or cause to be kept within the place, territory, or parish where he shall have preeminence, rule, benefice or promotion, a school to learn English, if any children of his parish come to him to learn the same, taking for the keeping of the same school, such convenient stipend or salary, as in the said land is accustomably used to be taken. Said oath to be given on pain of £3 6s. 8d., and to be observed on pain of 6s. 8d., for the first offence, and 20s. for the second, and the benefice to be void on the third."

Act for Suppression of Religious Houses.

With regard to the suppression it shall suffice for the present to give the Act [1] as passed in Parliament:—

[1] *Ir. Stat.*, c. 16. For the full account of the Suppression, see Part II.

[That his majesty shall have and enjoy . . . the monasteries and religious houses of the Bectif, Saint Peters beside Trim, Duske, Duleke, Holmepatricke, Baltinglas, Grane, Taghmolin, Dunbrodie, Tenterne, the priory of Ballibogane, and the abbey of the Hogges and Fernes . . . and all sites . . . manors, granges, rents, tithes, etc., in as ample manner as the abbots, etc., within the year before the making of this act enjoyed.

The King's patentee of any of those possessions shall enjoy them according to the tenor of their letters patent, and have like remedies, actions, suits, etc., as the abbots, priors, etc., might have had if they had not been suppressed. Saving the rights of others, except the abbots, priors, etc.]

Provided always, and be it enacted, that forasmuch as divers the chief governors of the said religious houses, determining the utter spoiling and destruction of their houses, and dreading the suppression thereof, for the maintenance of their detestable lives have lately fraudulently and craftily made feoffments, gifts, estates, graunts, and leases under their convent seals, or suffered recoveries of their manors, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, in fee simple, fee tail, for term of life or lives, or for years, or chargeth the same with rent or corodies,[1] to the great decay and dismynyshes of their houses: that all such crafty and fraudulent recoveries, feoffments, etc., and every of them, made by any of the said chief governours of the said religious houses under convent seals within two years next before the making hereof, shall be utterly void and of none effect [i.e. from about Oct., 1535].

[All ornaments, jewels, goods cattails, and debts belonging to said religious houses on 1 June 1536 shall be given to the King.

The King "of his most excellent charity" to provide the chief head or governor of every religious house with a yearly pension for life according to degree and quality of each.

The convents [community] of every such religious house shall be entitled to live honestly or virtuously abroad, and some convenient charity disposed to them towards their living, or else shall be committed to such honourable great monasteries of this land, wherein good religion is observed, as shall be limited by his Highness, or his Grace's councillors, there to live religiously during their lives.

The heads of the great monasteries shall take into their houses such persons of said convents.

The King shall pay the just debts due by the heads of such convents.]

[1] Corody was a monetary arrangement for personal maintenance of the donor in a religious house.

Saving always . . . to founders, patrons, or donors of religious houses suppressed by the act . . . all right, title, interest, rents, proxies, pensions, synodals, and other profits.

[The King's lessees of the sites of such houses dissolved, to keep an honest farmer's house therein according to the quantity of the demesnes of the same, or forfeit 100s. every quarter of year.

Justices of peace to inquire of such offences; impose and estreat said fines.

Provided that this act shall not extend to the rectories, parsonages, vicarages, churches of Norragh,[1] and Tagmolynbeg,[2] or to any tithes, offerings, lands, etc., belonging to them, during the lives of Sir John Derthicke, parson of Norragh, and Sir James Festame, parson of Taghmolyn. Provided this act, etc., shall not extend to, etc. . . . Hollywood, Dullardeston, and the free chapel of Armakrenan and Kylusky, and the personage of Uske,[3] or to tithes, lands, etc., belonging to them, during the lives of Sir Robert Luttrel, parson of Holywood, Sir John Connyle, vicar of Holywood, Sir John Lawles, vicar of Taghmolynbegge, Sir Alexander Baron, parson of Dullerdeston, Sir Eustace Browne, master or governor of free chapel of Armakrenan and Kilusky, and Sir Edmond Eustace, parson of Uske; that they shall have and enjoy their said benefices with the issues and profits of the same during their lives.

Provided that this act, etc., be not hurtful to George Archbishop of Dublin, or to his right to any benefice, etc., belonging to house of Taghmolynbegge.

Provided it be not hurtful to vicars choral of St. Patrick's, Dublin, in their benefice, tithes, etc., of Kynnegh, within the county of Catherlagh.]

It does not appear for what reason these thirteen religious houses were selected for suppression, unless it be that their confiscation was to prepare the way for the general suppression. Four of these were in the Dublin diocese, namely, Graney, Holmpatrick, Hogges, and Taghmolin. The Act states that these thirteen houses, having learned of the coming confiscation, had made leases of their possessions. As far as the Dublin houses are concerned, their possessions were so small that they were not worth such trouble. Moreover, in the

[1] Narraghmore, Co. Kildare. [2] Timolin, Co. Kildare.

[3] All the above churches, except Kilusky, were in the deanery of Castledermot and belonged to the Convent of Timolin which had been closed before 1530 on account of poverty. Kilusky is at Ashford, Co. Wicklow, and evidently belonged to Timolin.

extent (see Appendix) taken by the King's commissioners there was no such thing found as this wholesale leasing of lands, etc., for the purpose mentioned in the Act. It is to be observed that Parliament, and the King, solicitous for the welfare of the inmates of those houses, ordered that they might be taken into the greater monasteries, and that out of the King's great charity the heads might have a pension. But the King makes no mention of any subsidy to the greater monasteries for taking in the castaways.

Act for Probate of Testaments.

Forasmuch as in a Parliament held at Westminster in 31st year of Edward III upon the complaint of his people for the outragious and grievous fines and sums of money, taken by the ministers of bishops and other ordinaries of holy church for the probate of testaments . . . be it now enacted that from 1 Feb. 1537 nothing shall be demanded, received, or taken by any archbishop, bishop, . . . [or officials] for the probate of testaments, administration of goods of persons intestate. Where goods of testator do not exceed £3 6s. 8d. the fees to the notary for writing out probate shall be 12d., and to the Ordinary[1] or his official having custody of the seal for sealing such testaments, 8d. The archbishop or Ordinary, etc., shall not refuse to prove such testament or grant such commission when exhibited in writing ready to be sealed, and the testament lawfully proved. When the goods do not exceed £10, the Ordinary shall have 2s. and the register 1s. 4d.: when not above £20, to the Ordinary 5s. and to the register 1s. 8d.; not above £40, to the Ordinary 8s., to the register 2s.; not above £100, to the Ordinary 14s., to the register 2s. 8d.; above £100, to the Ordinary 16s. 8d., and to the register 3s. 4d. The probate or commission is to be delivered without delay. In case of intestacy, or executors refusing to prove, the Ordinary shall grant administration to the widow, or next of kin, or both, by his discretion taking surety for the true administration. Where in equal degree of kindred, the Ordinary has the choice to accept one or more making the request.

Ordinaries may still convene executors before them to prove or refuse, and to bring inventories as heretofore.

It is scarcely necessary to remark that matrimonial, probate, and testamentary causes came under the juris-

[1] I.e. the bishop of a diocese.

diction of the ecclesiastical courts. No doubt they were sources of considerable revenue, and a heavy burden on the people.

Act of Faculties.

This Act recited the English Act of 3 November, 21 Hen. VIII to the effect

that where your subjects of this your realm, and of other countries and dominions being under your obedience by many years past, have been and yet be greatly decayed and impoverished by such intolerable exactions of great sums of money as hath been claimed and taken, and yet continually be claimed to be taken out of this your realm, and other your said countries and dominions, by the bishop of Rome, called the Pope, and the see of Rome, as well in pensions, cences, Peter-pence, procurations, fruits, suits for provisions, and expeditions of bulls for archbishopries and bishopries, and for delegacies and rescripts in causes of contentions and appeals, jurisdictions negative, and also for dispensations, licences, faculties, grants, relaxations, writs called (*perinde valere*), rehabilitations, abolitions, and other infinite sorts of bulls, briefs, and instruments of sundry natures, names, and kinds, in great numbers, heretofore practised and obtained, otherwise than by the laws, laudable uses and customs of this realm should be permitted, the specialties whereof been over long large in number, and tedious here particularly to be inserted, wherein the bishop of Rome aforesaid hath not been only to be blamed for his usurpation in the premises, but also for his abusion and beguiling your subjects; pretending and persuading to them that he hath full power to dispense with all human laws, uses, and customs of all realms in all causes, which be called spiritual: which matter hath been usurped and practised by him and his predecessors by many years in great derogation of your imperial crown, and authority royal, contrary to the right and conscience; for where this your grace's realm, recognising no superior under God but only Your Grace, hath been and yet is free from subjection to any man's laws, but only to such as have been devised, made, and ordained within this realm for the wealth of the same, or to such other as by sufferance of your Grace and your progenitors the people of this realm have taken at their free liberty, by their own consent, to be used among them, and have bound themselves by long use and custom to the observance of the same, not as to the observance of the laws of any foreign prince, potentate, or prelate, etc.

[The parliament has full power not only to dispense annul but

to authorise others to dispense, etc., in the laws of the realm. It is enacted] that no person or persons of this your realm, or of any other your dominions, shall from henceforth pay any pensions, censces, portions, Peter-pence, or any other impositions, to the use of the said bishop or of the see of Rome . . . but that all such pensions . . . shall from henceforth surcease . . . that neither your Highness, your heirs or successors, Kings of this realm, nor any your subjects of this realm, nor any of any other your dominions, shall from henceforth sue to the said bishop of Rome, called the Pope, etc., for licences, dispensations, etc., but that from henceforth every such licence, dispensation, etc., shall be granted and obtained by the Archbishop of Canterbury as formerly they were obtained from Rome.

[In unusual cases, the archbishop shall not grant such until the King or council first be advertised thereof, and determine that the same shall pass, on pain of fine by the grantors.

Dispensations, licences, etc., where the tax to Rome on them amounted to £4, must be first confirmed under the great seal, and enrolled in Chancery, and so many others be, if the procurers require it, paying 5s. All such dispensations to be as effectual as if obtained from Rome.]

And that all children procreated after solemnisation of any marriages, to be had or done by virtue of such licences or dispensations, shall be admitted, reputed, and taken legitimate in all courts, as well spiritual as temporal. . . .

[The Archbishop of Canterbury shall appoint clerk for registering such licences, etc., "and shall find parchment, wax, and silken laces convenient for the same." . . . Another clerk appointed by the King to enrol them in Chancery. Both clerks to subscribe their names to them. To avoid all fraud, two books are to be made containing the taxes of dispensations, etc. Every leaf to be subscribed on both sides by the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord Chancellor of England, the lord treasurer of England, and the two chief justices of both benches; one book shall remain with each of the said two clerks. All suitors may have recourse to these books. The clerk in Chancery to note daily in his book the number and quality of the dispensations, etc. No one to pay more than as taxed in said books, on pain of ten times as much as extorted. Except for compositions, which shall be taxed by discretion of said archbishop and lord chancellor. The taxes for these dispensations, etc., shall be divided as follows: tax of £4, shall be divided into 3 parts, two for the King, and one for the Archbishop [of Canterbury]. But the said two parts [for the King] shall be divided into 4, of which 3 will go to the King; and the 4th shall

be divided into 3 parts, the chancellor of England taking 2 parts, and the clerk of chancery 1 part for his pains and labours.

During vacancy in the see of Canterbury, the dispensations may be granted by the guardian of the spiritualities. On default of said archbishop or guardian, the King may by commission impower two spiritual persons to grant dispensations, etc.

Exempt places such as monasteries, abbeys, priories, etc., to remain as before; but they shall not pay pension to Rome, or accept any visitation or confirmation from such.

Dispensations, etc., heretofore obtained from Rome, not contrary to the laws and statutes, to remain in force.

The King may reform indulgences and privileges heretofore obtained at the see of Rome, and their abuses.

This act extending not only to England but all the King's dominions, and Ireland being his proper dominion, and a member of the crown of England, and the like inconveniences ensuing from the Pope's usurpation, the said act to be of the same force in Ireland.]

Provided alway, that this act shall not be prejudicial to any archbishop, bishop, or prelate of this land, but they may lawfully, notwithstanding this act, dispense in all causes in which they were wont to dispense, by reason only of their own proper offices and dignities, by the common law or custom of this land, before the making of this act.

[Commissioners for ecclesiastical jurisdiction, granting faculties, etc., to have the same authority as the Archbishop of Canterbury hath.

The Chancellor of Ireland to have the same authority as the Chancellor of England.]

From this it does not appear that the King intended to grant any monetary relief to the people of England or Ireland in the matter of faculties and dispensations. These also were sources of considerable revenue to the Holy See, which the King simply transferred to his own coffers. No doubt he did not take the whole tax. Out of a tax of £4 the King received £2; the rest was divided between the Archbishop of Canterbury (£1 6s. 8d.), the Chancellor (8s. 10d.) and the Clerk of Chancery (4s. 6d.). England received £3 6s. 8d., and Ireland 13s. 4d. Thus, according to this Act, Irish money was divided up for "the wealth of this realm!"

Act of Leases.

The King having been informed that many of his lands and possessions in Ireland, inherited by him or lately come into his possession through the suppression of religious houses, attainders, etc., lie waste and unoccupied, he now, for the great increase and maintenance of the commonwealth, appointed Anthony Sentleger, George Poulet, Thomas Moyle, William Berners, William Brabazon, Gerald Aylmer, and John Alen, his commissioners, to view and survey the waste lands and all lands of the King, and that they may let any of them for a term of twenty-one years, reserving to his Highness the rents, as by commission dated Sonninghill, 31 July, 29 Hen. VIII (1537).[1]

Browne's Confession of Failure as a Reformer.

Whatever new zeal in the King's cause Browne may have been inspired with, he seems to have felt the necessity for more definite instructions as to what was expected of him and more authority to support him in any effort he might put forward to further the King's supremacy and all it entailed. Accordingly he wrote,[2] 8 January, 1538, to Lord Cromwell :—

Right honourable and my singular good lord, my bounden duty premised it may please your lordship to be advertised, that within the parts of Ireland, which grieveth me very sore—yea, and that within the diocese of Dublin, and province of the same, where the king's power ought to be best known, where it hath pleased his most excellent highness, through your good lordship's preferment, to make me, under his grace, a spiritual officer and chief over the clergy; yet, that notwithstanding, neither by gentle exhortation, evangelical instruction, neither by oaths of them solemnly taken, nor yet by threats of sharp correction, can I persuade or induce any, either religious or secular, since my coming over, once to preach the word of God or the just title of our most illustrious prince. And yet, before that our most dread sovereign was declared to be (as he ever was in deed) supreme head over the Church committed unto his princely cure, they, that then could and would very often, even till the right Christians were weary of them, preach after the old sort and fashion, will not now once open their lips in any pulpit for the manifestation of the same;

[1] *Ir. Stat.*, c. 25. [2] *S.P. Hen. VIII, I.*, ii. 539. *Carew Cal.*, i. 135.

but in the corners and such company as them liketh, hindereth and plucketh back amongst the people the labour that I do take in that behalf; and yet they be borne against me, and especially the Observants, which be worst of all others; for I can neither make them swear, nor yet preach amongst us, so little regard they mine authority. And that cometh, so far as I can judge, of the extreme handling that my lord deputy hath used towards me, what by often imprisonment, and also expelling me my own house, keeping there no hospitality at all; and so contemptuously he vilipendeth me, that I take God to record I had, but that hope comforteth me, rather forsake all than to abide so many ignominious reproaches. But, if your lordship would, for the good love and mind that you bear unto the mere and sincere doctrine of God's word, and also unto the advancement and setting forward of our most excellent prince's right title, send either unto master treasurer, the chief justice, the master of the rolls, or any two of them whom I think meet for that purpose, such a straight commandment over me and all other ecclesiastical persons, as I perceive the king's grace hath sent of late into England to the sheriffs of every shire, I would (God willing) so execute mine own office, and prick others forward that be underneath me, by the authority thereof, that his grace and your lordship should well allow my faithful heart and diligent service; for, until such a thing or more vehement come amongst us, it is but vain to look after any amendment here, but always expectation of the former abuses. And to prove the same, there is never an archbishop, nor bishop but myself made by the king, but he is repelled even now by provision. Again, for all that ever I could do, might I not make them once, but as I send my own servants to do it, to cancel out of the canon of the mass, or other books, the name of the Bishop of Rome, whereby your lordship may perceive, that my authority is little regarded. I have advertised your lordship divers times what inconvenience might fall for lack of dispensations; for, in that point they be compelled to sue to Rome. Wherefore, I think good that with all celerity and speed it were necessary that we had dispensations, a vicar general, and a master of the faculties. There is of late come into Ireland from Rome a pardon, much consonant to a pardon granted by Julius the Second, in time of the wars between the French king and him; and that was, that they, that would join it, should fast Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday, next after they heard first of it, and on the Sunday consequently ensuing to receive the communion. And many, as it is reported, hath received the same; but if so traditorous a fact and like flagitious iniquities should pass, neither justly examined nor condignly punished, being committed while

the king's grace's commissioners be here, seeing these men so ready and prompt to admit the Bishop of Rome's letter, and so sturdy and flinty against our prince's power, what will men think? I cannot, in my conscience, considering my oath and allegiance, let such enormities escape, but make just relation, that the king's majesty may have sure knowledge how unfaithful a sort he hath in this land, and namely, the spirituality, which seduceth the rest. The living God knoweth my heart, who ever prosper your lordship with immortal felicity. Amen."

This is a very candid confession of Browne's failure to persuade the clergy of his diocese, or of the province of which he was archbishop, to preach the supremacy of the King. Two years had passed since he was appointed to the See of Dublin, and yet neither secular nor regular priest, notwithstanding the oaths they had taken, under compulsion, would obey Browne in this matter. He was always extreme in his flattery when he wished to curry favour with Cromwell or the King. That the King was always *in deed* (*fact*) head of the Church is another of his outrageous unhistorical statements for this purpose. It is an extraordinary thing that the title was never claimed by any previous king or archbishop. It is interesting to see Browne single out the Observants or Reformed Franciscans as the "worst of all others" in disobeying him, and in fact refusing to take the oath. He attributes his failure to the contemptuous treatment of him by Lord Deputy Gray who, as will be seen, ejected him from his Palace of St. Sepulchre's [1] which he made the official abode of the Lord Deputy.

In this letter Browne points out that in all other dioceses, (except Dublin) where bishops had been appointed by the King, the Pope had provided other bishops of his own appointment. It is a remarkable fact that during Browne's occupation of the See of Dublin, lasting eighteen years, we find no effort on the part of the Holy See to appoint another archbishop or even a vicar-general of the diocese. Indeed, in Browne's

[1] St. Sepulchre's Palace (where the modern police barracks stand in Kevin Street) was made the archiepiscopal residence by John Comyn, the first Anglo-Norman Archbishop of Dublin, and successor of St. Lorcan O'Tuathail, who transformed St. Patrick's Church into a cathedral, and thus, with cathedral and palace in his own Liberty of St. Sepulchre's, he was free from the jurisdiction of the city authorities.

complaint that the King had appointed no one to grant dispensations in marriages, etc., he states that the priests applied directly to Rome for them. Another interesting piece of information given by Browne is that the people had been exhorted by the Pope to fast on certain days and receive Holy Communion, as in times of great crisis, to avert disaster from the Church and strengthen the people in their allegiance to the Holy See. Though Browne sent round a command to delete the name of the Pope from the liturgical books, no one paid any attention to him. He appealed, therefore, for secular aid, in the shape of sheriffs to every county, who, with the commissioners, would force what Browne had been unable to obtain by command. It is a remarkable fact that practically the whole hierarchy so far had stood firm in their opposition to the King's new Acts. Evidently the abolition of all papal authority in the country had set them thinking and made them realise the direction in which they were being forced. According to Browne, they were active in "seducing" the people to oppose the King. So that, not only was the King's supremacy not preached in the churches, but, in the diocese of Dublin, there was no preaching at all in the churches, but in secret places the priests exhorted their people to stand firm to their old faith. Unfortunately, we have no documents to show further the attitude of the priests and people. The whole story comes from writers on the other side.

Failure throughout Leinster.

It is important to notice how the Acts of Parliament were being put into operation in Leinster. Cowley, the King's solicitor, and White, were justices of the Co. Wexford, and inspected that county and also the counties of Waterford, Kilkenny, and Tipperary. They taxed and made an extent of the value of the first fruits of benefices and the twentieth value, and sent it to the King's Chancery in Ireland. But what is of present interest is an account that White gave of a sermon he heard at Waterford from one Dr. Sall, a gray friar (Franciscan), who had inveighed against "the breaking or putting down of churches, and making them profane places, as they do nowadays in divers places." Sall was

taken by the mayor of the city and sent to the Lord Deputy and Council, and by them imprisoned in Dublin Castle.

"So as now," says White,[1] "what for fear they have to preach their old traditions, and the little or no good will they have to preach the verity, all is put to silence. Yet, thanks be to God, his king's majesty hath one Catholick city [Waterford], and one champion, the Lord Butler, in the land, that dare repugn against the detestable abusions of so sundry sects, as this miserable land is in manner overflowed withal, whose pharasaical ceremonies and hypocrisy, of so long time continued here, hath not only trained and brought the people, in manner, wholly from the knowledge of God, but also in an evil and erroneous opinion of the king's most noble grace, and of all those that, under his majesty, be the setters forth of the true word of God, and repugnators against those abuses."

So the clergy refrained from preaching the Catholic faith openly in the churches for fear of the sheriffs and justices and of Dublin Castle. But these terrors did not prevent their collecting in secret where the word of God was preached according to Catholic tradition. On the other hand, no one was found to preach that word in the churches according to the meaning given to it by the "reformers." Preaching, then, seems to have vanished out of churches where English rule held sway.

The Lord Butler, referred to above, was James the son of Pierce, Earl of Ormonde and Ossory, treasurer of Ireland and admiral of the kingdom. In a letter (1 March, 1538) to the King he mentions that he and his father had been consulted by the commissioners as to the "extinguishing of abusions and enormities used here," and that he was prepared to carry out further instructions. He then continues:—

And, undoubtedly, I think, nothing more necessary to induce the people to good civility, than sincerely and truly to set forth the word of God to the people here, as hath by your most excellent highness been dilated and pronounced within your grace's realm of England, as a lanthorn to all other good Christian princes to use the same; whereby they might see and perceive the long fraudulent traditions and detestable abusions of the papistical sect and pharisaical sort, of the which there be too many of high

[1] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vol. ii., Part III, p. 562.

degrees here; and the good people to be led by true doctrine to the very infallible light of truth. And for my part, I, as one professed of Christ's religion, shall not omit for any fear, persecution, or other respect, to further and set forth the same effectually, to the uttermost of my power, according my bounden duty to Christ, and under him to your majesty; wherein the Archbishop of Dublin hath, by many predications, very fruitful now of late dilated, more than ever I heard in your grace's land, of the truth and plainness worthy high thanks.[1]

The debatable "word of God" was dragged in frequently by the "reformers" without any attempt to define what it meant. The meaning changed with the years and with the commands of Cromwell and his successors, and men like Butler and Browne were the interpreters of the "word" for the people and clergy. Butler claims that the people would thus be led to "the very *infallible* light of truth." It is interesting to note that Browne, according to Butler, had become more zealous in his preaching and was worthy of praise and thanks. It looks as if this part of the letter had been inspired by the archbishop.

Franciscans Lead the Opposition.

At this period the preaching of the "word of God" consisted in forcing on the people the acceptance of the supremacy of the King in Church matters, in denouncing the Pope and withdrawing from him all appeals in ecclesiastical affairs, in abusing religious orders, etc. For his new zeal in this respect Browne was highly praised by Butler. Even Agard, one of Cromwell's spies, praises him also whilst he abuses the Reformed Franciscans as the very front of the opposition. In his letter [2] to his master (5 April) he narrates:—

Here as yet the blood of Christ is clean blotted out of all men's hearts, what with that monster, the Bishop of Rome, and his adherents, in especial the false and crafty bloodsuckers, the Observants, as they will be called most holiest, so that there remains more virtue in one of their coats and knotted girdles, than ever was in Christ and his passion. It is hard, my good lord, for any poor man to speak against their abusions [abuses] here. For, except it be the Archbishop of Dublin, which doth here in preach-

[1] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vol. ii., Part III, p. 563. [2] *Ib.*, p. 570.

ing set forth God's word, with due obedience to their prince, and my good Lord Butler, the Master of the Rolls, Mr. Treasurer, and one or two more which are of small reputations, here is else none, from the highest, may abide the hearing of it, spiritual, as they call them, nor temporal [i.e. neither clergy nor people]; and in especial, they that here rule all, that be the temporal lawyers, which have the king's fee.

Here is another confession of failure to influence the minds of clergy and people. Browne's preaching was then ineffectual. The whole "reform" party consisted of four important men, Butler, Alen, Brabazon, and Browne, with a few others of no weight. The Lord Deputy and the judges of the various courts had not been persuaded by the preaching of the "word of God," even though they had admitted in theory the supremacy of the King.

The "Form of the Beads"—Browne's Pastoral.

Browne had now recourse to very drastic measures. So far, the supremacy of the King and the denial of the universal jurisdiction of the Pope were the only questions raised. The clergy and the people in general did not bow down and worship at Henry's shrine. It was clear to Browne that gentle persuasion would never win them, and that vigorous measures were necessary. In those measures the development of the "reform" becomes apparent, and important doctrines of the Church are attacked by Browne who was following in Luther's footsteps. History was now being rapidly made. The first measure adopted by Browne was "The Form of the Beads," [1] instructions to be addressed by the priests of the diocese to the people directing them what to pray for:—

You shall pray for the Universal Catholic Church, both quick and dead, and especially for the Church of England and Ireland. First for our Sovereign Lord the King, supreme head on earth immediate under God of the said Church of England and Ireland. And for the declaration of the truth thereof you shall understand, that the unlawful jurisdiction, power, and authority, of long time usurped by the Bishop of Rome in England and Ireland, who then was

[1] *S.P. Hen. VIII, Ir.*, ii. 564. The above title is equivalent to "The Manner of Praying."

called Pope, is now by God's law justly, lawfully, and upon good grounds, reasons, and causes, by authority of parliament and by and with the whole consent and agreement of all the bishops, prelates, and both the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and also the whole clergy both of England and Ireland, extinct and ceased for ever, as of no strength, value, or effect in the Church of England or Ireland. In the which Church the said whole clergy, bishop, and prelates, with the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, have, according to God's law and upon good and lawful reasons and grounds, acknowledged the king's highness to be supreme head on earth immediately after God of this Church of England and Ireland, which their knowledge confessed being, now by parliament established, and by God's laws justifiable to be justly executed, so ought every true Christian subject of this land not only to acknowledge and obediently recognise the king's highness to be supreme head on earth of the Church of England and Ireland; but also to speak, publish, and teach their children and servants the same, and to show unto them how that the said Bishop of Rome hath heretofore usurped not only upon God, but also upon our princes. Wherefore and to the intent that ye should the better believe me herein, and take and receive the truth as ye ought to do, I declare this unto you not only of myself, which I know to be true, but also declare unto you that the same is certified unto me from the right of my ordinary, the Archbishop of Dublin, under his seal, which I have here ready to show you, so that now it appeareth plainly, that the said Bishop of Rome hath neither authority nor power in this land, nor never had by God's laws; therefore I exhort you all, that you deface him in all your primers and other books where he is named Pope, and that you shall have from henceforth no confidence nor trust in him nor in his bulls or letters of pardon, which before time with his juggling casts of binding and loosing he sold unto you for your money, promising you therefor forgiveness of your sins, where of truth no man can forgive sins but God only; and also that ye fear not his great thunder claps of excommunication or interdiction, for they cannot hurt you, but let us put all our confidence and trust in our Saviour Jesus Christ, which is gentle and loving, and requireth nothing of us when we have offended him, but that we should repent and forsake our sins, and believe steadfastly that he is Christ, the Son of the living God, and that he died for our sins, and soforth, as it is contained in the Credo; and that through him and by him, and by none other, we shall have remission of our sins, 'a poena et culpa,' according to his promises made to us in many and divers places of Scripture. On this part ye shall

pray also for the prosperous estate of our young prince, prince Edward, with all other the king's issue and posterity, and for all archbishops and bishops, and especially for my lord archbishop of Dublin, and for all the clergy, and namely for all them that preacheth the word of God purely and sincerely. On the second part ye shall pray for all earls, barons, lords, and in special for the estate of the right honourable Lord Leonard Gray, Lord Deputy of this land of Ireland, and for all them that be of the king's most honourable council, that God may put them in mind to give such counsel, that it may be to the pleasure of Almighty God and wealth of this land. Ye shall pray also for the mayor of this city and his brethren, with all the commonalty of the same, or for the parishioners of this parish, and generally for all the temporality. On the third part ye shall pray for the souls that be departed out of this world in the faith of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which sleep in rest and peace, they may rise again and reign with Christ in eternal life. For those and for grace every man may say a Pater Noster and an Ave.

Browne's statement that the King's supremacy was accepted by all the prelates and priests of the Church of England and Ireland was another of those outrageous suppressions of the truth, designed, in this instance, to deceive, if possible, the people who listened to this pastoral in the churches of the diocese. It would be interesting to know in how many churches it was read. It will be later shown how the reading of it met with opposition.

Browne, in his pastoral, refers to the Lutheran charge as to sale of indulgences. It is in general terms and does not affect our present study; we are concerned only with historical facts regarding the "reform" movement in this diocese. Browne, in this matter of the Power of the Keys, reiterates his old plea that no one has power to forgive sins but God alone, and that confession must be made to none other. It is interesting to note that Browne ordered prayers for the dead, not that they might be freed from the pains of purgatory, as they slept "in rest and peace," but that they might "rise again and reign with Christ in eternal life." The introduction of these doctrinal matters was a decided advance in the work of "reform" which Browne and his party had at heart.

The Prebendaries Oppose Browne's Scheme.

So far as we have any means of judging, the clergy paid as little attention to Browne's pastoral as they did to his preaching. One example of this disobedience is furnished by a letter,[1] (8 May, 1538), which he addressed to Cromwell :—

On the first Sunday in May, being with us the translation of St. Owen [Audoen], in whose church [2] a prebendary of St. Patrick's, named Humfrey, of whose nature and condition I have partly declared unto your lordship heretofore, the very occasioner and author of the vilipension and contempt that I am in, besides discord and debate sown between me and my friends; this man singing high mass, as that day, because that he is there parson, at the time when that the beads is customably read, after the form and manner as I have devised, and set them forth for all curates: he himself thought scorn to read them. Wherefore his parish priest, according unto his oath, went up into the pulpit, and there began to read them unto the people. He had unnethes [only] read a three or four lines, but the parson began the preface, and the quire sang, in so much that the beads were unbidden [unpublished]. And certain of the parish presented it unto me. Then I considered this man, first, how that he did himself stick [refuse] to swear unto the king, and also moved other the same; seeing him also contemning my articles, devised for the furtherance of God's word, and the advancement of our sovereign's title of supremacy, being one of my chief church, promoted also within the city so nearhand me; I could no less do, but committed him unto ward [custody], till I hear further of the king's pleasure. They be in a manner all at the same point with me. There is an twenty-eight of them,[3] and amongst them all there is not three

[1] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vol. iii., Part III, p. 6.

[2] St. Audoen's, High St. The interesting and magnificent ruins of this ancient parochial church still exist. Audoen or Dado was the third son of Autharius, a Frankish nobleman of the reign of Dagobert. When St. Columbanus, our greatest Celtic missionary, was on his way through Dagobert's kingdom, he dwelt for some time with Autharius and blessed his three children, who afterwards entered the religious life, and adopted the rule of Columbanus in their own lives. Audoen, having been Chancellor of Dagobert, keeper of the King's seal, and called *princeps regni*, afterwards became Bishop of Rouen. It was thus that the Normans, on founding in Dublin their first parochial church, dedicated it to their great patron. It is interesting to note that in Browne's time it was one of the principal churches in the city.

[3] Probably the twenty-eight prebendaries of St. Patrick's Cathedral. There were twenty-six prebends, two of them being double, Tipperkevin and Donoughmore.

learned of them, nor yet scarce one that favoureth God's word. Your lordship might do a good deed to have a little thing put in practice with them, and that is *de non idoneis removendis;* else it is but vain for me, or any other, to take pains in our prince's causes.

Thus, in St. Audoen's, Browne's pastoral was not allowed to be read, and although he took the delinquent into custody, he would not proceed further until he received instructions from the King. Evidently, he did not know how the King regarded his method of reform. He mentions that of the twenty-eight priests there was scarcely one who obeyed him in this matter. He suggests that these undesirables be removed from their benefices, and that unless an example be made of some of them, all his preaching and pastorals are useless, and the King's supremacy a dead letter. Browne continues his letter :—

On the first day of this term there was a letter brought unto me, intercipate [intercepted], which should have been conveyed from the Father of Trim unto another of the same coat, which I have sent unto your lordship ; wherein you may perceive their towardness, and yet great men in these parts may evil [ill] spare them for their auricular confession : for they may be bold to utter unto them treason and other. If they lacked them, I suppose they should lack much boldness to do evil. Where they rule, God and the king cannot justly reign. As knoweth God, unto whom I commit your lordship perpetually.

Here again Browne nibbles at the doctrine of the confession of sins to a priest. He hints at the evil use made of the confessional by confessors who absolve from treason and such, and, as it were, thereby give a sanction to those people to persevere in their ways. He would wish these priests to be deprived of their authority so that the "King can justly reign." Browne, therefore, considered the confessional to be a supreme obstacle to the King's cause. The sequel to the imprisonment of Prebendary Humfrey is told in another letter [1] from Browne to Cromwell (20 May) :—

It may please your lordship to be advertised, that in my last letter, directed unto your lordship, I signified unto the same, that

[1] *L. and P. Hen. VIII,* vol. iii., Part III, p. 6. *Mant.,* i. 148.

for his pervicacity and negligence I committed one Humfrey, a prebendary of St. Patrick's, unto ward, till time that I knew further the king's pleasure in correcting of such obstinate and sturdy papists; thinking that in so doing I should have been aided and assisted by my Lord Deputy and the Council. Howbeit, spite of my beard, yea, and to my great rebuke, whiles that I was at an house of Observants, to swear them, and also to extinct that name, naming them Conventuals, my Lord Deputy hath set him at liberty. (So doth his lordship aid me in my prince's causes.) I think the simplest holy-water clerk is better esteemed than I am. I beseech your lordship in the way of charity, either cause my authority to take effect, or else let me return home again unto the cloister. When that I was at the worst, I was in better case than I am now, what with my Lord Deputy, the Bishop of Meath, and the pecuniose Prior of Kilmanham [Rawson]. God send remedy, who ever have your lordship in his safe tuition.

Your lordship may give credit unto this bearer, for he is my chaplain, I have committed now of late into ward the Bishop of Meath's suffragan, which in his sermon prayed, first for the Bishop of Rome, then for the emperor, and at last for the king's grace, saying: "I pray God, he [the King] never depart this world, until that he hath made amends." What shall a man think of the bishop that hath such a suffragan? Howbeit, I doubt not but that he shall be discharged; ask, and nought believe.

According to Leland,[1] "several incumbents of the diocese of Dublin chose to resign their benefices, rather than acknowledge the King's supremacy. And so formidable, or at least so considerable was this party, that the prelate would not venture to fill up their benefices until he had consulted his patron, Lord Cromwell. He repeated his complaints to this minister of the difficulties he experienced from the ignorance and obstinacy of the clergy, with an insinuation that he was not as strenuously supported by the governor as the critical occasion required. In one of his letters he ventures yet further: 'The viceroy is of little or no power with the old natives; therefore your lordship will expect of me no more than I am able'."

With Archbishop Cromer in the north, Bishop Staples in Meath, Rawson, the prior of the powerful house of the Hospitallers at Kilmainham, and his own clergy in Dublin,

[1] *Hist. of Ir.*, ii. 170-1.

all up in arms against him, no wonder he requested to be let return to the cloister! But what cloister? He had been the foremost in England in suppressing the friaries, and was on the road in Ireland to the same end. He visited the Franciscans to get them to take the oath of Supremacy, to suppress the Order, and to remodel them into conventuals, or mere monks living together without the rule of their Order. With what success we shall see. It is clear that Browne was forcing the pace of the "reform" with his new device of the "Form of the Beads" and the new doctrines included in it, and that many of the Council of Ireland did not favour his scheme.

Browne Claims Money for Promoting to the Deanery.

It is necessary to refer here to an incident of much significance. It relates to the deanery of St. Patrick's. At the close of the year 1536, Browne, as one of the King's Council, had despatched a letter[1] commending Sir Edward Basnet, then a prebendary of St. Patrick's Cathedral, to Cromwell's good offices. His Majesty was at the same time urged to induce the then Dean of that Cathedral, Geoffrey Fyche, to resign his dignity. The reason given for the request was that Fyche was "aged and impotent, and he not able to defend the revenues of the same lying in the marches." The possessions of the deanery lay in the districts of Clondalkin, Esker, Rathcool, Tallaght, and Kilbery (Co. Kildare). It was suggested that the preferment would be thus open for Basnet, "a man meet and active for that intent and defence also of the country." In the same despatch the King entreated "semblady to the chapter, exhorting them upon such resignation made to elect such a person as their archbishop should name unto them, without expressing or making mention of the said Sir Edward in the same letter, lest the chapter, being in manner all native of this land, and beforehand admonished that the intent was to have an Englishman preferred thereunto, would so consult together as the same should take no effect."

The opportune death of Dean Fyche, in less than two months, made the consummation of this intrigue unnecessary, so far as forcing the resignation was concerned. When

[1] *S.P. Hen. VIII, Ir.*, i. 420.

Basnet was nominated by Cromwell for election, six prebendaries protested against the unconstitutional proceeding and demanded the recognition of their ancient privilege of free election. Basnet was nevertheless elected, and the election was confirmed by Browne, but not until about 14 April, 1538.[1] That Cromwell's good service was not gratuitous is shown by a letter[2] of the vice-treasurer Brabazon (24 April, 1537) in which the latter asks the Lord Privy Seal "to detain further LX li. sterling [£60; about £900, *1914 value*] for your lordship's good will in the preferment of your bedeman, Sir Edward Basnet, to the room of the dean of St. Patrick's here."

But this was not the only sinister transaction. In fact the whole affair seems like simony. Whether Browne had made a compact with Basnet for a payment of money in the event of confirming or of helping the latter to the deanery we have no means of knowing. But it seems likely there was a deal. Brabazon in a cunning way pays Cromwell £60 for the promotion of Basnet. It is not at all unlikely that Brabazon and Browne had made up their minds that Basnet was the man for the deanery, being an Englishman and apparently favourable to the new "reform," and, therefore, intrigued to have him appointed. In a letter of 14 April, 1538, Basnet thanks Cromwell for promoting him to the deanery, but complains that Browne would not confirm his election without a payment of £200[3] (£3000, *1914 value*).

Browne evidently did not regard simony as an ecclesiastical offence under his "reform." He had clearly made a promise, in regard to his own appointment to Dublin, to Lord Rochforde,[4] Anne Boleyn's brother, of a sum of £250, which debt was frequently recognised by him but which remained unpaid. In the case of Basnet's promotion, he had evidently named his fee beforehand for his confirmation, for he could not under any custom or law extort payment for confirming any prebendary or dignitary to a benefice in his cathedral. His

[1] *S.P. Hen. VIII, Ir.*, ii. 512. [2] *Ib.*, i. 421.
[3] *C.S.P., Ir.*, 1509-1573, p. 39.
[4] George Boleyn, Viscount Rochforde, attainted and beheaded in 1536. All monies due to him became forfeited to the Crown. Browne succeeded in obtaining release of this debt (5 July, 1542).

claim in this case seems to have been based on a previous understanding with Basnet. Moreover, the question must be asked: Why did Browne delay until April, 1538, before he confirmed Basnet's election? We know that Basnet [1] was elected before Easter, 1537, as in the statutes of 28 Hen. VIII (i.e. 1537) he is mentioned as dean and as compounding for the payment of the first fruits of his dignity from Easter of that year. It would appear, then, that Browne delayed a whole year because of Basnet's refusal to pay the £200. And it is an extraordinary coincidence that on the very day (14 April, 1538) that Basnet wrote to Cromwell complaining of Browne's action the latter confirmed the dean's election.

Browne "Maligned"—Gray his "Heavy Lord."

In a letter to Cromwell [2] (21 May, 1538) Browne mentions that the Lord Chancellor (Alen), Master Treasurer (Brabazon), and himself, with others, had received his letters [3] ordering the suppression of religious houses. We reserve this portion of the letter to Part II of this volume. Browne then continues:—

My lord, according my bounden duty and promises made unto your good Lordship, I trust in what my little power lieth. I am prompt to set forth the gospel of Christ and my Prince's just causes, although I be here amongst the more part greatly maligned at for the same. Trusting that your Lordship according my sundry petitions made unto you, when time may serve, will appoint some others hither to help exonerate a part of my burden, even as your good lordship have sundry times wayed me out of displeasures there. I most heartily thank your good Lordship of the letters

[1] Sir Edward Bassenet or Basnet was of an esquire's family, long seated at Eaton, in Denbighshire. He came to Ireland, probably, in the train of Sir Anthony Sentleger, who was appointed Lord Deputy in 1534, and was, on this occasion, accompanied by three of his brothers. On 11 May, 1535, he was presented by the King to the vicarage of Swords, then in the gift of the Crown, during vacancy of the see. His title "Sir" was one that was applied in those times to those who had taken the first degree in a University. The jurisdiction of the dean of St. Patrick's was "quasi-episcopalis," and was founded on the model of the Church of Sarum in England. He was lord of a manor about the cathedral, and had a seneschal for holding courts leet and baron. (See Mason, *St. Patrick's*, p. 147.)

[2] *S.P. Hen. VIII*, vol. vi., no. 58, P.R.O., London.

[3] *Pat. and Cl. R. Ir.*, 3 Feb. and 7 April, 30 Hen. VIII, p. 55.

that ye directed hither in discharge of mine homage, for which I have sustained before not only great trouble but also much losses, whereof I have little need, but much the less is my estimation for that my Lord Deputy is my heavy lord, who doth not only sundry times deprave [*vilipende*, deleted in text] my poor person but also withholdeth from me my hawks with such other commodities as unto me belongeth that I should give namely to your good lordship next unto the King's Highness, and others my friends there that I beseech God send me once a more quieter life; (which prevaileth me not to look after [1] till your lordship see redress).

Browne again refers to the suppression, and asks for the Convent of Grace Dieu.[2]

Browne, in a postscript, tells of his debt to Lord Rochforde in the sum of £400,[3] of which £250 were paid to the Lord, another £50 to Master Hollice, Alderman of London, for the redeeming of a cup of gold belonging to the Lord and pledged with the said Hollice. The other £100 should have been paid for the redeeming of a house which the Lord bought from him, according to agreement that it was to be given to Cromwell's nephew, Sir Richard. But neither himself nor Sir Richard ever got possession of the house, so that neither by law nor conscience is he bound to pay the Lord the £100. Unless Cromwell writes to the Lord Treasurer about it, he (Browne) will have to pay the money. As Cromwell has always been his friend in adversity as well as in prosperity, he desires him to ask from the treasurer a complete discharge of the £400, for God and Cromwell know how ill he can bear such demands until he is once out of debt.

He then relates that within two hours after he had written the foregoing, and whilst dining with the Lord Chancellor, Lord James Butler, and the Treasurer, news was brought to them that Cromwell was dead. This he hopes is not true, but "there were not so many cold hearts at one mess within thousands of miles, pondering not only how loving and faithful a lord that we had lost, but also the destitution of so noble and prudent a counsellor." And yet he sent the letter to Cromwell that very day (21 May).

The chief point, however, of the letter, lies in the con-

[1] I.e. *useless for me to look for.* [2] See Part II.

[3] On a previous occasion the amount of the debt was given as £250.

fession that Browne's preaching of the "word of God" was still the object of derision among most of the people and indeed among the majority of the Council. So much did Browne feel the powerlessness of his friends of the "reform" that on several occasions he asked Cromwell to send others over from England to help them. And he complained that Lord Deputy Gray was foremost among those who reviled him. Gray was chiefly concerned with winning over the Irish chiefs to acknowledge their loyalty to Henry, and he had no stomach for any religious upheaval. He, therefore, did not favour Browne's methods, and thwarted him in many ways. On several occasions Browne reported him to Cromwell, but we find no rebuke from the Lord Privy Seal to the Deputy for his behaviour. Cromwell, whilst urging on Browne, was slow to condemn Gray. The King recognised Gray's great worth as Deputy, and Cromwell was too astute to antagonise Henry. We know that the King's main object was to have his supremacy acknowledged so that he might fill his coffers with the spoils of the monasteries. Beyond that his notion of "reform" did not extend. That seems to be the explanation of the whole confusion of ideas and of the dissension among the Irish "reformers"—Cromwell, with the foreign "reformers" at his back, out for any destruction in religious life which he could accomplish, and the King enjoying himself with the satisfaction of well-filled coffers.

The "homage" that Browne refers to seems to be the usual yearly tax for his archbishopric to Cromwell, the Vicar-General. On other occasions he had written to his ecclesiastical master how ill he could afford the payment. Cromwell, on this occasion, remits the debt. Browne cunningly insinuates that he is oppressed by Gray, and to gain sympathy tells how even the hawks he was about to send to the King and Cromwell, etc., were seized by Gray. It is interesting to learn that Browne, even amid the turmoil of religious discussion and furthering the King's cause, had time and mind for the ancient pleasure of hawking, and preserved the birds for his sport and for presents to his princely patrons. Finally, to show how overburdened he was with work, Browne asks that he might have a helper. He evidently refers to assistant-bishop, or suffragan as he was called, whom he afterwards

joined with himself. In fact, the names of three "suffragans" appear at different times, Thady Reynolds, Richard Nangle, and one Sylvester.

Battle of the Sermons—Browne and Staples Attack Each Other.

By the admission of so zealous a "reformer" as Brabazon, Staples, Bishop of Meath, promoted the "word of God"; but the effect of his eloquence was much lessened by the ill-feeling existing between himself and Browne. It seems that the *Form of the Beads*, published in his diocese by Browne, had given offence not only to Gray but to Staples and Rawson. In that pastoral Browne had ordered prayers for Prince Edward, archbishops, bishops, etc., and had denounced the Pope as a usurper. Soon afterwards, Staples' suffragan, whoever he was, preached a sermon which was evidently inspired by Staples himself and which was aimed at Browne's *Form of the Beads*. In the above-mentioned letter Browne tells: "I have committed now of late into ward the Bishop of Meath's suffragan, which in his sermon prayed, first for the Bishop of Rome, then for the Emperor, and at last for the King's grace saying: 'I pray God, he [the King] never depart this world until he hath made amends.' What shall a man think of the bishop that hath such a suffragan?"

Staples could not take the affront in silence, and, in a sermon, the second Sunday in Lent, in St. Audoen's, Dublin, said some hard things against Browne. According to the latter, Staples warned his hearers against "seditious and false preachers" who were questioning texts of Scripture and throwing doubt on their meaning. In consequence of this private interpretation of Scripture, a preacher may hold one opinion to-day and another to-morrow, thus disturbing people's belief. This questioning leads to "all misery, all wretchedness, and also death," just as the first question in the world put by the serpent to Eve led to all these troubles. It is to be noted that Staples afterwards made no reference to this accusation against him made by Browne. It was evidently true that Staples did make these remarks.

A few weeks after the sermon in St. Audoen's, Browne preached in Christ Church (fourth Sunday of Lent) before

the Commissioners and the King's Council, and pointed out that it was lawful to propose questions as to the interpretation of passages of Scripture. We are left in the dark as to the particular passages in question. In consequence of that sermon, Staples (according to Browne) not only by pen, at which he is an adept, but in speech, time and again, railed and raged against him, calling him heretic and beggar and many other "rabulous revilings."

On Palm Sunday, Staples was given an opportunity by Rawson of replying to Browne. On that day a station and patron were being held as usual in honour of St. John whose holy well adjoined the Priory of the Hospitallers at Kilmainham. As the place was exempt from the jurisdiction of the archbishop, and Staples was in great favour with Rawson, the Bishop of Meath, after the canonical hour of None was said, preached to the people. Browne, in a letter [1] to Alen (15 April, 1538), describes the scene at Kilmainham. He says that the sermon was preached from a collection of *Tresdecim Sermones* (thirteen sermons), and that Staples was not to blame for any new doctrine in it, but that having made several charges against him in it, standing still in the pulpit, he asked the assembly to hear him further. Browne says that Staples then took out a letter which Staples' servant sent him from Dublin containing certain charges made by Browne in his sermon against Staples at which the servant was present. Browne says they were a fabrication, not merely "slanderous but contemptuous," and that it was Prebendary Humfrey who wrote the letter.

Nevertheless, Staples commented on the letter "without all honest shame," before himself (Browne) who was present at the sermon at Kilmainham, "with such a stomach as I think the three mouthed Cerberous of Hell could not have uttered it more viperously." All this he did, says Browne, in order to destroy his (Browne's) authority and destroy the people's belief in him. "He glossed every sentence after such an opprobrious fashion that every honest ear glowed to hear it."

Browne further accused Staples of sending a letter to Humfrey in which Staples boasted that he would prove the Archbishop of Dublin to be a heretic, and of advising the people

[1] *S.P. Hen. VIII, Ir.*, iii. 1-2.

not to believe in Browne as he himself would put no faith in him. Lastly, Browne says that the station and patron at Kilmainham were held to maintain the Pope's supremacy, and that the papal indulgence for all who assisted at them was posted on the wall of the church.

Browne, in his letter, exhorts Alen to show it to Cromwell as Alen has now an opportunity of doing good, and of showing his "faithful heart to God and the prince." He declares that the whole proceeding at Kilmainham is a plain argument against exempt places, and hopes that Kilmainham, though exempt from his own jurisdiction, is not so exempt as to prevent the King's orders from running there. Staples, he declares, would not have been so bold if he had not been supported by the Hospitallers who are in as great favour as ever they were.

In a postscript he hints at the wrongs done against him by the Lord Deputy (Gray), and that he does not expect any favours from him, but, on the contrary, further wrongs. He states that he (Browne) and the Abbot of St. Thomas' Court bought from their own tenants two fat oxen, which they paid for two months ago, but the Lord Deputy not only took the two fat oxen to his own kitchen but imprisoned one of the tenants. "Thus by high power men be here oppressed." Finally, he begs Alen to remember his servant William and obtain for him the post of notary, for which Alen shall not only receive his thanks but the service of William. He addresses the letter to "his assured friend, Mr. John Alen, Master of the Rolls in Ireland."

It was bad enough to be called a heretic by the Bishop of Meath, but worse to be called a poll-shorn knave friar by a lord deputy who had soldiers and prisons. Browne said it was no safer to speak against papal usurpations before Gray than if the Pope had been present. Lord Butler agreed with the archbishop that Gray had a special zeal for popery, allowed the new system to be openly impugned in his presence, and in fact headed the reactionary party.

Official Inquiry into the Sermons.

It would seem that Staples, who had accepted the King's supremacy, fell foul with Browne over the imprisonment of

his suffragan, and believed that Browne was taking too much on himself. The imprisonment of Prebendary Humfrey also seemed to have been displeasing to him, and he evidently undertook to champion his cause. But what appears also at the root of the trouble is that Staples did not approve of Browne's *Form of the Beads*, and evidently did not see eye to eye with Browne in the latter's fulmination against the Pope, the doctrine of Confession, and prayers for the dead. Whether this be so or not, it is significant that Staple chose St. Audoen's, where the trouble began, as the pulpit from which to make an answer to Browne. Then he took the opportunity of the great concourse of people from Dublin at Kilmainham Priory on Palm Sunday, who assembled for the ancient custom of the station and patron, to answer Browne's sermon of the fourth Sunday of Lent. Staples evidently did not mean thereby to sanction the station or the Pope's indulgence but simply used the occasion to reply to Browne. In his articles of reference for the inquiry into these sermons, Staples is quite firm in this that he did not in the Kilmainham sermon say anything about the King's supremacy or the authority of the Pope, and that he did not call Browne a heretic.

It must be remembered that so far there was only one change in the matter of religion, that was, in the head of the Church, the substitution of the King for the Pope. As to Confession, prayers for the dead, etc., there had been no royal or parliamentary Act to justify Browne or anyone else for preaching such doctrines as Browne mentioned in his pastoral. As a bishop, therefore, Staples was within his right to call attention to the danger of any preacher twisting Scripture to suit his own opinion and upsetting the faith of the people. When one considers the state of mind of the Catholics of the time within the pale—the King made the head of their Church —and not knowing what that was going to lead to, and not knowing how they stood in doctrinal matters, it is quite easy to understand how every step to rob them of their ancient faith terrified them and worked them up into opposition. As far as one can judge from the few letters extant, this seems to have been Staples' attitude at the time, though afterwards he changed it.

The controversy between Browne and Staples [1] did not end with the sermon on Palm Sunday at Kilmainham. Cromwell was appealed to to settle the dispute. The first to make this appeal was Brabazon, who evidently saw that the conflict between these two bishops only tended to destroy the work of "reform."

Amongst other topics dealt with by Brabazon in his letter [2] to Cromwell (30 April, 1538), we find reference to the sermons of Browne and Staples :—

There hath been sermons made by the Archbishop of Dublin and the Bishop of Meath who have set forward the word of God, but after their preachings the one hath taunted the other with a little "collacion." It is requisite that your lordship write to my lord of Dublin to take some order for the Observant Friars. Here I am well assured that he favoreth them not but shall be right glad to see a better order amongst them, etc.

Evidently Browne had not succeeded in quelling the opposition of the Franciscans or in changing their rule from the friar to the conventual type. It is worthy of note that no other religious Order in the city or suburbs received special mention in the letters of this period for its opposition.

Staples now wrote to Cromwell on more than one occasion to defend himself and his sermons. In one [3] (10 June, 1538) he says :—

In most humble wise my duty remembered this shall be to advertise your honourable good Lord that since my last letter unto the same I made suit unto my lord deputy and council that examination of my late sermon made at Kilmainham may be had by their appointment, which hath committed the examination unto the prior of Christ Church, the Chantor [Precentor] of St. Patrick's, and Nicholas Stanyhurst. And they to make relation thereof unto the Lord Deputy and Council. And they to certify your good Lord of the truth thereof and doubt not but the truth shall appear that the Bishop of Dublin which of malice and disdaign

[1] Edward Staples, a native of Lincolnshire, succeeded to the See of Meath in 1530 by provision from Pope Clement VII. In 1534, having been with Archbishop Alen in opposition to Thomas, Earl of Kildare, he fled to England at the outbreak of the Fitzgerald revolt. He returned the following year, and was made a commissioner for the suppression of the convent of Grane.

[2] *S.P. Hen. VIII*, vol. vi., no. 51, P.R.O., London.

[3] *Ib.*, vol. vii., no. 6, P.R.O., London.

hath accused me, did never more effectually set forth my master's cause than I did there, most humbly beseeching your good Lord to direct your letters unto the Lord Deputy and Council here indifferently to examine both the said Bishop's cause against me and my demeanour against him. And they to certify your good Lord of the truth thereof. And this Jhesu preserve your good Lord in much honour. Written the 10th day of June.

Your most humble orator,

Edw . . . dy [*sic*].

To my lord Privy Seal

my most singular good lord his good lord

[Endorsed] [Deleted in text].

Edward Medyn.

June X°.

The terms of reference for the inquiry were as follows :—

Hereafter followeth such articles, as the Archbishop of Dublin doth minister, where upon he would the witness, that shall be produced by the Bishop of Meath, should be interrogated.

Inprimis, whether the Bishop of Meath, in his sermon made the second Sunday in Lent, at Saynt Owens, did say these words following, viz. : "Good people, beware of seditious and false preachers, which moveth questions of Scripture, for I tell you, all misery, all wretchedness, and also death, came by moving of a question ; for they, that moveth questions of Scripture, doth preach, now this way, now that way, and be inconstant" ?

Secondarily, whether the Archbishop of Dublin did inveigh against the Bishop of Meath's sermon, and proved that it was lawful to move questions, vizt. at Christchurch, in his sermon made the 4th Sunday in Lent ; whereat were present the Commissioners, and others of the King's Council ?

Thirdly, whether that the Bishop of Meath, at Kilmaynam, after his sermon made on Palm Sunday, did pluck out of his bosom a letter, which he said his servant sent him ? and whether the contents thereof were feigned and untrue to the said Archbishop of Dublin, not only slanderous, but also contemptuous ?

Fourthly, how neglectly the Bishop of Meath did pass over this text "Quem dicunt homines esse filium hominis," etc., as who saith it made nothing to the purpose ?

Fifthly, whether the Bishop of Meath sent a letter unto Umfrey, the contents whereof in part was, that the said Bishop of Meath would prove the Archbishop of Dublin to be an heretic ?

The 6th article, whether the Bishop of Rom's pardons did, on

Palm Sunday, hang in the church of Kilmaynan, according to that day of station before time used there for the maintenance of the Bishop of Rom's authority, or not?

To the last article, whether the Bishop of Meath said, "Good people give no credence to him, believe him not; for I tell you if ye will, in faith I will not"?

On this other side been expressed the articles, ministered by the Bishop of Meath, where upon certain witness should be examined upon.

Inprimis, that they, that were chosen to say betwixt the Archbishop of Dublin and the Bishop of Meath, should upon their oath be examined, whether they were at Kilmaynan on Palm Sunday, or not?

Secondarily, whether that they heard him there, in his sermon, touch the King's Supremacy, or not?

Thirdly, whether that he spake anything of the Bishop of Rome?

Fourthly, whether he in the pulpit did call the Archbishop of Dublin heretic or not? "I beseech your good Lordship weigh and ponder my letter, unto your lordship before time written, of the very matter, and now consider also how this matter is handled." [1]

Staples Works for the Supremacy—Nearly Loses His Life.

Within a week after his previous letter to Cromwell, Staples wrote (17 June) to Mr. Sentleger or Mr. Moyll making further charges against Browne. The letter shows that Staples was anxious to secure allegiance to the King's supremacy, but did not favour Browne's attitude towards the Mass or his usurpation of the office of master of religion in Ireland. He complains that "pride and avarice hath ravished [him] from the right remembrance of himself." The letter [2] reads as follows:—

I have received no writing from you. I have written to you by John Plunkett of "my trouble by the Bishop of Dublin." He has made Mr. Treasurer and the Master of the Rolls his friends, and boasts that he rules all the clergy under the King. He has handled me and my friends most cruelly. "He hath gotten one Silvester [3] joined with him, as he saith, in our master's authority

[1] *Brit. Mus.*, Titus, B. XI, leaf 431.

[2] *Car. Cal.*, 1515-1574, p. 141. *S.P. Hen. VIII*, iii. 29.

[3] This is the first intimation that Browne had got a coadjutor, if Sylvester can be called such. It is interesting to note that Staples says that Sylvester abhors the Mass.

—God knoweth a man of what gravity. The common voice goeth that he doth abhor the mass. It were well done my Lord Privy Seal would of his goodness appoint some inquisition secret of the truth of their demeanour and discretion, or his lord put them in such authority." I also advise that his lordship should find some means that such bishops as had their bulls from the Bishop of Rome, by the King's command may bring them in and cancel them, and "have some remembrance from his Highness which shall stand them in like effect with the same."

The common voice in the Irishry is, that the King's supremacy is maintained "only by power, and not reasoned by learning." Safe conducts should therefore be given to all Irish clerks to come and dispute about it with us, and proclamation made accordingly at Dundalk for the north, and at Kylkenny for the borderers. Remember the instructions which I wrote concerning this country by your command, "and specially to have our master recognised King of Ireland," the lack whereof "doth much hinder their duties to be done," as I showed you at your being here. "In my late scean [sermon?] this Whit Sunday I did set forward my master's cause," before "the honourable audience of all my diocese, and brought my books with me of such as were addict to the Bishop of Rome," offering to answer any disputant. I have therefore jeopardised my body and my all in the King's service, and now am very sickly and unable to journey. If the King "will have me to ride much to parliaments and his Grace's other affairs as I have done, I beseech you, because of my stranguillyon,[1] get me licence to ride upon a pyllyon, or else I must ride in a litter." Remember me to Master Moyll.

Give credence to Master Stephans, touching the triumphing of the Bishop of Dublin. "We lack no P. nor P."

It is clear that Staples was making a supreme effort to stand well with the King. He boldly admits that the King's supremacy was making no headway, and that the only way in which it could be made successful was to call in the Bulls by which the bishops had been appointed by the Pope and have royal letters issued instead. This would make the bishops take one side or the other, and the King could use

[1] Staples was apparently suffering from hernia, and unable to ride a horse with the dignity required of a prelate coming to attend Parliament. To come in any other manner required the King's licence, and Staples suggests two alternatives, on a pillion or in a litter. A litter is a kind of sedan couch upheld by shafts, with a horse at each end, and used by people of wealth.

his power either to compel their allegiance or appoint others in their place. But, so far, power had been no use with the priests and people who were not convinced of the King's right to be head of the Church. The means of convincing them by conferences at Dundalk and Kilkenny was never adopted, evidently because the priests would surely have refused to attend them. His own attempt at "reasoning" with them was answer enough as to the futility of the experiment. He says he nearly lost his life in the attempt. The temper of the people was abundantly clear. At the end of his letter is a conundrum: "We lack no P. nor P." This probably means: "We have plenty of popery and plenty of priests," and the inference is that the "reform" was a failure.

This is borne out by a letter[1] from Cowley to Cromwell (19 July, 1538) in which it is stated that the Pope was still appointing bishops to vacant Sees in Ireland, and that the King's nominee was refused recognition by the people. Cowley says:—

> This Friday evening, the 19th, I have received a letter from my Lord Butler, abusing my Lord Deputy's proceedings as tending to subdue the King's subjects, extol the Geraldine Sect, and tolerate the Papists. I am sorry to hear of such abuses: still more so "to hear how the Papistical sect spring up and spread abroad, infecting the land pestiferously, by default of attolerance, by reason that where the King's Majesty preferred one Doctor Nangle to the bishopric of Clonfert, one Rowland Burke purchased bulls from the Bishop of Rome, whereby he expulsed the King's presentee." Although the King wrote to the Lord Deputy to prosecute the provisor, nothing was done. General recourse is had daily to Rome, whereas in times past they repaired to the King. There are "now lately" five bishops in Ireland by the Bishop of Rome's authority, besides abbots and priors. All this comes of "sufferance without any prosecuting."
>
> He beseeches Cromwell to be good to him in regard to his "poor suit of my bill of Holmepatrik."[2]

Cowley is yet another witness to the failure to have the King's bishops received by the priests and people, and puts

[1] *Car. Cal., S.P. ad an.*, p. 142. *S.P. Hen. VIII, Ir.*, iii. 50.

[2] Cowley had already asked that the priory of Holmpatrick, on being suppressed, should be granted to him for all his work in the King's cause.

it down to laxity on the part of Gray, Lord Deputy. The case of Clonfert See is an interesting one. Richard Nangle, Provincial of the Augustinians in Ireland, the Order of which Browne had been a member, had been appointed by Henry VIII to Clonfert in 1536.[1] At the same time Roland de Burgo, a kinsman of Ulick de Burgo, was appointed by Pope Clement VII, and arrived sometime before 10 November, 1537, bringing "from Rome many benefices and dispensations within Conacht."[2] Roland[3] was gladly received in his See, and Nangle being expelled, afterwards made his way to Browne.[4]

We must confess that we do not understand Cowley's reference to five bishops lately appointed by the Pope. The only papal appointments between 1536 and 1538 (date of Cowley's letter) were to Killaloe and Clonfert, and possibly to Tuam and Elphin. Perhaps he had information then which we do not now possess. We shall see later more about the Pope's and the King's bishops.

Cowley's statement that "general recourse is had daily to Rome, whereas in times past they repaired to the King," seems to show a falling off in clergy and people's allegiance to the King as spiritual head. It confirms our view that though the supremacy was at first tacitly accepted yet its full significance was not brought home until the acts against the Pope's prerogatives were passed in Parliament. It was only then that the real opposition began.

Browne Defends Himself against Staples.

Staples' friends had evidently gained the ear of Cromwell and justified his attacks on Browne. As a result, Cromwell wrote to Browne reproving him for his conduct. In reply to this Browne wrote one of his characteristic letters[5] to Cromwell (27 July, 1538):—

[1] Harris, *Ware's Bishops*, 642.

[2] Letter of Culoke to Brabazon, from Galway, 10 Nov., 1537, *S.P. Hen. VIII, Ir.*, ii. 516.

[3] Roland afterwards submitted to Henry VIII, and obtained the royal dispensation on 24 Oct., 1541.

[4] It would seem that Nangle became the "suffragan" or coadjutor of Browne. He was probably the Sylvester already mentioned as his coadjutor.

[5] *S.P. Hen. VIII*, vol. vii., no. 27, P.R.O., London.

Right honourable, my bounden duty premised. It may please you to be advertised that of late I received certain letters from your lordship, dated the last day of May, the contents whereof in part rejoiced me not a little. In part again I was soundly abashed at the further sight, where as your Lordship admonished me of an honest and charitable fashion in my proceedings not that the admonishing in any wise "incolored" [cholered: angered] me, but that malign fame, sinister relation, should so incense your Lordship or other my friends to my rebuke. I take God to record, which inwardly knoweth all hearts and is Judge of man's conscience, that I never intended malice in either my preaching or writing but only the mere setting forth of God's word and the advancement of my Prince's just authority, as they can well report that are privy of my conversation. Albeit bought voices recense [narrate] the contrary. I humbly desired your good Lordship, and yet instantly desire the same, to send unto the Bishop of Meath for the letter that his friend sent him from London, which said that he did see my letter directed unto your Lordship against him. My good Lord be so good unto me as to bolt out the truth in that thing. And your lordship shall perceive that all vessels be not so sound indeed as they appear. I ask it of charity for my declaration. Again your Lordship's chaplain, my steward Thomas Oreefe, priest, whom for his popishness I had put forth of my service, which now also at his being in England was both at Canterbury and Walsyngham and other pilgrimages as I am credibly informed, brought your Lordship's letters for a prebend within St. Patrick's. Your lordship cannot so soon command me as I shall be always ready to fulfil the same. How be it, I desire your Lordship for any that shall be under me yet at least way that your Lordship will hire [take] my simple advice in their election. And namely for them that shall come out of these parts. My Lord Deputy, of whose proceedings I am not yet well assured, came unto Kilmainham when these were written. The bearer can tell somewhat therein. Wherefore I suspend my pen. And thus I commit your good Lordship unto the tuition of God. From Dublin the 27th day of July.

Your Lordships at commandment,
GEORGIUS DUBLIN.

To the right honourable and
his most especial good Lord
the Lord at Privy Seal give this.

The Archbishop of Dublin 27th July desireth your Lordship to send unto the Bishop of Meath for a letter sent unto him from

London by one that wrote it. He did see the said Archbishop's letter of complaint directed to your Lordship against the Bishop of Meath for declareth one Thomas Oreff to be papish.

It is clear that Browne's abusive methods, his violent outbursts, did not find favour with Cromwell or with the Council of Ireland. It is difficult to know whether he told the truth to Alen or not in the letter already given. Even that ardent "reformer," Brabazon, was not clear that Browne was right. It would seem that Browne wished to go too fast with the "reform," and was antagonising others instead. He found fault with the assembly at Kilmainham, and denounced Prior Rawson for holding it. Even if the King were head of the Church, that did not mean that patrons and pilgrimages were to be forbidden, but Browne, in his hatred of ancient practises, wished an end to be put to them all. In the opinion of Cromwell and the Council this was going too fast, and was calculated to turn the people away from, instead of attracting them to, the "reform." This seems the explanation of Cromwell's reproof of Browne.

In the above letter, Browne's simple narration of facts brings out in unmistakable fashion Cromwell's underhand dealings. The latter had sent over his chaplain Oreefe to Browne who appointed him his steward, probably in connection with his manors. It may be suspected that Oreefe was one of Cromwell's spies. Browne dismissed Oreefe for his "popishness," and the steward crossed to England and, according to Browne, was seen participating in the great English pilgrimages of Canterbury and Walsyngham. But Oreefe had also been with Cromwell and saw there Browne's letter of complaint against Staples. He seems then to have written to Staples telling him of its contents. It was evidently Oreefe's method of revenge against Browne. But what must have been Browne's feelings when Cromwell sent Oreefe back to Browne with letters commanding the latter to give him a prebend in St. Patrick's? He calms his feelings and expresses his willingness to carry out at once Cromwell's wish. His hint that Cromwell might consult him whenever ecclesiastics resident in Dublin were to be appointed to prebends was distinctly shrewd. As usual, he reserves important bits of information to be given to Cromwell by word of mouth. On

this occasion his messenger is to tell about Gray and his latest manœuvres, but he himself is careful not to commit it to writing. A great deal of valuable information is lost by this oral method of communication.

Staples had triumphed over Browne, and, in order to hold his favourable position with Cromwell, he sends him a present. This was by no means an unusual method of obtaining favour, and Browne adopted it on other occasions. Cromwell was particularly partial to receiving presents. In a letter[1] to Cromwell (27 Sept., 1538) Staples says that he "sends him a goshawk.[2] He had a promise of the whole nest, but Justice Luttrell prevented [deprived] him of one, which he [Staples] hears has been sent to Cromwell. They are very scarce. Last year he sent two by Thomas Agarde [Cromwell's servant] and had no acknowledgment of their receipt. He begs two or three words in writing of the receipt of them and of this."

Browne Makes Peace with Staples.

As the result of Staples' letter,[3] Browne received a communication from Cromwell to which he replied (10 Aug., 1538) :—

"According to a letter directed unto your Lordship at the motion of the Chief Justice and Master of the Rolls, and as they

[1] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vol. xiii., Part II, no. 441.

[2] Hawking, at this time, had an enormous vogue (see *Taming of the Shrew*, IV, i. 191). The *goshawk*, or short-winged hawk, was more popular in France whilst the long-winged hawk, generally a *falcon*, whether peregrine, merlin, or hobby, was chiefly favoured in England. The "astringer" (one who flew goshawks) and the "falconer" (who flew ordinary hawks) worked quite differently; the first flew his hawk in wooded and cramped country, since the bird pursues the game; the second in the open, as the falcon rises above and "stoops." Under the Normans the right of keeping hawks was restricted to the upper classes, but in the Forest Charter every free man might have an eyrie in his own woods. To steal a hawk was felony, and anyone who destroyed falcons' eggs might be imprisoned for life. The *Boke of St. Albans*, in 1486, gives an interesting but fanciful catalogue of the hawks proper for various persons, beginning with an eagle for an emperor, and coming down to the "sparrow-hawk for a priest, the musket (male sparrow-hawk) for a holy-water clerk, the kestrel for a knave." By Elizabeth's days at latest any restrictions on the kind of hawk kept had vanished (*Medieval England*, 338). Staples' present to Cromwell was evidently a choice one, as the goshawk was very rare in these countries.

[3] *Car. Cal., ad an.*, p. 148. *S.P. Hen. VIII, Ir.*, iii. 65.

say it is your Lordship's commandment, I have disposed myself towards the Bishop of Meath, trusting that your Lordship will me to do nothing that shall sound unto my dishonesty or reproach, namely in my cause being so just as it is, as the very favorers of truth can declare." I have sent you the articles which he devised, "nothing unto the purpose"; and those which I intended to have laid against him, if the matter had gone forward.[1] I have written sundry times to you "that I had suspended the fine of controversy betwixt the Observants and the other named *de communi vita*, until that mine authority were sent me over. Howbeit my Lord Deputy in that point prevented me in Galway, bearing still his favours towards the Observants. Soon after the return of my chaplain that brought the letters from your lordship, amongst divers other messengers unto my Lord Deputy, came there over one Baker, an old servant of my said Lord Deputy's, which keepeth a tavern in Newgate Market,[2] at the Three Tuns, which reported unto my Lord, that my chaplain should answer your Lordship, demanding him who was chief of my Lord Deputy's Council, that Stephen Appary, Margaret Bathe, and Richard Lute did bear all the swing with his Lordship; again, that he should report other things unto him at Chester; and it is well known and proved that he never came in his company, nor never spake with him in England, nor yet in no part of Wales, for he was over three weeks or ever the said Baker came there. Nevertheless he was commanded unto the castle as a prisoner, spite of my teeth, and all the friends I could make. Here hath been many such light messengers, and that causeth my Lord many times the less to regard the advertisement [warning] of the Council."

The only point worthy of note in this letter is that regarding the Observants. It will be remembered that Browne had endeavoured to convert the Observants (Franciscans) into mere community monks (*de communi vita*) leaving aside the rules of their Order. He had failed in Dublin, and Deputy Gray prevented the change in Galway, so that it was necessary that Cromwell should send him over a special mandate for the purpose. It does not appear that he ever did.

[1] I.e. the Articles of Reference as to the Sermons. Evidently the inquiry was never held.

[2] Present Cornmarket.

Browne Denies Intention to Destroy Images and Relics.

The destruction of the relics and images did not take place at either cathedral in Dublin in the year 1537, although the *Annals of the Four Masters* give a lengthy account of the destruction of such throughout Ireland in that year. The *Annals* narrate: "A.D. 1537. A heresy and a new error broke out in England, the effects of pride, vain-glory, avarice, sensual desire, and the prevalence of a variety of scientific and philosophical speculations, so that the people of England went into opposition to the Pope and to Rome. At the same time they followed a variety of opinions, and the old Law of Moses, after the manner of the Jewish people, and they gave the title of head of the Church of God, during his reign, to the king. There were enacted by the king and council new laws and statutes after their own will. They ruined the orders who were permitted to hold worldly possessions, viz. monks, canons, nuns, and brethren of the Cross; and the four mendicant orders, viz. the Minor Order [Franciscans], the Preachers [Dominicans], Carmelites, and Augustinians. The possessions and livings of all these were taken up for the king. They broke the monasteries. They sold their roofs and bells, so that there was not a monastery from Arann of the Saints to the Iccian Sea, that was not broken and shattered, except only a few in Ireland, which escaped the notice and attention of the English. They further burned and broke the famous images, shrines, and relics of Ireland and England. After that they burned in like manner the celebrated image of Mary, which was at Ath-Truim [Trim], which used to perform wonders and miracles, which used to heal the blind, the deaf, the lame, and the sufferers from all diseases; and the Staff of Jesus which was in Dublin, performing miracles from the time of Patrick down to that time, and which was in the hand of Christ while he was among men. They also made archbishops and sub-bishops for themselves; and although great was the persecution of the Roman emperors against the Church, it is not probable that so great *a persecution* as this ever came, even from Rome hither. So that it is impossible to tell or narrate its description, unless it should be told by him who saw it."

A MS. volume of *Annals* preserved in Trinity College, Dublin,[1] gives the year 1538 as that in which the destruction of images occurred. Ware also gives the same year.[2]

It is not easy to reconcile the statement of the Four Masters with the evidence from the State Papers, except on the supposition that the annals are ante-dated. On 20 June, 1538, Browne, writing from his manor house at Tallaght[3] to Cromwell, denies all intention of destroying the images, although he admits that he would willingly see them removed. He writes :—

> These shall be to advertise you, for that I endeavour myself, and also cause others of my clergy, to preach the Gospel of Christ, and to set forth the King's causes, there goeth a common brewte [rumour] amongst the Irishmen, that I intend to pluck down Our Lady of Trim, with other places of pilgrimages, as the Holy Cross [Cashel] and such like ; which indeed I never attempted, although my conscience would right well serve me to oppress such idols. But undoubted they be the adversaries of God's word, which have kindled the same, thinking it will be to my reproach, that I pray God amend them ; fearing, that all those of this country being now there, which feign themselves outwardly to be the maintainers of the Gospel, it is not inwardly conceived in their hearts.

He continues,[4] that this appears in a letter lately sent to the Bishop of Meath, and that he hopes that deception may be put an end to, but fears that it will be very hard to do so. He adds that there is no good news, for Irishmen daily rebel. Where the fault is, God only knows. But many made pilgrimages to Trim, contrary to the intention of the Council.

[1] *Tighernaci Continuatio* (said to be the same as the *Annals of Kilronan*), used by the Four Masters, gives a similar account at the year 1538, and concludes : "And I am not certain whether it was not in the above year that these relics were burned."

[2] *Annals of the Reign of Henry VIII*, p. 99 : "Also, about the same time, among the famous images whereunto pilgrimages were designed, the statue of the Blessed Virgin Mary was burned, then kept at Trim, in the Abbey of the Canons Regular, and the gifts of the pilgrims were taken away from thence. The image of Christ crucified, in the Abbey of Ballibogan, and St. Patrick's staff, in the Cathedral Church of the Holy Trinity, at Dublin, which William, the son of Aldeline, brought from Ardmagh, and gave it as a gift to that church in the year 1180, and underwent the like fate."

[3] *Cal. S.P.I. Hen. VIII*, vol. iii., Part III, p. 35.

[4] *S.P. Hen. VIII, Ir.*, iii. 20 June, 1538.

Gray Prays before the Image of Trim.

A letter, dated 10 August, 1538, from Thomas Alen to Cromwell, speaks of the image of Trim as still standing. "They three [i.e. Browne, Brabazon, and John Alen] would not come in the chapel where the Idol of Trim [1] stood, to the intent they would not occasion [meet] the people; notwithstanding, my Lord Deputy, very devoutly kneeling before Her, heard three or four Masses." [2]

The Lord Deputy was farther than ever from being favourable to the "reform" party. Any attempt, then, that had for its object the removal or destruction of the images, was given neither countenance nor assistance by him, though he had committed many sacrileges himself, it is stated, in his incursions into the north and west against O'Neill and others.[3]

[1] The origin of the Blessed Virgin's statue in St. Mary's Abbey, Trim, is wrapt in obscurity, but it was held in great veneration throughout the Irish Church, and pilgrimages were made to it from all parts of the country. The ancient records, notably the *Annals of the Four Masters*, make frequent allusions to it. Anglo-Normans vied with the Irish in enriching it with votive offerings, and even Parliaments made provision for lights before it. Many miracles are recorded by the Annalists as having taken place through the intercession of Our Lady of Trim. At the suppression of the Abbey, on 15 May, 1539, the precious jewels and ornaments of the statue were carried off by the King's commissioners. It would appear that the statue was burnt by them at the time of the spoliation, for Ware says: "About this time among other images whereunto pilgrimages were designed, the statue of the Blessed Virgin Mary was burnt, then kept at Trim, in the Abbey of the canons regular, and the gifts of the pilgrims were taken away thence." And the *Annals of Kilronan* say that "the most miraculous image of Mary which was at Trim . . . was burned by the Saxons."

[2] See Mant, *Ch. H. of I.*, ii. 103.

[3] He had burned the cathedral church of Down, and converted it into a stable (Loftus MS., *Marsh's Library Annals*), and defaced the monuments of Saints Patrick, Brigid, and Columba (*Ware's Annals*); he rifled the abbey of Ballyclare, and left neither chalice, cross, nor bell in it (Cox, i. 265); and seized and confiscated the ornaments of the church of Galway (Hardiman's *Galway*, p. 239). Such depredations were by no means unusual in those times during incursions against enemies. The Lord Deputy, if he did commit them, was no worse than many others in this respect. But can we rely on the absolute veracity of these authorities? When they say "he," the Lord Deputy, they include, of course, the soldiers of his army. We know that the soldiers' pay was a year in arrears, and that they had asked to be allowed to take loot instead. It is not at all unlikely that the soldiers themselves were guilty of these depredations, and, it may be, with the connivance of Gray, in lieu of their pay. But we have at least one admission from Gray in this matter. In a letter to Cromwell (*S.P. Hen. VIII, Ir.*, ii. 528), written at Maynooth (31 Dec., 1537), he says

An incident that brings out the Lord Deputy's non-compliance in general in this matter is told by Lord Butler in a letter [1] to Cromwell (26 Aug., 1538) :—

The Vicar of Chester, sitting at my Lord Deputy's board, the Archbishop of Dublin, the Chief Justice, the Master of the Rolls, with others of the king's council, and I, there present, said openly before us all, that the king's majesty had commanded that images should be set up again, and honoured, and worshipped, as much as ever they were ; and we held us all in silence in my Lord Deputy's presence, to see what he would say thereto. He held his peace, and said nothing ; and then my Lord of Dublin [Browne], the Master of the Rolls, and I, said, among other things, that, if he [Vicar of Chester] were in any other place, out of my Lord Deputy's presence, we would put him fast by the heels, and that he had deserved grievous punishment. His lordship [Gray] kept his tongue, and said nothing all the while. Surely he hath a special zeal to the Papists. My lord of Dublin promised me, at my departure out of Dublin, to put the said vicar in the castle [prison].

Another incident showing the little support given to Browne's party is related by Thomas Alen in a letter [2] to Cromwell (20 Oct.) :—

Here was a bishop and a friar put in the Castle of Dublin for their high and notorious offences against the king's majesty ; and at the last sessions were brought to Trim, to have been indicted, arraigned, and suffered accordingly. Yet our masters of the law,

that "out of the said abbey of Kyllegh [of Observant Friars of Offaly] I brought a pair of organs, and other necessary things for the King's College of Maynoth and as much glass as glazed part of the windows of the church of the said college, and much 'dell' [probably lead] of the windows of his Grace's castle of Maynoth." Gray evidently went on the principle of robbing Peter to pay Paul. Sacking the churches and religious houses of their enemies and giving the spoils to those of their friends was a common occurrence. The Irish were equally guilty of those misdeeds with their enemies the Anglo-Normans. The Co. Kildare suffered often in this way from the Irish clans. In the inventory of Gray's chattels in St. Mary's Abbey and in Maynooth Castle were many ecclesiastical articles which very likely had been carried off during the above raids. The King's College of Maynooth, St. Mary's, was established by Gerald Fitz Thomas, Earl of Kildare, before his death in 1513, although it was not finally carried into effect until 1518. It consisted of a master, under-master, five priests (called fellows), two clerks, and three boys, who were to pray for the King and the Earl of Kildare, etc. Rules for its government were drawn up, and competent means bestowed (see Mason, *St. Patrick's*, p. 61).

[1] *S.P. Hen. VIII. Ir.*, iii. 95. This letter is in the handwriting of Thomas Alen, the Master of the Rolls' brother.

[2] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vol. iii., Part III, p. 103.

and all other (in good faith, except my Lord Treasurer, and very few besides), be such papists, hypocrites and worshippers of idols, that they were not indicted; whereat my Lord of Dublin, Mr. Treasurer, and the Master of the Rolls, were very angry. Howbeit they could not remedy it.

From this it will appear that Browne's party had no sanction, so far, for the removal or destruction of images, shrines, and relics. And the lawyers, refusing to prosecute those who adhered to those ancient practices, acted according to the strict law of the land which they had before them. They interpreted the law impartially, independent of the opinion of King or archbishop. No Act had been passed for the destruction of the images. The whole movement was part of the "reform" initiated by Browne, Butler, Brabazon, and Alen. They were the four evangelists of the "reform," with no other authority for their attitude than their own will. And the lawyers and others who refused to fall into line with them were called papists and hypocrites.

Browne Burns the "Baculus Jesu."

When precisely the removal and destruction of images took place in Ireland seems to be a matter of inference. On 10 August, 1538, the image of the Blessed Virgin still stood in Trim, on the occasion of the visit of Browne, Brabazon, Alen, and Gray. And on 26 August, on the occasion of the Vicar of Chester's remarks at Gray's table, it was stated that the King had commanded the images to be "set up again, and honoured, and worshipped, as much as ever they were." Between these two dates, then, it seems reasonable to place a partial destruction of them. It does not seem too presumptuous to state that the visit of these officials to Trim on 10 August was for the purpose of removing the image of the Virgin, but the worship of Gray at the shrine seems to have deterred them. It appears that the statue of Trim was not demolished until May, 1539. But it seems reasonable to assume that Browne had accomplished the destruction of the images and relics in his own cathedrals before he set out on this campaign of demolition. Browne and Butler were angry with the Vicar of Chester for bringing the news that the King had ordered the restoration of the images. Evi-

dently Browne had already demolished them in his own diocese, and considered the Vicar's words as a rebuke of his own action. We take it then that the iconoclastic campaign had been in working order in Dublin shortly before 10 August, 1538.

One of the most renowned relics in the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity was the Baculus Jesu, Bacall Iosa, Staff of Jesus, or St. Patrick's Staff.[1] It had been treasured for

[1] All the Lives of St. Patrick speak of this celebrated staff or crozier. They tell that he received it from a hermit on an island of the Tyrrhene Sea [Mediterranean], to whom it had been given by our Saviour Himself, with an injunction to deliver it to Patrick when he should arrive at the island (Colgan, *Trias Thaum.*, p. 263). It was adorned by Tassachus, a goldsmith and companion of Patrick, with a precious covering (*ib.*, p. 6). It appears to have been the walking-stick of our apostle, was shod with iron, and had a spike in the end of it, with which he unconsciously pierced the sandalled foot of Aenghus, King of Munster, at that monarch's baptism at Cashel. It is mentioned by St. Bernard (*Life of St. Malachy*) as one of the insignia of Armagh, and one of the claims of that See to the successorship of Patrick. In Bernard's time it was adorned with gold and precious stones, and was evidently a crozier (*Vita Trip.*, iii. 30). As to how it got to Dublin, authorities do not agree. Cambrensis says that in his time it was removed from Armagh to Dublin, and placed in Christ Church, perhaps for greater security, as in 1178 Armagh was burned with its churches and sanctuaries (*Hib. Expugn.*, ii. c. xviii.; *Trias. Thaum.*, p. 310). The *Black Book of Christ Church* (fol. 214*a*) agrees with Cambrensis and adds that this was in the time of Laurence, Archbishop of Dublin. These accounts are supported by the *Annals of Innisfallen* at the year 1180 (MS., *T.C.D.*). All these authorities mention that it was William Fitz Adelm who brought it. Ware (*Annals of Ireland*) adopts this account. The other account represents the staff as having been given to the Dublin Cathedral by Strongbow, and seems to say that it was brought, not from Armagh, but from Ballibachall [Ballyboughal], near Swords, Co. Dublin, which is supposed to have derived its name from the possession of the Bachall or staff. This account is found in the *White Book of Christ Church* (fol. 56*b*), and in Alen's *Register* (fol. 58*b*). The date given is also 1180, but as Strongbow died in 1176, this could not be the case. Lanigan (*Eccl. Hist.*, iv. 241) disagrees with both opinions, and says that Fitz Adelm never got possession of Armagh. He thinks it more probable that the staff was taken to Dublin in 1184, "when Philip de Worster entered Armagh with a great army, and extorted there much money and other things from the clergy." The first opinion seems to be the true one. Cambrensis, who came to Dublin about that time, would surely be in a better position to know the facts than any later historian, and there is no reason to doubt his veracity in this matter.

The extraordinary veneration in which the staff was held, north and south, is evidenced by the uses to which it was put. It was used for witnessing treaties of peace (*A.F.M.* at 1143 A.D.); it was brought on hostile expeditions (*ib.*, at 1080); it was used for adding sanctity to vows (*Annals of Tigernach*, at 1027, 1030). At Dublin, swearing was done and grants made in presence of the staff (Campion, *Hist. of I.* at 1316; *Alen's Reg.*, fol. 21). A remarkable example is given in a MS. no. 53 (in a bag marked *Ireland*, Chapter-House,

centuries, but, at Browne's command, it was taken out and publicly burned, probably in Christ Church Place (Skinner's Row), in front of the cathedral.

The many other relics of the cathedral, and the images, were also removed, and no doubt shared the same fate as the Baculus Jesu.[1]

Instead of the images in Christ Church, the Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments in English were displayed on the walls in ornamental lettering and in gilded frames.[2] The many beautiful statues that adorned the niches in St. Patrick's Cathedral were likewise dethroned from their places

Westminster Abbey) of "an examination of one Sir Gerald MacShayne, Knight, sworn 19th March, 1529, 'upon the Holie Maseboke,' and 'the great relicke of Erlonde [Ireland] called Baculum Christi,' in the presence of the Kynges Deputies, Chancellour, Tresoror, and Justice" (*S.P. Hen. VIII*, ii. 146), we have seen (p. 112) that according to the *Four Masters* the staff wrought many wonders and miracles in Ireland since the time of Patrick down to the time of its destruction.

An interesting account of the miraculous preservation of the staff, in the year 1416, tells that when the great eastern window of Christ Church was blown down in a violent storm, the shrine in which the Baculus was preserved was totally destroyed as well as many relics in it, but the Baculus was found intact lying on the stones, as perfect as it had ever been, whilst all the other relics were buried beneath the fallen masonry, which fact was looked on by all as miraculous (*Black Book of Christ Church*, fol. 214*a*).

[1] What other relics were in the cathedral at the time we have no means of knowing. The storm of 1416 must have destroyed a great many or made them unfit for preservation. In the *Obits and Martyrology of Christ Church* (Ir. Arch. Soc., edited by Crosthwaite, p. 3) is a long list of the relics existing about the fifteenth century. First is mentioned the celebrated crucifix, of miraculous fame (Girald. Camb., *Top. Hib. Dist.*, ii. c. xliv.-v.) in the sight of which Strongbow was buried by St. Laurence O'Toole (*ib.*, *Hib. Expugn.*, ii. c. xiv. p. 792). This crucifix was held in great veneration by the saintly archbishop, before which he prayed in the stillness of the night. The second place in the list is occupied by the Baculus Jesu. Thirdly, is mentioned the marble altar-slab of St. Patrick, which, with the Baculus, was brought to Dublin by Fitz Adelm. Then follows a list of the relics of the other saints, among which were many of St. Laurence O'Toole.

The feast of the relics of Christ Church was held on 31 July. In the entry at that day it is said that relics were deposited in the cathedral by Bishop Donatus, its founder (*ob.* 1074), and in the time of Archbishop Gregory (1121-1161), and were placed in a shrine for greater reverence and security. The second list given at 31 July mentions some relics not included in the former, for instance, portions of the True Cross, the Cross of Peter, the Chain of Peter, the Sepulchre of Our Lord, and the Sandals of St. Sylvester. It may be that these relics had disappeared in 1416 during the destruction to the cathedral mentioned above.

[2] Harris, *Ware's Bishops*, p. 350.

and veneration. The same fate later befell the image of the B.V.M. at Trim and the Crucifix of Ballybogan, Co. Meath, which was publicly destroyed by fire.[1] The *Annals of the Four Masters* (at 1537 A.D.) give a full account of the demolition, as far as it was possible for an historian to give it.

Browne Denounces Observants and "Rome Runners."

In his letter [2] of 6 November, 1538, to Cromwell, brought by the Treasurer's (Brabazon's) servant, Browne relates how the papish obstinate Observants are in desperation in Ireland. Where there were twenty of them in a monastery there are now scarcely four, which seem to them too many, as their "feigned holy mass" is so well discerned by the King's loyal subjects that the people's devotion is clean withdrawn from them notwithstanding the affection, zeal, and love that the Lord Deputy (Gray) bears towards that religion. The Lord Deputy had given a passport to a Friar Russell, "a lay lewd brother," and another young friar of the same Order to go into England to petition the King to grant them maintenance in their monastery here. The Master of the Rolls had done all he could to dissuade the Deputy from doing such, declaring how that Order was treated in England. But it was of no avail, and now the friars, who were formerly without hope of help, expect daily to bring the people's minds to their own way of thinking, and to be "esteemed as young gods."

Browne then pleads that a Master of Faculties be appointed in Ireland, upon which subject he has often opened his "poor mind" to Cromwell. Until such a one is appointed, he says, this country will never be without "a multitude of Rome-runners" (messengers to Rome). The Irish are compelled to have such, for, amongst them, there are scarcely twenty in a hundred who are legitimately born. These illegitimates cannot obtain promotion to benefices, etc., without the necessary dispensations. Such dispensations would be of monetary value to the King. "God send us a good lord Chancellor," he continues, and gives his opinion, as many times before,

[1] Archdall, *Mon. Hib.*, p. 515.
[2] *S.P. Hen. VIII, Ir.*, iii. 6 Nov., 1538.

that no man would be more suitable than the Master of the Rolls (Alen), who is a right wise gentleman and of good experience. He then speaks of his poor servant, the bearer of the letter, who had been kept by the lord of Kilmainham (Prior Rawson) nineteen weeks in Dublin Castle, who will tell the whole truth to Cromwell, and desires nothing more than to wear his lordship's livery and serve him here in many ways. Browne would be glad of this as it is very useful to have around him those who serve his lordship.

Browne had evidently grown accustomed to having Cromwell's nominees around him to serve Cromwell "in many ways." So Browne was now party to Cromwell's spy system and was glad to be useful in this way.

He then speaks of a bishop that the King had recommended to the Council and also of the "Friar of Mullingar," [1] both of whom had been at Trim "and there reyned" and were indicted on *premunire*, which shall not be worth a groat to the King. How that business was "canvassed" he does not know, but he is afraid to trust these clerics as being good and loyal to the King.

Finally, he appeals to Cromwell, as his "extreme anchor" in all his troubles, to be good to him and to send by the bearer letters to the barons of the Exchequer for the discharge of his homage [2] about which he is in great trouble. He intimates that he has already satisfied for it to the King by his service, and excuses himself for not having carried out his promises to Cromwell, but with his "continual heart and poor prayer" he will do his duty to his lordship.

It is important to observe what Browne states about "the feigned holy mass." He ridicules the Observants for their celebration of it. He could speak thus to Cromwell whose views on the subject he already knew. But it shows that as early as 1538 Browne's idea of the Mass was not the ancient one. If we can believe all he says, it would seem that the destruction of images had had some effect on the minds of the people, and that the zealous Franciscans were fearful

[1] These are evidently the bishop and friar who had been placed in Dublin Castle and brought to Trim to be tried. Browne does not understand how they were acquitted by the judges (see pp. 115-16).

[2] I.e. his yearly contribution to Cromwell as Vicar-General.

of the injury that was being done to their flocks. The fact that the friars were crossing to interview the King, with the positive permission of the Lord Deputy, would indicate that they believed that Henry was not a party to the destruction of images in Ireland, and that Browne's party were overstepping the lines laid down by the King.

Browne Preaches in the South.

The dispute between Browne and Staples, as to their Lenten sermons, having been adjusted by Cromwell, Staples, as well as Rawson, appears to have been won over completely to the "reform" movement. But the Lord Deputy still continued to remain aloof. The other members of the Council, desiring instructions from Cromwell as to how they were to act, received a communication from him, the purport of which is shown in their answer to it. This answer [1] was signed by Alen, the Lord Chancellor, Browne, Staples, Rawson, Brabazon, Aylmer, and three others, and sent on 18 January, 1539, by Mr. Wise's son.

> Touching your lordship's advertisement for the setting forth of the word of God, abolishing of the Bishop of Rome's usurped authority, and extinguishing of idolatry, we have well begun therein already, and to our power shall persevere with all industry and diligence. Beseeching your lordship, from time to time, to ascertain [make known to] us of such devices, as shall be there executed for that purpose, to the intent the same may take like effect here.

To push forward this new phase of religion in this country, and to have the "word of God" preached, Alen, Brabazon, and Aylmer, accompanied by Browne, started on their journey south, during the recess before Christmas. They combined the work of the assizes with their spiritual objective in "the four shires above the Barrow," namely, Carlow, Wexford, Waterford, and Tipperary.

They first visited Carlow, where the Lord James Butler kept his Christmas, and were well entertained by him. After that festival they went to Kilkenny, where they had more feasting at the board of the Earl of Ormonde. On New Year's

[1] *S.P. Hen. VIII*, iii. 108-16.

day, Browne preached the "word of God" to a "very good audience," and published the King's injunctions as to his supremacy and the "usurped authority" of the Pope, and the King's translation of the Pater Noster, Ave Maria, the Articles of Faith, and Ten Commandments into English. The Council came provided with numerous copies of this translation, and delivered them to the Bishop of Ossory [1] and other dignitaries of the diocese, commanding them to distribute them among their flock.

The following Saturday they journeyed to Ross. On Sunday, Browne again preached; and that evening, the Council went to Wexford. Here, on Epiphany Day, before a great audience, he preached, published the translation, and distributed the copies as at Kilkenny.

The Saturday following the Epiphany, they came to Waterford, where the mayor and Council entertained them well and showed themselves ready to carry out their orders. The next day, Sunday, Browne preached again before a "great audience." The translation was again published and distributed. Here the Council had a means of showing their power and of providing "a mirror" to all "to live truly," by executing "four felons accompanied with another thief, a friar, whom, among the residue, they commanded to be hanged in his habit."

The letter, containing all these particulars, was written to Cromwell from Clonmel on 18 January, 1539. On that day, Sunday, Browne was to preach in the presence of all the bishops of Munster, "who, upon our commandment, be repaired hither for the most part already; and, or [before] they depart, they shall be sworn to the supremacy of the King, and against the Bishop of Rome."

The letter concludes with a desire "that it may please his lordship, by his next letters, to give thanks to my Lord of Dublin for his pains and diligence he hath used in this journey with us, in the setting forth of the word of God."

[1] Milo Baron, alias Fitzgerald, an Augustine Canon and Prior of Inistiock, was consecrated Bishop of Ossory in 1527. He surrendered the priory by deed to Henry VIII. He was called *Baron* as being of that branch of the family of Fitzgeralds who were Palatine Barons of Burnchurch in the Co. Kilkenny. Early in his episcopate he had gone over to the King's side. He was buried among his ancestors in the priory of Inistiock in 1550.

In another letter [1] of 8 February, written after they had returned to Dublin, and signed by Browne, as well as by his three companions, it is stated: "At Clonmel was with us two archbishops and eight bishops in whose presence my Lord of Dublin preached, in advancing the King's supremacy, and the extinguishment of the Bishop of Rome. And, his sermon finished, all the said bishops, in all the open audience, took the oath mentioned in the Acts of Parliament [see p. 67], both touching the King's succession and supremacy, before me, the King's Chancellor, and divers others there present did the like." The Council had sent for the pretended Earl of Desmond and his kinsman Gerald McShane. They sent "frivolous excuses." Sir Thomas Butler (in whom they note good obedience) came to them.

We cannot regard but as important this meeting at Clonmel. In fact, we regard it as a test case, although others may think differently. We cannot do otherwise than accept this account as truthful, as we cannot believe that John Alen would sign his name to a spurious document. First, we must see who were the bishops present. No contemporary list of these ten bishops has come down to us. But the indications are sufficiently definite to determine with extreme probability who they were. The two archbishops were Butler of Cashel and Bodkin of Tuam. Five of the "eight bishops of Munster" present would appear to be Michael Comin of Waterford, John Coyne or Quin of Limerick, Thomas Hurley of Emly, Dominick Tirrey of Cork, and James O'Corrin of Killaloe. There were only seven dioceses in Munster, excluding the archbishopric of Cashel. Ross was vacant at this time, and as to Ardfert, we do not know for certain if James Fitzmaurice had been appointed to it at this time. Who were the other three bishops present? The term "Munster" may have been used loosely and meant to include Ossory, Leighlin, and perhaps Clonfert. We know Milo Baron of Ossory received Browne and party; very likely he was at Clonmel. Matthew Saunders of Leighlin would also very probably be present. And it is quite probable also that Richard Nangle, the King's Bishop of Clonfert, formed one of the party.

[1] *S.P. Hen. VIII*, iii. 256.

But of more importance than the names of bishops or dioceses is the question of the oath administered to the ten prelates at Clonmel. It was that contained in the Act against the authority of the Bishop of Rome. Briefly its chief points are: to repudiate the Pope utterly; to deny him any authority in Ireland; to accept the King as the only head of the Church in Ireland; to defend his authority against all others. Now, there can be no mistaking the meaning of this oath. It means simply schism. Undoubtedly, it is not as strong as the oath administered in 1541 (of which later). But it is sufficiently precise to deter any bishop in union with the Holy See from accepting it. Moreover, the action of Pope Paul III in appointing his own nominees to some of these dioceses shortly afterwards confirms our contention. O'Corrin of Killaloe was deposed by him in 1539; Bodkin was opposed by O'Frighil as early as 1538; MacNamara was sent to Cork in 1540 to oppose Tirrey; Wauchop was appointed as administrator of Armagh in 1539 in the room of Cromer. O'Donnell was sent to Ferns in 1541, and O'Bechan and Reynolds were appointed successively to succeed Wellesley in Kildare. We are taking merely those sent by the Pope before the oath of 1541 was drawn up by the King. What else could these papal appointments mean but that the parliamentary oath had brought about a schism in the Church? There is no evidence that any other doctrinal or moral point was in question. The Clonmel meeting, therefore, marks the real breaking-point of the Church in Ireland. So far, it was confined to a small number; later we shall see its full extent and its greater import.

Gray Deprives Browne of his Palace.

Browne never loses an opportunity of reporting the Lord Deputy unfavourably to Cromwell. In his letter[1] of 16 February, 1539, he narrates how in vacation time (Christmas) he accompanied the Lord Chancellor and the Treasurer to Munster, where they administered justice and he preached the word of God and the King's "most goodly purpose." He then switches on to the Lord Deputy. He tells how before

[1] *S.P. Hen. VIII, Ir.*, iii. 122.

their return on 8 February, "the Lord Deputy had repaired to Dublin, and there entered, not only into his place of Saint Pulcars [palace of St. Sepulchre], but also did take, and was still using, such his household stuff, as his said house was furnished withal, not only to his great hindrance, but also, on his part, the debilitating of the word of God, which grieved him full sore. Nevertheless he did what he might in accomplishing his duty; trusting that Lord Cromwell, when opportunity of time should serve, would obtain the King's grace's letters to the said deputy, for the restorance of his said house." By "the debilitating of the word of God" Browne means that he was unable to preach it in Dublin, as, since his palace of St. Sepulchre was taken from him, he had to retire to his other palace at Tallaght, which he by no means regarded as a safe place on account of the raids of the Irish from the mountains overlooking it.

Browne has something good to say of the Council; not for many years have they been so united. Again, he turns his letter on to the Lord Deputy, who, he says, is a gentleman of a strange and haughty nature, vigorous and vehement. Gray is so contradictory that unless there are three or four of the Council together there is no use in anyone of them giving an opinion in opposition to the Deputy's, for he will report a person's speech contrary to what was said or even thought.

On the other hand, Browne is fulsome in his praise of the Lord Chancellor (Alen). He says that the King has a treasure in him who is a right wise gentleman, a very impartial judge, and one who despatches the cases before him in quick fashion, to the great convenience of the King's poor suitors and subjects. Alen also keeps a right sumptuous house as befitting a Chancellor and the King's honour, although his possessions are not as wealthy as those of former Chancellors. Browne says he is ashamed to tell how the Lord Deputy treats Alen, and does not know what the reason is, unless it be jealousy of the sumptuous house that Alen keeps, which is far above that kept by the Deputy. He then speaks of his own troubles, especially of the state of his manor house at Tallaght, which was his principal residence in these years, and from which he addressed many of his letters. He continues :—

And for my part, I may well account him [Alen] to be my especial friend, for, during fourteen or fifteen days, this Council time, I was his continual guest. Other place had I none to repair unto but only Tallagh, which adjoineth upon the Tooles, being now my mortal enemies, daily oppressing my poor tenants, above all others, much doubting that they be somewhat encouraged so to do, for they, now being at my Lord Deputy's peace, doth no manner robbery but upon my only tenants. His Lordship [Gray] hath sundry times said he would be even with me, but, indeed, if he constrain me to lie at Tallagh, it will be odd on my behalf, for in short time, I shall be in the same case with the Tooles, that my predecessor [1] was with the Geraldines. For servants have I none, passing four and a chaplain, which is a very slender company to resist so many malefactors as be of the Tooles and their adherents, at the least two hundred persons. How I am wrapped [encompassed], God judge. If I endeavour not to preach the word of God, then am I assured to incur my prince's and your lordship's displeasure. If I repair and manure [stay in my manor] in my said house of Tallagh, then am I assured nigh to be my confusion. Thus am I on every side involved with sorrows, and all I think too little, if it were for my prince's honour.

Browne's position was certainly an unenviable one; opposed by his priests and people, slighted by the Deputy, deprived of his city palace, constrained to live on the Irish borders, with danger to person and property, and living some miles from his cathedral where he is expected to preach. His work for the King and Cromwell was not made easy for him in these circumstances. And yet, if he does not persevere in it, there are many spies ready to report him to his masters.

Browne Promises to have the "Word of God" Preached in the Irish Tongue.

Browne, having finished his lamentation over his own misfortune in losing his palace of St. Sepulchre, proceeds in his letter to show how eager he is for the King's cause. He says:—

At such season as your lordship's pleasure shall be to send hither authority *ad causas ecclesiasticas*, God willing, I intend to travel the country as far as any English is to be understanded;

[1] Archbishop Alen, murdered by the Fitzgeralds.

and where, as I may not be understanded, I have provided a suffragan, named Doctor Nangle,[1] bishop of Clonfert, who is not only well learned, but also a right honest man, and undoubtedly will set forth as well the word of God as our prince's causes, in the Irish tongue, to the discharge, I trust, of my conscience. Which said bishop was promoted to the said benefice, by the king's majesty and you; and, by commandment of the king's highness, and your good lordship, by me consecrated; although as now he is expulsed, and a Rome runner, who came in by provision, supported in the same by one McWilliam [de Burgo], a naughty traitorous person, governor of those parts, to whom the said Doctor Nangle, my suffragan, showed the king's broad seal, for justifying of his authority, which the said McWilliam little esteemed, but threw it away and vilipended [vilified] the same. Notwithstanding that, my lord deputy will see no redress, for that his lordship is so affectioned to the said McWilliam, although his lordship had the king's highness letters in favour of my said suffragan. Nevertheless his lordship [the Deputy] did a greater enterprise than that, in Obrenes [O'Brien's] country. He there deposed a bishop, which was likewise promoted by the king's highness; which bishop was at Clonmell at our last journey, and there in presence of the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, Master Sub-Treasurer and me, declared unto us the truth thereof. And, for as much as we could perceive, he was a right fatherly parson[2]; and he, that the Lord Deputy hath now promoted to the same, is a gray friar [Franciscan], one of the holy confessors of the late Garrantynes [Geraldines], even as rank a traditor as ever they were.

Browne, seeing that the King's English translations of the Pater, Ave, and Credo, etc., though scattered broadcast, were not converting the people to his "reform," now resolved, in order to appease his "conscience," to send a bishop to them who would preach in their own Irish tongue. This was an

[1] Browne had previously mentioned one Sylvester as his suffragan. Evidently they were the same person, but now Browne does not hesitate to tell his real name.

[2] "The deposed bishop was possibly Dominick Tirrey, who had been raised to the See of Cork and Cloyne, by the King's mandate in 1538, and was a favourer of the Reformation. Sir James Ware, however, does not notice his deposition, nor any papal interference with him so early as 1538, though he speaks of the Pope's appointment of a Franciscan friar in 1540, which, however, Bishop Tirrey successfully resisted" (*Mant.*, i. 154 See Harris, *Ware's Bishops*, p. 504). The friar was Lewis MacNamara, who was, therefore, according to Browne, set up by the Deputy in Cork, probably in 1538, but who did not receive papal sanction until 1540.

extraordinary turn, as the Irish language had already been condemned by Act of Parliament. It was on a par with the effort made under Elizabeth to have the New Testament translated into Irish for the conversion of the natives to her development of the "reform."

So far, the "reformation" in Ireland consisted in the passing of Acts of Parliament depriving the Pope of all authority in this country, and handing it over to the King. The effects of the "reform" were to be seen in the destruction of images and relics, the granting of the twentieths and first fruits of ecclesiastical offices to the King, and in the granting of faculties and dispensations by the Archbishop of Canterbury. The only doctrinal point introduced was the denial of the Pope's jurisdiction. Undoubtedly, the bishops and proctors, and lawyers, like Barnewall, though granting certain jurisdiction to the King, held that it was not as great as that of the Bishop of Rome, and, with this in mind, they allowed the supremacy of the King to pass in Parliament. But the imposition of the Parliament oath at Clonmel put a different complexion on the meaning of the King's supremacy. Certainly, the bishops who took it at Clonmel constituted themselves King's bishops in opposition to Pope's bishops. But we have no evidence to tell us how the bishops in the Parliament of 1537 viewed the oath or whether they voted for it. Their opposition, until the vote of the proctors was taken away, leads us to suppose that they were still opposed to it. Did they shake the dust of the Parliament House off their shoes when the critical Acts were being passed at the October-December session of 1537? And did they return to their dioceses with the full realisation of the meaning of the supremacy?

These are important questions, but, unfortunately, we have no evidence to guide us. But the question of their behaviour afterwards is quite another one. Were they active or passive in acknowledging the King's supremacy in all its significance, fearful of the loss of their Sees and of their temporalities? We have given the answer in some cases (see p. 123), other cases will be dealt with later. We have seen Browne's plight and the opposition of his clergy and people. Now we are to take a brief survey of the culmination of the supremacy in the suppression of the religious houses in Dublin.

PART II.

SUPPRESSION OF RELIGIOUS HOUSES.

Reasons for the Suppression—Cowley's Letter.

Though the Act for the Suppression of Religious Houses was contained in the King's commission, 6 May, 1536, sent through Aylmer and Alen, yet it was not passed in the Parliament of that year. The King's supremacy was a difficult and thorny question enough to negotiate without antagonising too much both Upper and Lower House by such a revolutionary procedure. Hence, the suppression was deferred until the way was made clear by the preaching of the "word of God," the acceptance of the King's supremacy, and chiefly by the deprivation of the proctors of their vote. It seems clear, however, that Aylmer and Alen did not foresee the opposition that was to be aroused by the Act of Suppression, and that Alen had already in May, 1536, before he returned to Dublin, been promised a grant of St. Wolstan's Priory, Celbridge. The news went abroad that it was to be dissolved and granted to Alen, and on 26 June the prior and brethren wrote to Cromwell praying that their house might not be suppressed. But the promise had been made and Alen meant business, so the grant was made to him on 1 December, and a direction given to issue a commission to suppress the priory.

Meanwhile, it was necessary to obtain some reasons that would serve as an excuse for the suppression, although Brabazon, in a letter to Cromwell (Sept., 1536), was bold enough to say: "the suppression of the houses of religion is deferred until they have sown the winter corn which will augment the King's revenue." [1] But this is not the situation as described by Robert Cowley in his letter (4 Oct., 1536) to Cromwell.[2] As we have already dealt with portion of this

[1] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xi., no. 521.

[2] *S.P. Hen. VIII, Ir.*, i. 370.

letter, we give here the remainder of it as it affects our present subject :—

As concerning the suppression of certain abbeys here, the same reasons, that served to suppress the abbeys in England,[1] might suffice loving subjects to have them here suppressed : unless that certain persons here presume to have more higher and excellent wits, than is in England.

The abbeys here do not keep so good Divine Service, as the abbeys in England, being suppressed, did keep ; the religious personages here less continent or virtuous, keeping no hospitality, saving to themselves, their concubines, children, and to certain bell wedders, to eclipse [screen] their pernicious livings, and to bear and pavesse [shield] their detestable deeds ; which ringleaders have good fees, fat profitable farms, the finding of their children, with other daily pleasures of the abbeys ; and fearing to lose the profit thereof, repugn and resist the suppressing of abbeys, surmising it should be prejudicial to the common weal ; which is otherwise.

Concerning the Act to resume into the King's hands His Graces custums, cokquettes, and poundage, there is no reason to support or maintain the contrary opinion ; for their walls be sufficiently made strong, they have provision abundantly of guns, powder, artillery, and all other necessaries, upon the King's purse, so that they have no need to the King's revenues and do therewith nothing else but purchase lands, wasting the rest pompously and prodigally ; and more reason that the King should have it, being his own to

[1] With regard to the "reasons that served to suppress the abbeys in England," Fletcher (*op. cit.*, p. 26), having spoken of Cromwell's system of espionage, says : "Equally successful was Cromwell in all the rest of his propaganda work ; in his manipulation of the Press ; in his encouragement of the makers of scurrilous and ribald ballads satirising and abusing the old religion, and in his trafficking with those discontented religious whom he bribed liberally to write defamatory letters. Is it likely that such a man, entrusted with an enquiry into the condition of the religious houses, had any desire to ascertain the real truth about their status or the character of their inmates ? We know from unassailable evidence that Cromwell had not ; his job was to gain his own ends, which meant the seizure of all monastic property on behalf of the Crown. This, of course, was merely a first step in the grand scheme of spoliation ; Cromwell had doubtless thought it well out before he imitated the gradual beginnings. First the religious houses ; they would yield so much. Then the hospitals, chantries, pious foundations ; they would yield so much. Finally the cathedrals, collegiate churches, parish churches ; they would come last, and perhaps be not least productive. And the first thing to do was to employ men as visitors of the religious houses who could be trusted to make bad reports of them, so bad that the Crown would be justified in seizing on their goods and turning their inmates adrift."

alleviate his sumptuous charges, than for lack thereof to sustain such importable charges; and they, that stick so much that the King should have his own revenues, would greatly grudge and repugn to give the King any of theire own goods.

Concerning the third Act for the 20th part of every man's rents and revenues to the King during 10 years, the Spiritual Lords be content to grant it, and, as I think, so is all the High House; and all the sticking is in the Common House, by seduction of certain prescribed. There be very few of all the English pale that can excuse them, but that they, in the time of rebellion, were personally with Thomas Fitz Gerot [Fitzgerald] or gave him some aid of men, money, or victuals, whereby the King, by extremity of his laws, might take from them all their lands goods and chattels; which his Grace, of tender compassion, forbeareth to execute, and exhausteth his tresure abundantly for their defences and preservations; and they, having no regard to his inestimable goodness, and gratuity to them, will show no correspondence of love, in sticking against his Highness for so small a benevolence, where His Grace might have all the whole. The Commons, as yet, have given to the King no manner thing of their own proper. The subsidy of plough lands [1] is no new augmentation of the revenues, but an old thing, continued many years by Ponyng's time, and ever since then. The possessions, revenues, and rents of the residencers in England, and the Annats, is nothing appertaining to the Commons, so that yet the Commons have departed [granted] nothing of their own proper to the King's Grace.

The said Patrick Barnewell, serjeant, who now repaireth thither, said openly in the Common House, that he would not grant that the King, as Head of the Church, had so large power as the Bishop of Rome; and that the King's jurisdiction therein was but a spiritual power, to reform or amend the enormities and defaults in religious houses, but not to execute man's laws, nor to dissolve abbeys, or to alterate the foundation of them to any temporal use. . . .

Finally, it might please your good Lordship, that, according your Lordship's letters to Master Thesaurer, I may be the King's farmer of Holm Patrick,[2] if it be suppressed; and otherwise that I might be constituted surveyor of the same house, with a yearly fee at your Lordship's pleasure. I have removed from the place,

[1] An Act which gave the King for ten years 13s. 4d. out of every ploughland tilled, passed in May, 1536, but is not among the printed Acts.

[2] It appears from the vice-treasurer's accounts that Robert Cowley occupied the manor of Holmpatrick from Lady Day, 1537, and paid for the half-year from thence to Michaelmas, £6 2s. 8d.

where I dwelled, 60 miles towards Dublin, to be near my Lord Deputy, to give his Lordship attendance in the King's service, and have relinquished my farms and fees, where I dwelled, trusting to have Holmpatrick.[1]

We are concerned here only with the Act of Suppression as dealt with in this letter. The rejection of it in the Lower House, according to Cowley, was because of the opposition of men like Patrick Barnewall, King's Serjeant, and other lawyers. Cowley's reason is that these men were making money through the religious houses by their professional advice, by leases of lands, etc., and, therefore, were opposed to their dissolution.

The point of importance in Cowley's letter is the charge of immorality made against religious houses. Cowley is perhaps the only one who made such a charge. But we cannot accept him as an unbiassed witness. His indignation had not been excited by abuses until the wishes of the English court had been known. Again, his over-anxiety to get the priory of Holmpatrick into his hands defeats the disinterestedness of his evidence. Moreover, in all the communications of the Council of Ireland and of the King we meet with no such reason for the suppression as that given by Cowley. If such a reason existed it is not likely that Alen, Brabazon, Browne and the rest would have hesitated to give it. Browne's only accusation against the "Romish orders" was that they were the bulwarks of Popery.

As a matter of fact, the only reason given in the commission is that "the praise of God and the welfare of man" were not regarded in the religious houses, and that the regulars and nuns dwelling there were addicted to "superstitious ceremonies," "pernicious worship of idols," and the "pestiferous doctrines of the Roman pontiff."[2] As to some of the houses in Dublin it is interesting to observe that in an account[3] of their revenues in December, 1536, three are signalled out as serving no purpose and doing no good. These were St. Thomas

[1] In 1536 Robert Cowley and Walter, his son, were appointed clerks of the Crown of Chancery; Walter, collector of customs in Drogheda; Robert and Walter collectors of the customs in Dublin. In 1537 Walter was appointed Chief Solicitor, and Robert Master of the Rolls in 1539.

[2] *Pat. R. Ir., Hen. VIII*, p. 55.

[3] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xi., no. 1416.

Court, All Hallows, and St. John's, Newgate. It is also significant that Barnewall, while admitting that the King had some spiritual authority, though not as great as the Pope's, held that he could only use it to "reform or amend the enormities and defaults in religious houses," but not to dissolve them. This does not mean that Barnewall imputed any such enormities to the existing houses, but that, in case such occurred, the King might use his authority.

The real reason of the suppression was not in any notable abuses but in the King's greed for money, plate, and jewels, and in order that the lands leased out to the Anglo-Normans might be made the nucleus of the increase of the King's power in Ireland. But some pretext was deemed desirable before the Act could be brought forward again in Parliament. And it is only in keeping with Robert Cowley's former conduct that he should now report adversely on the religious houses. It is not too much to presume that he had some understanding with Cromwell on the matter, and that he wrote this detailed account for the purpose of having it placed before the King. He was bold enough to suggest to his master his expected reward, namely, the priory of Holmpatrick. This request alone would lead to the conclusion that he had been specially employed for the purpose of reporting on the subject. He was not the only one rewarded. There was scarcely one of the men identified with the government of the country at the period who did not profit handsomely by the suppression.[1] Browne, perhaps, was the only one who seemed to make little or nothing out of it, although surreptitiously he was not above increasing his revenues. But of this later.

We cannot pass over this question of the morality of the clergy without inserting an extract [2] from the State Papers of this period. It evidently refers to the province of Munster, but it is only fair to give it for what it is worth as presenting a picture of the conduct of the clergy, not as constituting a reason for the suppression.

"The commissioners proceeded on their journey, and held

[1] Even Barnewall, whose opposition was short-lived, soon became a commissioner for the suppression, and received, among other favours, the Nunnery of Grace Dieu (see p. 185).

[2] *Cal. L. and P. Hen. VIII*, 1537, Part III, p. 510, note.

inquiries relative to the state of the various towns and counties which they visited. They reported that besides numerous complaints against the laity, some were brought forward also against the clergy. Undue fees had been exacted by the bishops and their officials for the probate of wills, and for judgment in matrimonial and other causes. Many priests were charged with extortion in the fees demanded for baptisms, for weddings, for the churching of women, and for burials. Some were accused of taking *portion canon*, which was explained in one parish, to have been the taking, on a man's death, of his best array, arms, sword, and knife; and the same, even on the death of a wife during her husband's life; in another parish, to have been the taking from the husband, on his wife's death, of the fifth penny, if his goods were under 20s.; and 5s. if above that amount; and in a third parish, the taking of 1¾d. in the shilling. Some parsons, abbots, and priors were charged with not singing Mass, though they took the profits of their benefices; and the jury of Clonmell charged several of the regular priests in that part with keeping lemans or harlots, and having wives and children."

It does not say that the jury found them guilty or not guilty.

As to the *portion canon*, there seems to have been a development on divers lines of the ancient custom of *portio defuncti* (dead man's portion). This was the third part of a testator's estate which, according to the law of the ecclesiastical court which ruled testamentary causes, should be devoted to pious uses for the repose of his soul. This had become compounded in some parishes for a penny in every five pennies of the testator's estate when it was under 20s. (namely a tax of 4s. in the £), or 5s. if above that amount, or again 1¾d. in the shilling. Again, the *portio defuncti* is confused with what was called a *heriot*, which was the best beast from the dead man's estate. In theory, the feudal lord was supposed to provide his "man" with a horse; when the man died, this had nominally to be returned. Hence the practice of the *heriot*. The custom had developed into the taking of the dead person's "best array, arms, sword, and knife." All this, it must be remembered, was the common law in Anglo-Norman communities, and had been countenanced by suc-

cessive English kings. It had nothing whatever to do with papal jurisdiction or papal taxation.

Some historians look upon this tax as iniquitous. Compared with modern death duties there is nothing extraordinary in it. The ancient tax went to provide for the funeral obsequies, the Mass and office, the wax lights, the bread, meat, ale, and wine for the mourners. As a matter of fact the compounding for 5s. or 4s., or even less, in the pound was a lesser tax than the legal one-third of the estate. According to the law, in cases of persons dying testate, when a portion remained over after all expenses and debts, it was to be divided into three parts, one of which should go to the children (if any) of the deceased, a second to his wife, and a third at the will of the testator. So that a testator had only power to dispose of a third of his estate, and the law supposed that he should leave that portion for pious uses for the repose of his soul. This was, therefore, no ecclesiastical law, but a law of the land.[1] And the Church simply carried it out as long as it was permitted to do so. Whether it was iniquitous or not, the Church was not to blame.

As to the other charges, it is said that the parochial clergy demanded fees varying from 6d. to 2s. for all weddings, christenings, churchings, and burials. In modern money these fees would vary (*1914 value*) from 7s. 6d. to 30s. Here the accusation is too vague. At one end of the scale the amount may have been high, but at the other it was very moderate. Taking it all round as compared with modern fees in churches of all denominations there is scarcely any fault to be found with it. But here we must ask a question. Who demanded those fees? Naturally, we are dealing with parishes that came under English rule. Who were the rectors? They were the nominees of the King, of the Anglo-Norman lords, the Anglo-Norman religious houses, or the prebendaries of the cathedrals. Were these fees any higher than those in vogue in England, and taken by the King's vicegerent?

The historians[2] who criticise the Irish practices do not advert to this aspect of the case. They tell us that the

[1] Bracton, *De Legibus et Consuetudinibus Angliae*. Berry, *Register of Wills, Dublin*, xii.

[2] *Presentments of Grievances*, ed. Graves, pp. 192, 203. Bagwell, i. 297.

Archbishop of Cashel's lowest charge for a divorce was £5, and it was generally double that or more, and that the citizens of Waterford declared that the canonists were as burdensome as the Irish Brehons. The scale of fees laid down by Henry's officials was by no means a light one (see p. 79). Local grievances there probably were, but there is no authority for any general grievances under this head. At all events, as far as Dublin is concerned, we hear of no complaints.

Religious Houses "Cheat" the King; Grant Long Leases of their Lands.

The intended suppression of religious houses had been noised abroad, and the superiors of the same had, according to many writers of the time, been making provision to save their possessions from falling into the King's hands. This practice is referred to in the Act of Suppression itself (Oct., 1537) where it says :—

forasmuch as divers the chief governors of the said religious houses, determinating the utter spoiling and destruction of their houses, and dreading the suppression thereof, for the maintenance of their detestable lives have lately fraudulently and craftely made feoffments, gifts, estates, graunts, and leases under their convent seals, or suffered recoveries of their manors, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, in fee simple, fee tail, for term of life or lives, or for years, or chargeth the same with rent or corodies,[1] to the great decay and dismynyshes [diminution] of their houses; that all such crafty and fraudulent recoveries, feoffments, etc., and every of them, made by any of the said chief governours of the said religious houses under convent seals within two years next before making hereof, shall be utterly void and of none effect.[2]

According to this Act all leases, etc., made after October, 1535, were null and void. That was leaving a good margin of nine months (Oct., 1535 to May, 1536) by which to prevent the possibility of the grant of any leases on the part

[1] Corrody was maintenance charged on a monastery or abbey by beneficiaries to the same. "The nobility and gentry, the former patrons of the dissolved houses, complained that they were deprived of the corrodies reserved to them by the charters of foundation" (Lingard, *England*, vi. c. 4). For a very learned account of the corrodies of Kilmainham Priory see Chas. MacNeill, R.S.A.I., 30 June, 1924.

[2] *Ir. Stat. Hen. VIII.*

of those who might have had private information about the intended suppression before the actual commission of May, 1536, was sent to Dublin. In the same Act of Parliament it was decreed that all ornaments, jewels, goods, chattels, and debts belonging to the said religious houses on 1 June, 1536, should be given to the King.

Thomas Finglas also testifies, in a letter to Cromwell (22 May, 1538), to the practice of abbots and priors in granting long leases of abbey lands in expectation that their houses would be suppressed.[1] And Browne in a letter to the same (21 May, 1538)[2] bears out what Finglas said. Having acknowledged receipt of letters from his lordship to himself, Lord Chancellor Alen, and Treasurer Brabazon, dealing with the suppression, he says: "The suppression is so well known to take place, that, on account of the commissions having not yet come into Ireland, the King will lose 5000 marks (£3333 6s. 8d., or about £50,000 *1914 value*). For the religious communities not only leave their demesnes in the hands of others, and leave their lands untilled, but also continually 'prodege' [pledge?] their movables and alienate their jewels and other ornaments, and grant leases in such a manner that he fears the King will reap little profit from them."

Partial Suppression in Leinster.

For the purpose of obtaining an idea of the yearly revenue of the religious houses in Leinster an extent was drawn up in December, 1536, which included houses in Meath, Dublin, Louth, and Kildare. The portion referring to this diocese gives:—

Dublin.—St. Thomas Court canons, 300l., All Hallows, canons, 100l., St. John's [Newgate], 100l. (these serveth for no purpose, or doeth no good), Saynt Mure [Mary's] Abbey, monks, good hospitality and divine service, 300l., Christ's Church Cathedral, 100l., Gracedieu nunnery, 50l.[3]

Omitting St. Wolstan's, the first account of the suppression mentions only five monasteries. This was rendered by William

[1] *Cal. S.P.I. Hen. VIII*, p. 41.
[2] *S.P. Hen. VIII*, vol. vi., no. 58, P.R.O., London.
[3] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xi., no. 1416.

Brabazon, the Under-Treasurer of the King, some time after Michaelmas, 1537, and in it he declares that they were lately suppressed. The monasteries were Bective, Tintern, Dunbrody, Baltinglass, and Duske, and had been dissolved pursuant to letters patent of 6 May, 1536.[1] Baron Fynglas had recommended (*no date*) to the King that these houses should be suppressed, except that instead of Bective he had mentioned Graney. His letter is of special interest :—

To alleviate the Kyng his chardges to this reformacione [secular] of Leinster, there be divers abbeyes adjoyning to these Irishmen, who doe gyve more aid and supportacione to these Irishmen, than to the Kyng or his subjects, parte agenst their wills, as the Abby of Donbrothie, in the county of Wexford, the Abby of Tynterne, in the same, the Abby of Dowske in the County of Cathirlough [should be Kilkenny, not Carlow], the Abby of Grane in the County of Kildare, the Abby of Baltinglass in the same, which maye be suppressed and gyven by our Souveraigne Lorde the Kyng to young Lordes, Knights, and Gentilmen out of England, which shall dwell upon the same, besides othir divers mannors, piles, and castles upon the borders, as herafter following. Furste, the King's Grace to give to one good English captaine the afforsaid Abby of Downbrothie, with certain londes adjoyning to the same. To anothir the abby of Tynterne, with a Barony adjoining to the same . . . to anothir the abby of Dowske by the River of Barrowe, with a Barony adjoyning to the same. To anothir the Abby of Baltinglass, which is a living for a Lorde. To anothir the Abby of Grane, with a Barony.[2]

The five houses mentioned in the commission were said to have been dissolved "by authority of a Parliament of the same lord, the King held at Dublin in the same year" (1536). The possessions were taken by William Brabazon, and accounted for before Anthony Sentleger, Thomas Walsshe, John Mynne, and William Cavendish, who were assigned under the great seal of England to audit and take the account and reckonings of the Under-Treasurer due to the King. The commission for the suppression is referred to in a letter of

[1] *Monastery Roll*, MacNeill, R.S.A.I., June, 1922, p. 34. A most interesting account of sums realised by sales of chattels, etc., of suppressed Irish monasteries.

[2] Baron Finglas, *Breviate of Ireland*, Harris's *Hibernica*, pp. 89, 90.

18 May, 1537, from Gray and Brabazon to Cromwell,[1] and contains the names of eight abbeys. But in the above account only five are mentioned. In the Act of Suppression of October, 1537, thirteen houses are named for suppression, viz. Bective, St. Peter's beside Trim, Duske, Duleek, Holmpatrick, Baltinglas, Grane, Taghmolin, Dunbrody, Tintern, the priory of Ballibogane, and the abbey of Hogges, and Ferns.[2] These were all in Leinster, and Holmpatrick, Grane, and Hogges belonged to the Dublin diocese.

Thus the five had not been suppressed in 1536, as they are contained among the thirteen just mentioned. As a matter of fact, their possessions were not taken into the hands of the King's Treasurer until after Michaelmas, 1537.

On this occasion no provision in the way of grants or pensions was made for the religious who had been thrown out of their homes, but Parliament wished them well and declared them "entitled to live honestly or virtuously abroad, and some convenient charity be disposed to them towards their living or else shall be committed to such honourable great monasteries of this land, wherein good religion is observed, as shall be limited by his Highness, or his Grace's councillors, there to live religiously during their lives."

For the present the King and Parliament were content with this partial suppression.[3] But during the following year (1538) we are not without evidence that further confiscation was meditated.[4]

Royal Commission for the Suppression.

The time had at last come for a general suppression of religious houses in Ireland. On 3 February, 1539, a commission

[1] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vol. ii., Part III, p. 438.

[2] *Ir. Stat. Hen. VIII*, c. 16.

[3] Dowling (*Annals*), and *Loftus MS.* (Marsh's Library), give the following account of the suppression at the year 1536. (They evidently ante-date the suppression by two years): "The religious houses and monasteries of Ireland were by the authority of Parliament granted to the King to the number of 376 houses, worth annually £32,000, and movable goods worth £100,000; and the number of professed religious men there and thrown out, exceeded 100,000, the rest of the religious voluntarily giving up their abbeys and monasteries, were granted pensions during life." We are not concerned with the correctness or otherwise of this account. We simply give it for what it is worth. On the face of it it looks rather ridiculous.

[4] Browne's letter to Cromwell, 21 May, 1538.

was directed to Archbishop Browne, John Alen, Chancellor and William Brabazon, Vice-Treasurer, appointing them to act as deputy of Thomas, Lord Cromwell, Keeper of the Privy Seal, whom the King had constituted his Vicar-General and Vicegerent in ecclesiastical affairs. Browne, Alen, and Brabazon were then the Vicars-General of Ireland in ecclesiastical affairs.

On the same day, letters patent [1] under the privy seal were issued to Brabazon, Alen, Browne, Robert Cowley, Master of the Rolls, and Thomas Cusak, appointing, amongst other things,

that they should investigate, inquire, and search where, within the said land of Ireland, there were any notable images or reliques, to which the simple people of the said lord the king were wont to assemble superstitiously and as vagrants to walk and roam in pilgrimage, or else to lick, kiss, or honour, contrary to God's honour; and the same to break up and remove and so to carry off entirely with all the things pertaining, annexed, and adjoined thereto, they should utterly abolish them, that no such mockeries should from thenceforward be visited in the said land or dominion of the aforesaid lord the king; and also to receive, admit and take the surrender of any monasteries and religious houses within the land aforesaid, then freely [2] to be made into the hand of the same lord the king; and after such surrender to dissolve the same monasteries and houses by taking into the hand of the lord the king to his use the possession of all movable goods, things and chattels, lands and revenues of the same; and to sell and alienate the same things and movable goods, except vessels of silver and gold, jewels, principal ornaments, lead and bells, and from the sums of money proceeding therefrom, and also from the revenues of the same monasteries and houses, should the movable goods not suffice, to pay all just debts and wages of servants, together with the other reasonable charges incumbent on the said monasteries or houses; and furthermore, the said lord the king by his same letters patent gave the aforesaid commissioners authority to give to the chief governors and heads of those houses such part of the things aforesaid by name of rewards as should befit their quality according as to the discretions of the same commissioners and to reason should seem convenient; and that the same commissioners should see that the vessels, jewels, and other movables aforesaid

[1] MacNeill, *loc. cit.*, pp. 11-13.

[2] The King shortly afterwards showed what he meant by "free surrender."

should be kept and reserved safely and securely under their secure and sufficient custody to the need and use of the same lord the king, as is more fully contained in the same letters patent seen and examined in connection with this account, and remaining with the same commissioners, accounting for himself and his fellow-commissioners aforesaid before Anthony Seyncteleger, knight, deputy of the said lord the king of his aforesaid land of Ireland, Thomas Walsshe, a baron of the exchequer of the lord the king in England, John Mynne, an auditor of accounts of the same exchequer, and William Cavendysshe, an auditor of accounts of the court of augmentation of the revenues of the crown of the lord the king, assigned by letters patent of the lord the king given under his great seal of England the 16th day of August in the 32nd year of his reign [1540], amongst other things to take and receive accounts and reckonings of his under-treasurer of the land aforesaid, and of all and singular other persons who ought to answer or render account to the lord the king of and for any goods, chattels, plate, jewels, ornaments, debts or any other things to the same lord the king pertaining or which ought to pertain in right of his crown and dominion of his land aforesaid, or by reason of the suppression of any monastery, priory or other religious or ecclesiastical houses or hospitals whatsoever within the land aforesaid, or which otherwise howsoever pertain or ought to pertain to the lord the king as is more fully contained in the same letters patent, as well in respect of the value of divers vessels of gold and silver, jewels and principal ornaments above reserved by the aforesaid Commissioners in the divers underwritten places and seized by virtue of the commission aforesaid and also of those sold with the assent of the lord the king of the land aforesaid for the advantage of the lord the king in a great necessity; to wit, for payment of the wages of captains and soldiers taken into the pay against James of Desmond and other rebels of English and of Irish nation adhering to him and against O Neyll, O donyll, O Brenne, O connor, McMoraghe and other Irish, insurgent and rebelling against the lord the king and his people in the land aforesaid in the 31st year of this king during the time of this account; as in respect of other goods and chattels, movable, things and debts in the aforesaid places similarly found, taken and appraised, and sold and with the authority aforesaid otherwise bestowed and distributed, as appears by two schedules on parchment and an inventory book on paper, by the said accounting officer in connection with this account delivered and examined and remaining in the bag of particulars of this account, without any counter claim had in this respect.

Another Commission—"Free Surrender."

Another commission[1] was directed to the same officials (7 April, 1539), reciting that

from information of trustworthy persons, it being manifestly apparent that the monasteries, abbeys, priories, and other places of religious or regulars in Ireland, are at present in such a state that in them the praise of God and the welfare of man are next to nothing regarded; the regulars and nuns dwelling there being so addicted, partly to their own superstitious ceremonies, partly to the pernicious worship of idols, and to the pestiferous doctrines of the Romish pontiff, that, unless an effectual remedy be promptly provided, not only the weak lower order, but the whole Irish people, may be speedily infected, to their total destruction, by the example of those persons; to prevent, therefore, the longer continuance of such religious men and nuns in so damnable a state, the King (having resolved to resume into his hands all the monasteries and religious houses, for their better reformation, to remove from them the religious men and women, and to cause them to return to some honest mode of living, and to the true religion) directs the commissioners to signify this his intention to the heads of the religious houses; to receive their resignations and surrenders willingly tendered; to grant to those tendering it liberty of exchanging their habit and of accepting benefices under the King's authority, to apprehend and punish such as adhere to the usurped authority of the Romish pontiff, and contumaciously refuse to surrender their houses, and assign competent pensions to those persons who willingly surrender.

The King and his ecclesiastical Vicegerent made very plain what they meant by a free surrender:—

If however they will not resign freely and voluntarily their monasteries and other said so-called religious houses, suppress them utterly without any delay by our same royal authority, and dismiss without any pension or gratuity the religious persons whom you see to be contumacious. But if you find any men or women adhering to the usurped Authority of the Roman Pontiff and to the defence of his constitutions, take their examination diligently and reduce it to writing; apprehend the bodies of such persons, put them in prison and otherwise thereafter render justice according to the quality of their crimes; and declaring the monasteries

[1] *Cal. P. and Cl. Rolls, Ir., Hen. VIII*, p. 55.

and religious places in which they dwell to be attainted, with their lands, domains, etc., and all their goods movable and immovable, suppress them likewise.[1]

Council Recommend Six Houses to Stand.

A report was made by the commission which contained the names of the houses to be suppressed. This called forth from Lord Deputy Gray and the Council of Ireland (21 May, 1539) a recommendation [2] that

six houses should stand and continue, changing their clothing and rule in such sort and order, as the king's grace should will them; which are named St. Mary Abbey, adjoining to Dublin, a house of white monks; Christ's Church, a house of canons, situate in the midst of the city of Dublin; the nunnery of Grace Dieu, in the county Dublin; Connal in the County Kildare; Kenlys and Gerepont, in the County Kilkenny. For in those houses commonly, and other such like, in default of common inns, which are not in this land, the king's deputy, and all other his grace's council and officers, also Irishmen, and others resorting to the king's deputy in their quarters, is and hath been most commonly lodged at the costs of the said houses. Also in them young men and children, both gentlemen children, and other, both of mankind and womankind, be brought up in virtue, learning, and in the English tongue, and behaviour, to the great charges of the said houses; that is to say, the womenkind of the whole Englishry of this land, for the more part, in the said nunnery [Grace Dieu] and the mankind in the other said houses. And in the said house of St. Mary Abbey hath been the common resort of all such of reputation, as have repaired hither out of England. And in Christ's Church, parliaments, councils, and the common resort, in term time, for definitions of matters by judges and learned men, is, for the most part, used. . . . For which causes, and others moved and reasoned amongst the council, it was thought, the king's most gracious pleasure standing therewith, more for the common weal of this land, and the king's honour and profit, that the said six houses, changing their habits and rules, after such sort as shall please the king's majesty, should stand, than the profits that should to the king's grace grow by their suppression.

[1] *Pat. Roll*, 31 *Hen. VIII*, P.R.O., Dublin.
[2] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vol. iii., Part III, p. 130.

We shall see later how this recommendation was respected. Meanwhile it is important to have this testimony from the Council as to the utility of these houses. St. Mary's Abbey and Christ Church Priory were indeed hospitable hotels for the convenience of the gentry and nobility coming to Dublin on affairs of State who were lodged there gratis. And these two houses were likewise the principal colleges for the instruction of the young gentlemen, whilst the nunnery of Grace Dieu, near Lusk, was the sole educational establishment for the young ladies of the Pale.

The King Claims Jewels and Ornaments of Shrines.

If Henry's object in suppressing the religious houses and in sweeping their revenues into his coffers was to pay for the administration of Ireland and for the extension of his kingdom among the Irish, he did not lose sight of the wealth in jewels and ornaments, which he ordered to be paid into his own personal account. The extent is thus rendered by Brabazon :

He renders account of cccxxvi^{li}ii^{s}xi^{d} [£326 2s. 11d. = *circa* £4900 *1914 value*] by him received in the form following :—

Receipt of money from the price of jewels and ornaments found on profane images.[1]

From the price of divers pieces of gold and silver in mass and in bullion, also of certain stones and other jewels of gold and silver and of silver-gilt, and of other things found in and upon divers profane images, pictures and relics in the underwritten monasteries, priories, cathedral churches, parish churches and other places within the said land of Ireland, now broken up and defaced, and by the aforesaid commissioners under title of the lord the king's commission above-said, taken into the hand of the lord the king by reason of the necessity above recited in the title, videlicet.

[1] These jewels and ornaments consisted both of those with which the venerated images were decorated, such as crowns and rings, and of votive offerings attached to the shrines, or to the adjoining walls of the church. A previous account to Michaelmas, 1537, shows £244 os. 9d. from the sale of monastery jewels (*L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vol. xii., Part II, no. 44, p. 462. See C. MacNeill, *R.S.A.I.*, June, 1921, p. 13, note). The sums of money in all cases must be multiplied by at least fifteen to obtain the approximate 1914 value.

l.	s.	d.	
			thereof from the price of such things, goods and chattels[1]. . . .
xxxv	xv	vi	in the late priory of Holy Trinity, Dublin.[2]
	xlvii		in the cathedral church of S. Patrick, Dublin.
	ix		in the parish church of Finglas.
	vi	ix	in the chapel of S. Livericus,[3] near Dublin.
	xxxvi		in the chapel of S. Begneta[4] and the parish church of Donabroke.[5]
	xxvi		in the priory of Kylmaynam.
vi	ii	vi	in the monastery of Blessed Mary near Dublin.
	xxii	vi	in the parish church of Swordes.
vi	xv		in the chapel of S. Katherine of Feldestone.[6]
	xviii		in the parish church of Castelknock.
	vi	ix	in the parish church of Newcastell.[7]
	ix		in the chapel of Culmyn.
	ix		in the parish church of Grenok.[8]
	xviii		in the parish church of Talaghe.[9]
	xiii	vi	in the parish church of Garestone.[10]
	ix		in the parish of Typperogan.[11]
	xlv		in the chapel of Blessed Mary of the Graces near Maynooth.[12]
	vi	ix	in the parish church of Donacoper.[13]
	xiii	vi	in the late abbey of Thomas Courte by Dublin. . . .[14]

[1] We omit from the account references to churches, etc., not belonging to the diocese of Dublin. The full account is given by Mr. MacNeill.

[2] The value of the jewels and ornaments is an indication as to the celebrity of the various shrines and statues; that of the celebrated shrine of Our Lady of Trim was only £5 more than that of Holy Trinity.

[3] Neither saint nor chapel identified.

[4] Apparently Bi or St. Bee, i.e. Mo Bi, the nun who was the Irish patron of Donnybrook.

[5] The London MS. of the Monastery Roll has Donabrock.

[6] Fieldstown, N. Co. Dublin, once a noted place of pilgrimage, and a walled town. The only extant remains are some stones of St. Katherine's Chapel, scattered through a small grove, and the well of St. Katherine.

[7] Presumably Newcastle-Lyons, Co. Dublin.

[8] Greenogue, on the borders of Meath and Dublin, a town of some consequence, and the northern limit of the Dublin Diocese which extended from Greenogue to Beg Erin, near Arklow. The ruins of the church still exist.

[9] Perhaps not Tallaght, Co. Dublin, but Tara, Co. Meath.

[10] Garristown, N. Co. Dublin.

[11] Townland, about a mile S.W. of Old Kilcullen, Co. Kildare.

[12] I.e. Lady Chapel at Taghadoe, near Maynooth.

[13] Donaghcomper, near Celbridge.

[14] An account is given of the price of "two silver crosses called 'holye crossys,'" i.e. 67s. 6d. They probably contained a relic of the True Cross.

And of XX[l] similarly received by him from the price of M *lb.* [1000 lbs.] weight of wax worked into tapers, candles, images and pictures, offered to the said profane images and hanging before them at the time of their breaking up and defacing, and carried off and sold by the said accounting officer, at the rate of iiii[d] for each *lb.* weight thereof, as is contained in the schedules aforesaid.[1]

The King Sells Goods and Chattels of Religious Houses.

Receipt from the price of goods and chattels [accruing] to the lord the king by reason of the dissolution of the late monasteries, abbeys, priories, monasteries and other religious houses dissolved.

And of mdccx[l]ii[s] [£1710 2s. 0d. = about £25,650 *1914 value*] similarly received by him in the form following as from the price of divers vessels, jewels, and ornaments of silver and silver-gilt; and of bells; also of superfluous buildings, utensils, and household furniture; and of other goods, things and chattels movable found at the time, to wit, of their dissolution in the monasteries, priories and houses underwritten; also of arrears of farms and rents of certain monasteries in arrear at the time aforesaid and pertaining then to the chief governors of those late monasteries, priories and houses, and taken into the hand of the said lord the king, appraised and sold by the aforesaid commissioners under title of the commission above-mentioned; to wit;

l.	s.	d.	
liiii	xvii	viii	thereof from the price of divers things, goods and chattels in the late priory or hospital of S. John without the Newgate of the city of Dublin,
cvii	xii	ob.	in the late monastery called Thomas Courte near Dublin.
cccliii[xx]v [2]	xviii	viii ob.	in the late monastery of Blessed Mary, near Dublin.[3]
l	xix	ii ob.	in the late monastery of Grace Dew.[4]
	lxvii	ii	in the late hospital of S. John of Trysteldermote.[5]

[1] The sum received shows that the hundred was reckoned by the hundredweight of six score pounds. £20 = 4800d. ÷ 4d. per lb. = 1200 lb.

[2] £385.

[3] St. Mary's Abbey.

[4] Grace Dieu, N. Co. Dublin, about 1½ miles from Lusk.

[5] Castledermot, Co. Kildare.

The account goes on to give the profits of the sale of goods that belonged to the priory of Trysternaghe and the house of nuns of Termonfeghen. It then continues:—

Nor does he answer for the price of six bells, large and small, in the late monastery of Thomas Courte near Dublin; two bells in the late monastery of Blessed Mary by Dublin, one of greater, the other of lesser weight; two bells in the late hospital of S. John of Trysteldermote. . . . But he answers for cccciiii^{xx}vii^{l}xvi^{s}viii^{d} [£487 16s. 8d.] received by him in the form following:—

From the price of divers goods, things, and chattels movable found in the late houses of friars underwritten, being in the land aforesaid, and similarly seized into the hand of the same lord the king by the aforesaid commissioners by title of the commission above mentioned and appraised and sold, to wit, . . .

l.	s.	d.	thereof from the price of such things, goods, and
xxiiii	viii	vi	chattels in the late house of friars minors of Dublin
xxiiii	viii	vi	in the late house of friars preachers of Dublin
xxviii	viii	vi	in the late house of Augustinian friars there
x	xvi		in the late house of friars of Trysteldermot
	lxiii		in the late house of friars of the New Abbey. . . .[1]

He does not answer for any profit from the price of any goods, etc., of the (among other houses) friars of Arcloo,[2] for that no goods and chattels could be found in the said house at the time of the dissolution. . . .

Nor does he answer for the price of a chalice, parcell of the goods and chattels pertaining to the late house of friars preachers of Dublin, for that chalice was given and demised to the late prior of that house for celebrating mass in the chapel of Blessed Mary at the foot of Dublin Bridge.[3]

Nor does he answer for the price of a chalice, parcell of the goods and chattels pertaining to the late house of Augustinian friars of Dublin, for that that chalice was given by the aforesaid commissioners to the suffragan [4] of the archbishop of Dublin, late prior of the house aforesaid, as is contained therein.

[1] Near Kilcullen-bridge, Co. Kildare, belonging to Franciscan Observants.

[2] Arklow, Co. Wicklow, belonging to friars preachers.

[3] I.e. St. Mary du Grace at Bridge St. Bridge, near the Four Courts. The Dominican prior had evidently surrendered his house *willingly*, as he was appointed chaplain to St. Mary du Grace, close by the Dominican Priory.

[4] This is evidently the "Sylvester" mentioned before as Browne's suffragan or assistant, and now appearing as one of his own Order of Augustinians. Nangle, *alias* Sylvester, had been prior of this house, then the rejected King's bishop of Clonfert, and afterwards Browne's assistant.

Nor does he answer for the price of bells pertaining at the time of the dissolution (as follows) . . . two bells to the late house of friars preachers of Athye . . . one bell to the late house of Carmelite friars of Dublin, one bell to the late house of friars preachers there, one bell to the late house of Augustinian friars there . . . two bells to the aforesaid late house of friars of Trysteldermote,[1] two bells to the late house of friars of the New Abbey . . . for that those bells still remain in the places aforesaid in the keeping of the accounting officer to the use of the lord the king, in no way sold or appraised, as the same accounting officer says on his oath and is contained there, and the same accounting officer is to answer to the king for those bells and does answer below. . . .

Nor does he answer for the price of the superfluous buildings of the late houses of the . . . friars preachers of Athye, of the house of the friars of Trysteldermote. . . .

The same under treasurer accounts that he has paid with his own hands . . . to divers persons as well for just debts in which certain governors aforesaid of the late monasteries, priories and religious houses above named were for divers causes bound to those persons in the days when those monasteries, priories and houses were dissolved, as also for gifts and rewards to certain of the governors,[2] and for the wages of their servants given and paid at their departure; the names of which persons together with the particular sums of money paid and delivered in the aforesaid inventory book above-recited in the title of this account, as is contained therein. iiii^{c}lxxv^{li}xvii^{s}.

And in necessary outlay of the commissioners in their journey despatching the above-named lord the kings business, according to the tenor of his commission, to wit, sustained and expended between the aforesaid 3rd day of February in the said 30th year (1538-9) and the 25th day of January in the 32nd year (1540-1) of the reign of the said lord the king. ccclxxv^{l}xii^{d}.

Conjoint Total of Receipt	mmdxliiii^{l}xix^{d}ob.
Total of payments	Dcccl^{li}ii^{s}v^{d}.
And he owes	m^{l}dciii^{xx}xiii^{l}xix^{s}ii^{d}ob.

[1] Lord Walter Fitzgerald (*Kild. Arch. Soc.*, iii. 313) mentions a local "dream" that these bells were buried in boggy ground to the north of the churchyard, which shows, at least, that they are remembered traditionally. This happily fits in with Wadding's words: "The friars, when they were expelled, took care to bring away the best fittings, and they hid the bells under ground in a spot not altogether concealed from those that succeeded them" (*Annals*, 1486 A.D.). See MacNeill, *R.S.A.I.*, June, 1921, p. 27, *note*.

[2] Probably pensions to the priors.

The complete "conjoint total" is made up of £326 2s. 11d. realised by selling the jewels and ornaments taken from images; £20 for wax; £1710 2s. 0d. for goods and chattels of religious houses other than friaries; and £487 16s. 8½d. for goods and chattels of friaries. Total £2544 1s. 7½d. or about £38,160 *1914 value.* After payments the net receipts were £1693 19s. 2½d., or about £25,410 *1914 value.*

A few points in this account call for remark. The superfluous buildings were mainly the church with its chapels, the cloister, dormitory, etc., of which the materials, except the roofs of lead, were either sold or utilised for public works. It appears that the practice in England [1] was to send skilled persons to the monasteries to melt the lead and run it into "sows," for convenience of transport and disposal.

At the house of Anacrane (Athnecrane) in Westmeath was found a leaden chalice which the Under-Treasurer accounted of no value. In the house of the friars minors of Drogheda was found a leaden vessel, in English called "a Fatte [2] of leade," which was to be brought to the castle of Dublin for the King's use.

Many bells mentioned in the complete account were taken by private individuals who were to answer to the King for them. The bells of the friars of Rosbarkyn and Rosse came into the hands of George Tyssingham, farmer; those of the friars preachers of Waterford to James White, recorder of that town; those of the friars of Dungarvan to Nicholas Browne, farmer there; a bell of the friars of Clane to Lord Deputy Gray; two bells of the friars preachers of Drogheda to William Mannynge of Dublin; two small bells of the friars minors of Kyldare to Robert Brabazon, farmer there; one bell of the Carmelite friars at Kyldare to Thomas Connall, late prior of that house, who abstracted and carried it off, and pledged it to Maurice Eustace of Castell Martin (near Kilcullen); a bell of 100 lb. weight of the abbey of Eneslanaghe to James Whyte of Clomell; the goods and chattels of the houses of the friars of Leghlyme and Tullaghfelym to James, Earl of Ormond; a small vessel of lead, in English called "a leade," to William Brabazon, Under-Treasurer.

[1] *L. and P. Hen. VIII,* vol. xii, ii. nos. 545, 864.

[2] "Vat."

John Goodryck, clerk of the works of the King in Ireland, was to answer for the [lead] roof of the covering of the chancel, chapels, and dormitory of the house of the friars minors of Drogheda, and in his hands for repairs and buildings of the King's castles of Carlingford, Grenecastell and Ardglas, by assignment of John Alen, and the other commissioners. Walter Bathe, gentleman, was to answer for what remains of the roof or covering of the church or chancel of the house of Carmelite friars of Athyrde (Ardee), reserved and assigned for the building of certain burned tenements belonging to that house.

The account gives 35s. as the price of two bells in the late monastery of Bectyff which weighed 180 lb. (a cwt. = 120 lb. and worth 21s. Irish). Four bells in the monastery of St. Peter near Tryme, weighed 1405 lb., and fetched £13 13s. 10½d. (about £200 *1914 value*). Five cows and one pair of organs of the monastery of Duske were priced at £4 13s. 4d. The other goods and chattels of Duske (except a bell in the belfry) came into the hands of James, Earl of Ormond and Ossory.

The receipts from the goods and chattels of Bectiff, Tintorn, Dunbrody, Baltinglas, and Duske, equalled £55 13s. 2d.; those of All Hallows (net) were £127 8s. 10d. These added to the sum given for the above (first) account, make the grand total of £1877 1s. 2½d. net (about £28,155 *1914 value*) from the sale of ornaments, goods, and chattels of the religious houses, shrines, etc., mentioned in the suppression.

The receipts from the Dublin Diocese were: jewels and ornaments, £63 8s. 8d., goods and chattels of monasteries, £602 14s. 9½d.; of friaries, £91 4s. 6d.; goods of All Hallows, £127 8s. 10d. Total £884 16s. 9½d. (about £13,260 *1914 value*), or a little less than half the net total value for all Ireland in this suppression.

The following is an official list [1] of some of the houses of the friars which had been sold to private persons:—

The Grey Friars of Dublin sold to Thomas Styvines for	£36	10	0
The halfindell [moiety] of the Friars of Clonemell to the Sovereign and Commons there	24	0	0
The other halfindell to the Lord of Ormond . .	24	0	0

[1] *Car. Cal.*, p. 199

Londreston, parcel of the Black Friars of Dublin, the Black Friars of Tryme and Friars of Scryne to Sir Thomas Cusack for	£148	13	4
The Friars of Typerarie to Derby Ryane	20	0	0
The Augustine Friars of Dublin to Walter Tirrel of Dublin	114	13	4
The White Friars of Dublin to Nicholas Stanyhurste	44	10	0
The Grey Friars of Tryme to Sir Anthony Sentleger	56	0	0
Bohurnebruyne,[1] parcel of the Grey Friars of Dublin, to Sir Thomas Luttrell	6	13	4
The Friars of Clane, the Black Friars of the Nase, and Rathnecluyge, parcel of the Augustine Friars of Dublin, to the said Sir Thomas Luttrell	177	3	4
The Friars of Knocktofer to Robert Eustace, Prebend of Rathmyghell, and to others, to the use of Patrick Barnewall of Gracediewe	88	13	4
The Friars of Athboy to Thomas Casey	38	0	0[2]

As the King's revenue and expenses have been mentioned in connection with the suppression, the following account[3] will be useful :—

King's revenues :—

Lands [royal]	£6069	2	7
Customs of Dublin, Drogheda, Dundalk, Trym, and Nasse	319	13	4
Petty farms, homages, etc.	11	5	8
20th part of spirituality (yearly)	287	2	1½
King's subsidy spiritual and temporal	563	8	3
(Irish)	£7450	11	11½

Expenses :—

Annuities and "proxes perpetual"	£182	13	9½
Fees of judges, courts, soldiers,[4] etc.	1131	12	6
Total	£1314	6	3½
Remainder	£6136	5	8

[1] Bohernabreena, near Tallaght.

[2] These sums are given in Irish money.

[3] *Ib.*, 200-1.

[4] The charges of a good captain, 4s. a day; petty captain, 2s.; horseman, 9d.; archer, 6d.; hakebuttier, 8d.

Pensions. Late Prior of Kilmainham . .	£500	0	0
Yearly pensions of governors and other religious persons of lately-suppressed religious houses, and fees and annuities granted by them to divers persons.[1]	759	3	4
Total	£1259	3	4
Remainder	£4877	2	4

Brabazon's Faulty Accounts of the Receipts.

As to the suppressions, much had been done irregularly and by directions from Cromwell, against whom it had been a ground of attainder that he had issued commissions without sufficient authority. The position of Brabazon and the other commissioners, who were all Cromwell's creatures, became hazardous after Cromwell had been executed (28 July, 1540). But Brabazon found means to avert the danger, and by his humble suit obtained an order that his accounts were to pass upon the said Vice-Treasurer's own oath. He had received many sums of which he had no record, and made many payments upon warrant only of the private letters of the late Lord Privy Seal.[2] He might have pleaded that the privy seal commission of 20 May, 1539, to Alen, Cowley, and himself directed that they should "allwayes ensue and accomplishe the devices and exhortations of oure right trusty and entierlie welbeloved Counsailloure the lorde Crumwell, lorde pryvee Seale, our vice-gerent generall in all oure ecclesiasticall jurisdiccons and suprematie; and those oure letteres shall be sufficient warraunt." This, however, could hardly excuse the Vice-Treasurer for having no record of many sums paid to him.[3]

It is important to observe that the accounts deal with the

[1] The number of the superiors of religious houses who received pensions was thus extremely small. As £5 was the usual pension to a superior, and 53s. 4d. to an ordinary religious, and as the account includes fees and annuities to servants, the number of religious pensioned would scarcely reach 100. According to the Patent Rolls it was nothing like that.

[2] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vol. xvi., p. 49.

[3] See MacNeill, *loc. cit.*, p. 20, *note*.

sales of only some of the goods and chattels found in the religious houses, and that vessels of silver and gold, jewels, principal ornaments, lead and bells had been specially reserved to the King. The reason of the sale of the above possessions was " the great need of the King " in his wars with the Earl of Desmond, and other rebels of English and of Irish nation. The accounts, of course, do not include the annual revenues from the lands, messuages, tithes, etc., belonging to the monasteries, which, as regards the diocese of Dublin, we shall see later.

The dissolution of several religious houses, to which parish churches had been appropriated, having caused an interruption in the service of the cures, which had been served by members of the community, to which they had been appropriated, an Act was passed in 1542 for empowering the Lord Deputy, the Lord Chancellor, the Vice-Treasurer, the Chief Justice, and others, to erect and incorporate a vicarage in each of the several parish churches, which had been appropriated to religious houses dissolved, having no vicar endowed ; [1] a provision which proved entirely inadequate.

More Commissions.

On 16 August, 1540 (32 Hen. VIII), Anthony Sentleger, Thomas Walsshe, John Mynne, and William Cavendysshe, had been appointed by royal letters patent to receive the accounts and reckonings of the Under-Treasurer of the property of the suppressed monasteries.

In the previous May (20th), it was thought proper to provide annual stipends for the monks of the suppressed abbeys. A commission was therefore issued for this purpose,

To John Alen, Chancellor, William Brabazon, Vice-Treasurer, and Robert Cowley, Master of the Rolls, appointing them to survey and value the rents and revenues of the dissolved monasteries and religious houses, upon their surrender, and to grant the possessions thereof in spiritualities and temporalities, for the term of 21 years ; reserving to the Crown the plate, jewels, and principal ornaments ; and the residue to put to sale to pay the wages of the officers and servants ; and to assign to the heads and conventual persons

[1] *Ir. Stat.*, 33 *Hen. VIII*, c. 14.

competent pensions to maintain them during their lives, or until they shall be preferred to some promotion or benefice. By privy seal.[1]

Another commission (1 April, 1541) was directed to Alen, Aylmer, Luttrell, Bathe, and Thomas de St. Lawrence authorising them

to ascertain by oaths of honest men of the Cos. of Dublin and Meath, what monasteries, lordships, manors, lands, and advowsons devolved to the Crown by the Statute of Dissolution, their annual value, of whom held, by what service, and who were the founders thereof.[2]

Procedure for Dissolving Religious Houses.

Before dealing with the inquisitions into the various religious houses, it may be well to epitomise the instructions usually given to the commissioners appointed to carry out the suppression. Having repaired to the house in question, they were first to demand delivery of the common and convent seals, and, having taken them into their hands, were to break them, or put them in safety for the King's use. They were then to summon the head of the house and make him declare, upon oath, the state and plight of his house, and what leases, corrodies, fees, and the like were in existence, dating from before October, 1535. That done, they were to make a true inventory of the lead, bells, superfluous buildings, and of all plate, jewels, ornaments, goods, chattels, debts, corn, stock, and stores, afterwards surveying all the possessions, spiritual and temporal, of the house. They were to make enquiry into debts due to the house, and take into custody for the King's use all evidences and writings. Subsequently they were to sell all the corn, grain, household stuff, and the like, but not the lead, bells, plate, jewels, and principal ornaments: these were to be held for the King. They were to pay all wages due to servants, and all debts due for corn, cattle, and victuals, and all other debts not exceeding £6 13s. 4d. Finally, they were to hand over the buildings to such persons as the King might appoint, and in due course and by the day stated render an account of all their proceedings under their seals and signs manual.

[1] *Cal. Pat. and Cl. R.*, p. 54. [2] *Loc. cit.*

There was, of course, no difficulty about the surrender, no armed opposition or even strong protest. All that would be useless. But the surrender was always made to appear voluntary, as if anyone would yield his possessions, deprive himself of his home, make his religious and community life an impossibility in his own country, and go forth into the world practically penniless, no matter what age he had reached. And all this, simply because the King wanted money. And the deed of surrender was signed, sealed, and endorsed by the abbot or prior so that it might be deposited in chancery as an acknowledgment of their willingness to make themselves homeless and paupers.

The surrender duly executed, the commissioners seem to have proceeded at once to sell the poor effects of the religious to those who expected bargains or who were attracted to the suppression of a house by curiosity. Such things as religious habits, vestments, surplices, altar-cloths, candlesticks, thuribles, cheap chalices, etc., were freely disposed of, and, no doubt, cheaply. Proceeding to the outbuildings they sold what they found there, brass pots, spits, ladles, cupboards, brewing lead, and all the appointments of kitchen, pantry, etc. Then came the turn of the household furniture. Feather beds, bolsters, and coverlets of the guest chambers, and the meagre contents of the cells, were quickly disposed of.

There was now nothing left for the commissioners to do but to discharge those clauses in their instructions which bade them appoint what was euphemistically termed pensions to the prior and his brethren, and then turn them out of doors. These pensions were granted to many of the religious of the various houses of this diocese, but the number of those who received pensions is a small proportion of the number of friars and monks who dwelt in those houses. In fact, the friars seem to have received no pensions. No doubt, pensions were accompanied by suitable encomiums, by the distributers, on the Lord King's grace and goodness in being so generous as to grant them. Then the community were bidden to depart, and the commissioners, locking the doors of the stripped cloister and the desecrated church, proceeded to a similar work of demolition elsewhere.[1]

[1] See Fletcher, *op. cit.*, pp. 86 ff.

St. Wolstan's Granted to John Alen.

It has been already noted that St. Wolstan's, beautifully situated on the Liffey, near Celbridge, was the first religious house to suffer dissolution and was granted to John Alen, Master of the Rolls, on 1 December, 1536.

This priory was founded about the year 1205 for canons of the Order of St. Victor by Adam de Hereford in memory of St. Wolstan, Bishop of Worcester, then recently canonised by Innocent III. The first part of the building was called "Scala Caeli" (*Ladder of Heaven*). De Hereford, an Anglo-Norman magnate, granted to Richard, the first prior, the lands on the River Liffey and the church of Donacumpfer of earlier foundation. By degrees the priory, through grants, became owners of almost the whole of the present Catholic parish of Kildroght (Celbridge). The ruins, consisting of two gateways, a tower, and two fragments, still exist on the banks of the Liffey in Colonel Claude Cane's demesne of St. Wolstan's at Celbridge, opposite the demesne of Castletown, about midway between Celbridge Bridge and the old bridge, still called "the Newbridge," which was built by John le Decer, Mayor of Dublin, in 1308. A sketch of St. Wolstan's by Austin Cooper in 1782 shows that it was of quadrangular form, of massive proportions, with strong gateways and square towers, enclosing a large courtyard, and with an adjoining ancient round tower.

The patent[1] granted to Alen contains the following information as to the spiritual and temporal possessions of the priory, but it gives no idea of their yearly value :—

Grant to John Alen of Cowteshale, in Co. Norfolk, gent. Clerk and Master of the Rolls and Records of Chancery, of the site, circuit, and lands of the late monastery or priory of St. Wulstans, the manor of Donaghcumper, and all hereditaments and possessions whatsoever spiritual and temporal in Donaghcumper, St. Wulstans, lez Mochefeldes, and Waterfeldes, at St. Wulstans aforesaid : and in Personeston,[2] Stacumney,[3] Bacbieston other-

[1] *Cal. P. and Cl. R. Ir., Hen. VIII*, p. 40.

[2] One mile N. of St. Wolstan's.

[3] Stacumney or Tachcuminy, one mile S.E. of St. Wolstan's. The Irish word *teach* or *tigh*, a house or church, enters frequently into topographical

wise Backweston, Leixlip, Grangegorman, Rewe,[1] Prioreston,[1] Trysteldelan otherwise Castledelan,[2] Tipperston, Straffan, Irishton, Ardres, Balmakele, Ballycorkeran, Tyrowe, Corbally near Gryffenrathe, Kildrought,[3] Galbeggiston, and Ceyleston, in the Co. Kildare. Coldreyny, Bacbieston otherwise Backweston, and Lucan, in the Co. of Dublin. The advowsons and patronage of the churches or chapels of Donaghcumper [4]; Stacumney, Killadowan, and Donoughmore; [5] with all tithes, pensions, oblations, glebes, and other emoluments and profits belonging to the said churches, rectories, or chapels, in the Co. of Kildare. To hold for ever, by the service of one knight's fee, as scutage runs—Rent £10.

It may be of interest to give here some of the entries relating to the lands, etc., of St. Wolstan's, which show the bartering that went on between Alen and others as to their possession.

names all over Ireland. The *tagh* or *ty* is frequently corrupted by the Danes and Anglo-Normans into *Stach*, *Sta*, or *Sti* (Stamullen; Stillorgan). The corruption is almost confined to the counties of Dublin, Meath, and Louth (under Norman influence). Stacumney is one of the few outside these counties (Joyce, *Irish Names of Places*, i. 65). We have no information who the Cummàn of Teach-Cuming was. Two of the name are commemorated in the Martyrology of Donegal, one a Virgin of Doire-inghen-aillen at 29 May, the other Cummàn Beg, Virgin of Cill-Cuimne, 14 June.

[1] Rewe, or le Rewe, was a parcel of land at Salmon Leap, and next to "Prioreston Meadowes" belonging to the manor of Leixlip. The modern Ryevale, N. of Leixlip is probably the modern name. (See *Pat. and Cl. R.*, 22 Aug., 30 *Hen. VIII.*)

[2] Castledillon, its modern name; Trysteldelan or Diseart Iollathan, i.e. St. Illan's Hermitage. Illan is venerated on 2 Feb. as "Iollathan of the Desert" (*Mart. Donegal*). After the erection of a castle the place-name was corrupted into Castledelan. The same thing occurred in the case of Diseart-Dermot or Castle-dermot. The foundations of the church are still extant in the graveyard about one mile S.E. of Straffan.

[3] Kildrought, *Cill-droichead* (Chapel at the Bridge). The modern name, Celbridge, is a curious mixture of an Irish and an English word, i.e. *Kill* of the *Bridge*.

[4] *Domnach-Compair*, probably the "church at the confluence," namely, of the Shinkeean and the Liffey. The old church lies quite near St. Wolstan's. In the side chapel was the vault of the Alen family, who gave St. Wolstan's the name of "Alen's Court." The above Sir John Alen, and his brother Thomas, who received the preceptory of Kilheale (Kilteel) were buried here. The Alens intermarried with the Gormanstons, Lutterels, and Sarsfields. The last of the Alens of St. Wolstan's fought against the English at Fontenoy, and was known as Count Alen of St. Wolstan's.

[5] Donoughmore, about 1½ miles from Maynooth.

Surrender by Matthew King, of Dublin, of the manor and castle of Leixlip, otherwise the Salmon Leap: messuages, etc., in Leixlip, Colfiche, and Meiston.

also a meadow near "le Rewe," next to "Prioreston Medowes" belonging to said manor of Leixlip.

Inspeximus of surrender to the King by John Alen, Master of the Rolls, of the towns, hamlets, or messuages of Laghleneston, Porterston, Symondeston, and Galbegeston, and their appurtenances in the Co. Kildare: also all messuages, lands, and tenements in the same county which are parcel of the Manor of Leixlip, and which had been granted to the said Alen, for a term of 21 years—22 Aug., 1538 (30 Hen. VIII).[1]

Licence for John Alen, esq., Master of the Rolls of Chancery, to alienate to Edward Basnet, Dean of St. Patrick's, Robert Fitz-Symonde, precentor, and Nicholas Alen, Chancellor, Robert Eustace, prebendary of Rathmighell, and Eustace Browne, chaplain, his manor, or principal mansion, near the Newbridge, and his manor of Donaghcumper, with the appurtenances: and all his estate in Donaghcumper and Leixlip, Donaghmore, Kilmacredoke, Grangeforman, Tippereston, Prioreston, Stacumney, Rewe, Tristeldelan, Killadowan, Ardres, Irishton, Straffan, Balmakele, Corbally, near Gryffynrathe, Personeston, Kildrought, and elsewhere in the Co. of Kildare, and in Bacbieston, otherwise Bacweston, Coldreyny, Lucan, and elsewhere in the Co. of Dublin.[2]

The Alens had profited well by the suppression of religious houses.

Alen, in a letter [3] to the Council of England in 1546, says, that "as to Matthew Kynge's lease of Salmon Leap, he acted upon the letters and assent of the council. He bought the lease of Lexlepe of Kynge long before for £50, in Kynge's necessity, and lent him £40 besides. The lease of the temporality of Kyll is worth but £9 a year and is not 5 marks yearly gain to him. It is made according to the survey, and there is a reversion in it of St. Katherine's leased to a canon for the service of the parish churches of Lexlep and Confy."

As a kind of postscript to his letter he mentions that Browne had spoken to him very "unreverently and strangely," and that he (Alen) on one occasion had said, "such demeanour would have become him well when he was a friar."

[1] *Pat. and Cl. R. Ir., Hen. VIII*, pp. 41-2.
[2] *Loc. cit.*
[3] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, 1546.

Archbishop Alen, in his *Repertorium Viride*[1] has the following references to St. Wolstan's :—

266. Church of Tristeldelane [Castledillon]: It was appropriated to the canons of St. Thomas's, Dublin, by right of patronage of Thomas de Herford: then William de Cavershame gave the land of Tristel Delane with all appurtenances to the canons of St. Wolstan for the soul of his lady Margaret Lacy formerly Countess Lincoln for the maintenance of three canons celebrating the Divine Mysteries there under penalty of 100 shillings sterling as a pure debt to the Archbishop of Dublin as well as to the fabric of St. Patrick's.

268. Church of Stachimey [Stacumney] with its chapel [de villa Mackelane, alias Balmackell] united to the Priory of St. Wolstan according to foundation of Lord Adam de Hereford then lord of Castle of Leixlip. It now appears to belong to our Patronage.

272. Church of Killadowan. Impropriated to Priory of St. Wolstan and pays 40 [s.] as procurations. Its rector was Lord Henry Marleburge in XII year of Richard II by [grant] of Archbishop Richard Talbot. It was united to said Priory for its own use by consent of Robert Rochford then patron of this church of St. James in the time of Henry VI, King of England, as appears from the archives[2] of said Priory at the time of our visitation frequently seen by us.

Convent of Graney.

The name Grane or Graney is derived from *greannaidhe*, gravelly or sandy, and was originally applied to the river Graney on account of its gravelly channel. Graney itself is situated at the foot of Knockpatrick hill, two and a half miles north-east of Castledermot. In 1173 all the surrounding district, the ancient territory of the O'Tooles, was granted (with Bray manor) to Walter de Riddelesford, an Anglo-Norman

[1] List of churches in the diocese; Latin MS.

[2] The priceless treasures in MSS. and books of the religious houses have never been recovered. Who took them? The King's commissioners or the religious? The commissioners were probably more concerned with the leases of the community property than with historical documents. The books and MSS. were probably taken away by the religious as souvenirs of their monastery, and in troublous times either lost or considered of no value. What a wealth of historical material thus utterly lost, brought about by Henry's greed of material wealth!

knight and Baron of Bray, by Strongbow. In the grant the territory around Graney is called "the lands of the sons of O'Tuathail." About the year 1200, Walter de Riddelesford founded the convent, under the invocation of the Blessed Virgin, for canonesses of the Order of St. Augustine, and in 1207 Innocent III by a Bull took the convent and its possessions under his special protection, especially those granted to it by de Riddelesford. Many other possessions were granted by other Anglo-Normans. De Riddelesford granted it the right of patronage of all the churches throughout his barony of Bree and the tithes of his mill there. A curious item of these grants was the tenths of meat and drink belonging to his table which were to go to the convent. Though Graney is mentioned by some ancient writers as in Carlow and by others as in Kildare it belonged to this diocese, to the deanery of O'Murthy (Hi Murray). There are no ruins of the convent now standing except small portions of walls, though the uneven surface of the ground shows traces of extensive foundations. Extensive ruins of the convent were observed by Richard Pococke in his *Diary of his Tour through Ireland* [1] *in 1753*, but by 1830 they had been demolished.

Though the convent had been suppressed by Patent 27 Henry VIII [2] (i.e. 1535) for "reasons assigned," which were most probably insufficient means of support, yet it was included in the list of those suppressed in the Dublin Parliament of 15 October, 1537, and its possessions were declared forfeited to the Crown. At two inquisitions held, 5 August, 1538, one at Castledermot and the other at Carlow, it was found that

Egidia Wale or Wall was in right of the priory seised of the site of the priory, church, graveyard, fields, gardens, orchards, 100 messuages, and 20 carucates [ploughlands of 120 acres each] in Grane and Little Grane (*alias* Granevegg), Little Davieston (*alias* Ballygruvegg), Plankeston (*alias* Plonkiston, *alias* Ballysowke), Brodeston (*alias* Ballywrode), Horganeston (*alias* Ballyorgan), and Cabrigeston.

[1] Published by G. Stokes, 1891, *Arch. Mon.*, ii. 258, Moran's ed. Lord W. Fitzgerald, *Kild. Arch. Soc.*, vii. 380.

[2] Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. xiv., p. 551.

The rectories and churches of—

[*Co. Kildare*] Tristeldermot [Castledermot], Kilkaa, Kilhelan [Killelan], Ballycutland [Coghlanstown].

[*Co. Dublin*] Donabate, Kylmahod [Kilmacud].

[*Co. Carlow and present Co. Wicklow*] Bree, Aghir, Ballyhakket, Kiltegan [Kilteyan], Kilcorney, Kylmore, Kylcassell, Kylpipe. One-third of the rectory of Downelekne [Dunleckney] and Villa Gilberti [Gilbertstown].

Bealaroyney, Kylmohydde [Ballyadams]; 2 rectories in the Co. Wexford, and 5 in the Co. Cork. The names of the jurors (all Irish) present at the inquisitions are:—Cormac Mac Gilcoskyll, Teige O'Byrne, Dermot Mac Gillecomy, Shane Mac Gillepatrick, Nicholas Mac Walter, Shane O'Byrne, Hugh Mac Morish, Melaghlin Mac Donoghe, Hugh O'Lennon [all of Grane], Donogh Mac Shane of Raghscolbyne [Roscolvin near Kilkaa], Donnell O'Tynnelan and Donnell O'Lallor, both of Tristeldermote.[1]

Lord Leonard Gray, while he was marshal of the army in Ireland, was created by the King Viscount Graney (Jan. 1536), and three years later, when he was Lord Deputy, obtained a grant of the convent's possessions.[2] After he was executed for treason (1541) his successor, Sir Anthony St. Leger, was the next possessor of the convent, manor, and lands of Graney (4 May, 1542), to hold for ever by service of one twentieth of a knight's fee, with rent of 66s. 8d.[3]

The Earls of Kildare subsequently obtained the possessions.

The above lands and possessions were leased by Sir Anthony St. Leger, by licence from the King (4 April, 2 Edward VI, 1547-8),[4] to Edward Staples, Bishop of Meath, James Umfry, Dublin, clerk, Christopher Howth, clerk, Simon Gefferay, clerk, Peter Lewes, clerk, and Robert Eustace, clerk. The purpose of the lease does not appear, nor does it appear why this combination of bishop and clerics wished to hold these possessions. They were probably a burden to Sentleger, and by leasing them he acquired an easy though diminished revenue.

At the time of the suppression, the prioress, Egidia Wale, received a pension of £4 payable out of the issues and profits of the late monastery.[5]

[1] *Cal. Docs. I.*, 1302-7, pp. 249, 281.
[2] *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, i. 32; *Fiants, Hen. VIII*, no. 7.
[3] *Ib.*, nos. 71, 304.
[4] *Pat. and Cl. R., Edw. VI.*
[5] *Ib.*, p. 60. *No date.*

Archbishop Alen in his *Repertorium Viride* (1531) gives the following references to Graney Convent which are worth recording :—

207. Church of Grane. This is Conventual of prioress and nuns living there, the gift of Walter Ridleford almost from the last conquest of Ireland, with 21 carucates of land lying near. Also with many benefices, churches, vicarages, of parochial churches, chapels with their vicarages not only in the diocese of Dublin but also of the same Province in the dioceses of Leighlin and Ferns. Which are mixed up on account of waste and wars, hence dissension as to their boundaries.

74. Church of Kilmehud. This belongs to the prioress of Grane for the use of the nuns ; of the nine mother churches appropriated to them, besides many chapels depending on them, as well as of churches of the Convent of Grane. See transcript of the Bull of Gregory X in our iron chest—register—for two churches with chapel in Omayle [Ui Mail]. For there is a mystery here with the *Crede Mihi* [ancient register] as against the Bishop of Leighlin as to the boundaries of his and my diocese, of which later.

Carmelite Monastery of White Friars.

Although the Carmelites had taken up residence in Ireland in the year 1260 it was not until 1274 that they set up one in Dublin. This was in the parish of St. Peter de Hulla (on the Hill) in the suburbs on land granted them by Sir Robert Bagot, knight, and Chief Justice of the King's Bench. They then represented to the King that by several grants of Roger Oweyn (Audeon), Sir James de Bermingham, and Nicholas Bacon they had procured a habitation for themselves and that they proposed to erect a church thereon. The King, accordingly (6 Nov., 1278), commanded the bailiffs and citizens of Dublin to permit the Friars to inhabit the said place and to build their church without let or impediment. The chief donor, however, was R. Oweyn, and the yearly rent mentioned in the deed was 17d. But as the citizens appeared to have raised an objection to the foundation on account of loss to themselves a writ was issued by the King (13 Nov., 1279) to Robert de Ufford, Justiciar of Ireland, commanding him to inquire if the erection of the church would be a loss to the King or the citizens. At an inquisition taken at Dublin

(31 Jan., 1279-80) between the friars and the citizens the jurors said that if a church and sanctuary be there founded, it would tend to the loss and inconvenience of the city to the amount of 6d. a year, but that they would conduce to the profit of souls. It appears that "courtesans lived there before the arrival of the friars." The three messuages granted to the friars had brought to the city a yearly rent of 6d., and R. Oweyn having agreed to pay the loss to the citizens, the King granted the friars licence to enclose and inhabit the three messuages, to found the church there, and to hold the enclosure to them and their successors for ever.[1] The Carmelite foundation in Dublin must be assigned to the year 1280, and occupied the ground now covered by the Carmelite Church, Whitefriars Street.

It is interesting to note that the Carmelite friary provided the chaplain to the chapel of the Exchequer for over a hundred years, from about 1315 until 1467. The Exchequer in 1315, and for years before, was situated somewhere about the present city markets (George's and Exchequer Streets). It was removed for safety to the castle in 1366. Between 1362 and 1395 the work of the Exchequer was carried on in Carlow. It was then removed to Dublin Castle. The friars officiated in the Exchequer Chapel outside the walls and in the chapel in Dublin Castle during the periods of its work in Dublin. It seems quite clear that the one chapel in Dublin Castle, the King's Chapel, was used as the royal chapel and also for the Exchequer, with a different chaplain for each. The fee of each chaplain was 50s. yearly, and an allowance from 2s. to 4s. for wax.

In 1315-16 Edward II made "a grant at will to the Prior and Convent of Mount Carmel, Dublin, of the chantry of the Exchequer of Dublin, receiving yearly out of the said Exchequer as much as others were accustomed in times past to receive for the said chantry; provided that they cause the chantry to be celebrated by one of their friars as is fitting." This seems to have been the beginning of the Carmelite ministrations in the Exchequer. A formal writ was issued (9 Edward III, i.e. in 1335) to the priors and friars of Mount

[1] *Cal. S.P.Ir., Edw. I.* Archdall, *Mon. Hib.* King's *Collectanea* (MS. Nat. Libr.).

Carmel in Dublin to celebrate divine offices in the chantry of the Exchequer, receiving therefor 100s. a year. This increased stipend continued for at least a century. For want of records we do not know what happened after 1467, whether the Carmelites still officiated in the Exchequer.[1]

According to the extent [2] of its lands and possessions made at the time of its dissolution, 18 August, 1538, it owned 5 acres, 9 messuages, and 4 gardens, of the annual value of £2 13s. 8d. The whole property was granted to Nicholas Stanyhurst by the King for a term of years at 40s. *p.a.* William Kelly was its last prior.

A further grant (10 July, 1542) was made to the said Nicholas Stanyhurst, in consideration of a fine of £44 10s. of the

site, precinct, and possessions of the late priory or house of Friars Carmelites, commonly called the White Friars of Dublin; 8 messuages, 4 gardens, 2 orchards, 2 parks of pasture, and all other messuages and lands in the liberties, franchises, and suburbs of Dublin, reputed parcel of the late monastery; to be held by Knight's service, i.e. by the twentieth part of one knight's fee. Rent 2s. 6d. Irish.[3]

From the above account it is clear that the Carmelites possessed very little of this world's goods.

On 18 May, 1600 (43 Eliz.), it was found that this friary contained—

three castles, a hall, divers chambers, and other necessary buildings, within the site, with sundry appurtenances, 3 gardens and an orchard in Sheep (Ship) Street, and St. Stephens Street, and 3 parks, containing 4 acres of meadow near the friary; also that Walter Ball, late an alderman of the city of Dublin, had been seised of the said premises, annual value of £4 besides reprises.[4]

The possessions were afterwards granted by Elizabeth to Francis Aungier (created Baron of Longford, 29 June, 1621); hence the names of two streets in the vicinity, Aungier and Longford.

[1] Ronan, *Ancient Chapel Royal, I.E.R.*, May, 1923. Lawlor, *Chapel of Dublin Castle, R.S.A.I.*, June, 1923.

[2] See App.

[3] *Cal. P. and Cl. R.*, 33 *Hen. VIII. Fiants, Hen. VIII*, 545.

[4] *Chief Rem. Off.*, Archdall, *Mon. Hib.*, 796.

Priory of All Saints.

All Saints' Priory was founded by Diarmaid MacMurrough, King of Leinster, on the ground now occupied by Trinity College. By a charter granted about the year 1166, when he had succeeded in taking hostages from O'Carroll, King of Uriel (i.e. Louth, Armagh, and Monaghan), he conferred on his spiritual father, Edan, Bishop of Louth, the land called Balydubhgaill (Baldoyle), with its men.

This is perhaps the most singular grant to the priory. By it Melisu (servant of Jesus) MacFeilecan of Balydubhgaill and his descendants were granted to Bishop Edan. Later still, Richard de Pheypo granted certain serfs of Balydubhgaill with all their issue and progeny to the priory. They bore the name Mackelegan and were evidently descendants of Melisu. Those grants mean that these men were bestowed separate from the land, and as pure serfs or "villeins in gross." They were simply slaves, as they were granted without land, and might be removed or sold apart from it. Another, or higher, form of villeinage was the betagh or native (*nativi* or *ascripti glebae*) who was an occupier of land, bound to do certain work on the land; he was bound to the land and sold or leased with it. He had no right to dispose of his chattels by will; and even if he raised himself to the rank of citizen of Dublin, the landed property which he acquired was liable to be seized upon by the lord of the manor. In this form villeinage existed in Ireland even in the sixteenth century, when Archbishop Alen, in 1531, could count up his betaghs, or *natives to the soil*, as he would count up his cattle. As *servi* or slaves, the men of Baldoyle and their descendants, granted to All Saints, namely the MacKiligans, were in a worse state than betaghs or natives.[1]

Diarmaid charged the men of Leinster and of Dublin to maintain the bishop and his canons in possession of the land in all liberty, and without any exaction of tithes. Soon afterwards St. Lorcan, Archbishop of Dublin, introduced the Rule of the Arroasian canons of St. Augustine into the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity, and Diarmaid's canons likewise adopted this Rule. One of the most important grants to

[1] See Butler, *Reg. All Hall.*, p. 15.

this priory was made by Henry de Loundres, Archbishop of Dublin, of the island of St. Saviour de Glendaloch, with all its possessions. This was shortly after the union of the diocese of Glendaloch with that of Dublin (1216). Thus the ancient possessions of St. Kevin's monastery were handed over to Anglo-Normans, and the Glendaloch monks became Augustinian canons. Another important grant to the priory was that of the church of St. George, in George's Lane (now Street), with 10 acres, sometime between 1213 and 1228. In this church was founded in 1425-26 an important Gild of St. George to which the mayor and jurats of the city belonged.[1]

On 16 November, 1538, in the presence of sundry persons, a deed of surrender was drawn up, signed by Walter Hancocke, prior, and Robert Dolyng, John Grogan, James Blake, and John Barret, canons, of All Hallows, sealed and delivered to the commissioners, William Brabazon, Gerald Aylmer, John Alen, and Robert Fitzsimon. The deed enumerates the possessions of the monastery—

> the scite, ambit, and precinct, the whole church, belfry, and cemetery, all manors, messuages, lands, tenements, rents, reversions, and services, mills, meadows and pastures, woods and underwoods, houses, buildings, granges, granaries, stables, and chantries, pensions, porcions, tithes, oblations, courts leet, and of frank pledge, and their profits and perquisites, and all other rights, possessions, and hereditaments, as well spiritual as temporal, in the counties of Dublin, Meath, Kildare, Louth, Tipperary, Kilkenny, and elsewhere in Ireland, belonging in any way to the Prior and Canons of All Hallows.

To these were added their charters, evidences, writings, and manuscripts, their goods, chattels, utensils, ornaments, jewels, and debts.

All these were granted to the King, to be disposed of at his good pleasure, without appeal or complaint. This deed [2]

[1] See Ronan, *Dublin Medieval Gilds*, I.E.R., Sept. and Oct., 1925.

[2] Original in archives of Dublin Corporation, All Hallows' Box, no. xviii. *Reg. All Saints*, pp. l-lii. The Rev. Richard Butler, a Protestant divine, says: "the unhappy men were forced to declare, that they thus deprived themselves of house and home of their own free will, and that they put an end to a venerable institution, to which they were bound by the most solemn obligations, certain just and reasonable causes thereto moving their minds and their consciences" (*Reg. All Hallows*, p. xxix).

was endorsed on 18 November in the chapter-house, and testimony thereby given that the prior and canons surrendered the possessions " of their own consent and assent, with knowledge, deliberation, and free will, and recognised the deed as a voluntary act." This endorsement was made for purposes of Chancery, and the following witnessed it: Symon Geffrey, rector of Houthe, Thomas Alen, gent., Francis Chanmy, gent., Richard Archbold, gent., John Merwatt, gent., Bartholomew Ailmer, gent., John Edrington, yeoman, Charles Aspynall, yeoman, James Harold, James Stanyhurst, and many others.

The King's idea of voluntary surrender, and free will, induced by his compulsion, is a strange one. The prior and canons had no option but to surrender to Henry's gentle compulsion, which was generally adopted during the suppression.

A fortnight later, an inquisition [1] was held at Swords on the feast of St. Andrew, Apostle, 30th year, Henry VIII (30 Nov., 1538), to discover the exact lands and possessions of All Hallows. The report mentions—

house, site, circuit, ambit and precinct, 12 acres of meadow, 9 a. pasture, and 7 orchards with appurtenances in All Hallows, 40 a. in *Donnybrook;* 6 messuages, 6 gardens, and 2 orchards in Dublin; 4 messuages, 200 a., 9 a. of meadow, 16 a. of pasture, 3 a. of underwood in *Ballicullan;* 2 messuages, 3 cottages, 90 a., 5 a. meadow, 10 a. pasture, 1 a. gorse in the grange of *Ballicullan;* 6 messuages, 6 cottages, 140 a., 4 a. meadow, 13 a. pasture, 2 a. gorse, 3 a. wood, 1 dove-cot, in *Clontorke;* 1 messuage, 5 cottages, 120 a., 6 a. meadow, 16 a. pasture, and 2 a. gorse in *Donakerny;* 5 messuages, 16 cottages, 20 gardens, 80 a. meadow, 18 a. pasture, 1 a. gorse, and 1 a. warren in *Balldowil;* 4 messuages, 5 cottages, 200 a., 12 a. meadow, 12 a. pasture, 4 a. wood, in the *grange of Balldowill;* 20 messuages, 1000 a., 16 a. pasture, 100 a. wood, 200 a. bog (*more*) in the " Cella Sancti Salvatoris in *Glendelagh* " [i.e. St. Saviour's, Glendaloch]; 1 messuage, 200 a., 100 a. pasture, in *Rathdromin* [Rathdrum, Co. Wicklow], 14 a. in *Killbarrock;* 1 messuage, and 20 a. in *Colga[n]stowne*, 1 messuage, 40 a., in *Ballells* [Ballyallice alias Balyoffryn]; the rectory of *Ballycullan*, *Clogheranhide*, *St. George* Dublin, *Clontorke*, the grange of *Balldowill*, the " Meridium " [sic] of St. Saviour's *Glendaloch*, *Rathdromin*, and *Killagh*

[1] *Reg. All Hallows*, p. liii.

[Coillacht?] with appurtenances in the County Dublin; 4 messuages and 24 a. in *Killdroght* [Celbridge], 1 castle or fortress, 3 messuages, 30 a. and 6 a. pasture in *Taghdow* [Taghto] and *Marygrace* [near Maynooth]; and the rectory of Taghdow in the County Kildare, the rectory of *Rathmeeny* in County Wexford, and the rectory of *Rathbarry* in Co. Cork, with appurtenances.

All these were granted to the mayor, bailiffs, commons, and citizens of Dublin and their successors for ever by letters patent of Henry VIII, 4 Feb., 1539.[1]

An important document has been brought to light in connection with the goods of All Hallows. It is the account of William Brabazon, Under-Treasurer of the King, of certain goods and chattels which pertained to that late house, and were taken by Brabazon for the King. He accounts for them before Anthony Sentleger, Thomas Walsshe, John Mynne and William Cavendyshe, the royal commissioners for this surrender.

He renders account of cxxx^{l}iii^{s}ii^{d} of the price of divers goods and chattels which pertained to the aforesaid late monastery . . . and which are particularly estimated at the aforesaid sum in all, as is contained in a paper book of particulars thereof delivered and examined upon this account, and remaining in the bag of particulars of this account.

He does not answer for any other or more goods and chattels pertaining to the aforesaid late monastery at the time aforesaid; for that no other or more goods and chattels came to the hands of the said accounting officer as he says on his oath.

Total of Receipt . . . cxxx^{l}iii^{s}ii^{d} [£130 2s. 2d. = nearly £2000 *1914 value*].[2]

He accounts that he has paid to Robert Dowlyng, chaplain, celebrating in the parish church of Cloughran-hydirte,[3] for his wages in arrear as is contained therein liii^{s}iiii^{d}.

[1] *Cal. Pat. and Cl. Rolls, Hen. VIII*, p. 48. Original in the archives of the Dublin Corporation, All Hallows' Box, no. xx, with wax seal intact. *Reg. All Hallows*, pp. liv-lix. *Calendar Ancient Records of Dublin*, i. 33-34.

[2] *Monastery Rolls*, 6 G. 12, 3, Public Record Office, Dublin. Three accounts are edited by Chas. MacNeill, *R.S.A.I.*, June, 1922, pp. 11-37.

[3] Cloughran-hydirte, previously given as Cloughran-hide, i.e. Cloughran-hiddart, to distinguish it from Cloughran-Swords. The place is now called Mulhudderd. Robert Dowlyng was one of the canons of All Hallows at the time of the surrender. He was, presumably, granted the chaplaincy of Cloughran-hydirte afterwards at the salary of 53s. 4d. yearly (*1914 value*, about £40).

Total of payments . . . liii^{s} iiii^{d}.
And he owes cxxvii^{l} viii^{s} x^{d}.
Ex. per Antony Sentleger
Thomam Walssh
Johem Mynne
Willm Cavendyssh
for which the said accounting officer answers at the end of his account of the issues of his office of Receiver-general of the land of Ireland.

Granted to Dublin Corporation.

Henry's grant of All Hallows reads as follows :—

Grant to the Mayor, Bailiffs, Citizens, and Commonalty of the City of Dublin, in consideration of the siege, famine, miseries, wounds, and loss of blood suffered by the citizens, and their chivalrous service in defending the city against the rebellion of Thomas Fitzgerald, of the site and estates of the late priory of All Saints, near Dublin, with the church, belfry, and cemetery; and all the possessions in the counties Meath, Kildare, Louth, Tipperary, and Kilkenny; and all manors, messuages, lands, tenements, rents, revenues, fruits, with their rights and appurtenances in the counties aforesaid and elsewhere in Ireland, belonging to the said late priory, devolved to the King's hands by reason of the statute of dissolution; to hold for ever at the rent of £4 4s. 0¾d., by the name of $\frac{1}{20}$ part of the yearly value of the premises [1]; and all the manors, messuages, and lands, of which Walter Hancoke the late Prior, or any of his predecessors were ever seised in right of the said late Priory; and in consideration of the debility and ruinous condition of the great forts of the city, and in order to repair and fortify the walls, the King confirmed to the Corporation and their successors a grant made to them, for 60 years, by King Richard III, in the second year of his reign, of a rent of £49 6s. 8d. issuing out of the fee-farm of 200 marks payable by the city to the Crown, and as a further token of his bounty and gratitude, the King releases the city for ever from an annual rent of £20 out of the said fee-farm which he had before granted to them for 40 years. 4 Feb. 30 Hen. VIII [1539].

The corporation did not long hold these possessions in their own hands, as on 7 August, 1539, they leased the whole of them to Nicholas Stanyhurst, and Walter Forester, Dublin, for six years at a rent of five score pounds sterling.[2]

[1] Value of possessions = £84 = about £1260, yearly, *1914 value*.

[2] *Reg. All Hallows*, p. lx. Namely, £100, or £16 above their nominal value, or twenty-five times the amount the corporation paid to the King for

St. Mary's Abbey.

From want of documentary evidence the precise date of the original establishment of St. Mary's Abbey cannot be fixed. Its foundation has been ascribed to Melsachlin, King of Ireland, and to MacGillamocholmog, a Leinster chief in the early part of the twelfth century. It is said that the first monks of the place were of the Benedictine Order of the house of Tiron founded by Bernard of Abbeyville. St. Mary's was afterwards granted to the Cistercian branch of Savigny, and in 1156 was ordered to be administered by the abbots of the Cistercian house of Buildwas in Shropshire. The lands on which it stood were anciently called Clunlif (Clonliffe) and were granted to it "for charitable purposes before and after the coming of Richard FitzGilbert [Strongbow] to Ireland" (Charter of Henry II, 1171). It also held property in the city, and many lands and churches were granted to it by Anglo-Norman lords in the dioceses of Dublin, Armagh, Meath, and Clogher. Its Grange was at Portmarnock, whence, in the fifteenth century, it is said that the monks removed the remains of St. Marnock to St. Mary's where they erected a chapel in his honour. The house of the monks at Carrickbrennan (Monkstown) is said to have been founded from Mary's Abbey. In 1185 Prince John granted St. Mary's the privilege of having a boat on the Liffey to fish, and from every fishing boat entering the harbour of Blowick (Bullock Dalkey, in the manor of Carrickbrennan) one of the best fish, herrings excepted, and from every herring-boat a maze

them. In this lease the counties Waterford and Wexford are mentioned as counties in which the priory had property. Rathmakne, previously mentioned, was in Wexford. As to the property in Waterford, there is no entry anywhere to show where it was. Neither is there anything to specify the lands of the priory, at the surrender, in Meath, Louth, Tipperary, or Kilkenny.

It may be of interest to add here that the mayor and corporation, in 1592, granted to Adam Loftus, Protestant Archbishop of Dublin, and Provost of Trinity College recently founded by Queen Elizabeth, the house, church, lands, etc., of All Saints for the benefit of that college. The extent of the grounds is given as from Hoggen Green on the west to the priory on the east, and from the lane leading to St. Patrick's Well (Nassau Street) on the south to the river Liffey on the north (*Reg. All Hallows*, p. 94).

The corporation retained the patronage of the rectory of Rathdrum in their own hands. Many instances of their exercise of that right are given in the *Cal. Anc. Rec. Dubl.*

of herrings annually which would amount to 635 herrings. As all Cistercian abbeys were built on a uniform plan, from the few remains of St. Mary's it is possible to picture the whole abbey buildings as formerly existing. In a laneway off the present street called Mary's Abbey still stands what is known as the Chapter-house with its slype or passage. To the west of it stood the calefactory or kitchen, and further west the refectory, offices, and stores. This formed the southern line of buildings on the site of the present street called Mary's Abbey. On the western line, running up East Arran Street, stood the *Domus Conversorum* or guest house for the poor and strangers. On the northern line, running from East Arran Street to Capel Street was the Abbey Church, with its door in the present East Arran Street behind the houses numbered 25 and 26, where fragments of the door are still extant. At the Capel Street end (at Boland's premises) was the sacristy. This with the chapter-house and community room formed the eastern line to the present Mary's Abbey (Street). During the excavations in 1886 by Mr. Donnelly (brother of Bishop Donnelly) many beautiful tiles incised with designs, fleur-de-lis, etc., were found, and also a considerable quantity of unexampled pottery. The tiles probably date from the early fourteenth century when the abbey was doubtless rebuilt after the disastrous fire of 1304. The abbey manor land comprised the whole area from the Tolka practically to the Liffey bank, and bounded on the west by Constitution Hill, King's Inns and Anne Street to the Abbey Green.

Leases Granted by the Abbot.

Although St. Mary's Abbey had not been suppressed by the Act of 1537, yet it was soon afterwards understood that in common with all other monasteries it was to be dissolved. At once the avaricious eyes of some of the Anglo-Norman gentry were turned towards this abbey, and complaint was made that the abbot was granting long leases of its lands. In this connection the following letter [1] addressed (25 May,

[1] *Chart. St. Mary's Abbey*, ii., p. xxvi; *S.P.I. Hen. VIII*, vol. vi., no. 60, P.R.O., London.

1538) to Cromwell by Thomas Finglas, son of Baron Finglas, is of special interest:—

Right honourable, my most singular and especial good Lord and Master, my humble duty premised: May it please the same to be advertised that, for as much as now of late it have been related and bruited in this land, that the monasteries here shall be suppressed, the Abbots, Priors, and others of their sort, supposing the same to take effect, hath not only embezzled their goods but also set and let to farm for years and otherwise all their lands, tithes, and commodities appertaining to their houses, so that the King's majesty shall be greatly prejudiced thereby, if the said houses come to his Grace's hands, unless some good remedy be provided by your lordship in that behalf. The Abbot of St. Mary Abbey, beside the City of Dublin, hath lately made a lease to my Lord Deputy's use, of all the good lodgings of the said monastery with the commodities belonging to the same, and also hath made a lease unto him of the farm of Ballyboghill and Portmernoke, which was your Lordship's pleasure I should be preferred unto, paying such yearly rent as by the survey thereof should be assessed. One Goldyng[1] and others (that are chief of the Lord Deputy's Council) which have leases of the said monastery and other religious houses, did procure his lordship to obtain the said leases, only to the intent that he, being the King's Deputy, may be a stay to cause their untrue leases to take effect. The said leases made to my Lord Deputy was without the assent of the Convent, as part of the monks declared unto me, and, as they farther affirmeth, it is agreed betwixt the said Abbot and Deputy that, if the said monastery be suppressed, then the Abbot shall be partaker of the profits of the said leases, and if the house do stand, then the leases to be void. It cannot be intended but that this is purposely done to defraud the King's Highness. And for the causes aforesaid, and to put Walter Pipard and me, which is by your lordship appointed to be farmers[2] thereof, from the same, my Lord Deputy (as I am credibly informed) hath written to the King's Highness that the said monastery of St. Mary Abbey may stand unsuppressed, and if it shall please his Grace the contrary, that then he may have the same with all things thereunto belonging. By these means he intend, if he may, to alterate your lordship's pleasure determined by your letters directed to the Commissioners here in the behalf of the said Walter Pipard and me, wherefore I most humbly

[1] Walter Golding of the Grange of St. Mary's Abbey at Portmarnock.
[2] Custodians or stewards.

beseech your honorable lordship that it may please you to stay the Lord Deputy's purpose in that behalf, and to write your lordship's letters unto him to cancel his interest he have in the said farm of Ballibaghill and Portmernoke, considering the lease thereof is made by Covyn [cunning]. And in my conscience I do think he did take that lease more to do me displeasure, for that I am your lordship's servant, and for the cause aforesaid, than for any great profit or commodity his lordship shall have thereby. If it shall be your lordship's pleasure to examine my fellow Thomas Agard (who repaireth at this time to your lordship), he may declare the truth how your lordship's poor servant here and your commandment is repined at [despised] with divers other matters which in my poor mind is requisite to be declared unto your lordship. Master Treasurer, at the contemplation of your lordship's letter, hath given to me the interest he had in the wardship of Barnewall, which your lordship obtained unto me of the King's Highness, and for your lordship's sake his mastership is good unto me in all my poor causes here. I would all others of the King's Council here intended no less advancement of the King's causes and the suppressing of the Popish Sect than Master Treasurer doth, which will never be, for ought I perceive to the contrary as knoweth the Lord who preserve your honorable lordship in long life with increase of honour to the comfort as well of ours your poor servants in this land as elsewhere. From Dublin, 25 day of May.

Your lordship's ensured poor servant
ever at commandment,
THOMAS FYNGLAS.

This is a fair sample of the many applications made at this time to Cromwell from persons in official positions in Ireland for leases of the possessions of religious houses. They did not hesitate to tell how they worked hard in the King's cause and for the destruction of popery, so that consideration might be given to their application, and advantageous terms granted. The possessions had to be disposed of so that the King might reap a ready profit, and of course those who were considered loyal subjects would better preserve the lands and their tenants in due obedience to the King, and thus consolidate the authority and supremacy of his Majesty.

It is clear from this letter that it was understood that St. Mary's Abbey would be suppressed, and that Finglas and Pipard had had from Cromwell guarantees that they would

be appointed stewards [1] of the abbey's possessions. Gray, however, had obtained valuable concessions in the way of leases from the abbot which Finglas and Pipard considered damaging to the King's revenue and their own. And, if we can believe all that Finglas says, there was an agreement between Gray and the abbot that, in the event of the abbey standing unsuppressed, the leases to Gray should be null and void. But it cannot be said that Gray was anxious for the dissolution of the abbey as will be seen in the next section.

Gray and Council ask that the Abbey may Stand.

Gray and the Council of Ireland were genuinely anxious to preserve the abbey, and wrote (May, 1539) to Cromwell representing that it would be "for the common weal of the land, and the King's honour and profit, that six of the religious houses, intended to be suppressed, should be allowed to stand and continue, changing their clothing and rule into such sort and order," as should please his Majesty. Of these six institutions the first named by the writers was St. Mary's Abbey "adjoining to Dublin, a house of Whyte monks."

"In the said house of saint Mary Abbey," they wrote, "hath been the common resort of all such of reputation as hath repaired hither out of England. . . . Also at every hosting, rode [2] and jorney the said houses on their proper costs findeth as many men of war as they are appointed by the King's Deputy and Council for the same. And if they were suppressed the profit of them should scarcely find so many men of war, according to the rate of the King's wages, as they now standing do find and have found, over and besides the payment both of subsidy, also the twentieth part of their small revenue with also their first fruits with every change of their head rulers." [3]

The abbot (William Laundy) and convent, believing that the hour of their dissolution was at hand, wrote an appealing letter to Cromwell (31 July, 1539) pointing out their services

[1] Under the Act of Parliament passed in Ireland in 1537, the King's lessee of the site of every dissolved religious house was bound "to keep, or cause to be kept, an honest farmer's house, or household, in the same site, circuit, or precinct, according to the quantity of the demains of the same." The officer of farmer of St. Mary's was afterwards granted to Walter Peppard.

[2] Raid, hostile incursion.

[3] *S.P.I. Hen. VIII*, viii., no. 18, P.R.O., London.

to the King in times past and their services in the education of the young gentlemen of the Pale :—

Our most humble duty premised to your honorable Lordship : Please it the same to be advertised, that we your Lordship's poor orators, being flexible to the King our sovereign Lord's pleasure in all things, most humbly beseech your good Lordship to be so good Lord unto us, as to be mean [a means] unto the King's Highness to vouchsafe that this poor house might remain without dissolving : changing our habit and rules, as it shall please the King's Highness to devise and command, whereunto we shall be obedient in all things. Verily we but stewards, and purveyors to other men's uses, for the King's honour keeping hospitality, and many poor men, scholars, and orphans, sending men to serve the King's Highness to all hostings, and journeys, to aid his grace's Deputy against the enemies and rebellers : and at the traitorous enterprise of Thomas Fitz-Gerald, aided his Grace's City of Dublin with victuals, and habiliments for their defence, as they have well report. Beseeching your Lordship, that the King's Deputy and Council here may examine our demeaniours, and to advertise your good Lordship of the same, with their opinions whether they think more profitable and expedient for the King's Highness that the said house should remain, changing habits and rule, after the King's pleasure, or otherwise ; and thereupon his Majesty to dispose his pleasure, as to his Highness shall be thought most expedient. And we shall continue his Grace's poor orators, and pray to God for the long prosperous welfare of your honourable Lordship to give credence unto this bearer on our behalf. So committing your most honourable Lordship to the tender tuition of Almighty God. Written the last day of July.

Your humble orators,
the Abbot and convent of
Our Lady House nigh Dublin.[1]

On the same day they addressed another letter [2] as follows to Cromwell :—

After our most humble duty unto your right honorable Lordship ever remembered : It may please the same to be advertised that we your poor and continual orators, being prone and ready to accomplish our sovereign Lord, the King's Highness' pleasure and to follow your Lordship's commandment in all things

[1] *S.P.I. Hen. VIII,* vol. viii., no. 22, P.R.O., London.
[2] *Ib.*, no. 23.

beseecheth that if it might stand with the King's Majesty's pleasure and that this house might remain and continue without dissolving (changing our habit and rule) as further at large we have by our other humble letters written unto your Lordship manifested and opened our whole petitions and contemplations, we of most bounden duty ought continually to pray for your honorable and prosperous estate long to endure. And after the intent of our poor hearts and the poverty of this land we would most humbly beseech your Lordship to accept such remembrance as this bearer shall deliver as our simple token at this time.

So committing your most honorable Lordship to the tender tuition of Almighty God. Written the last day of July by your bounden orator,

The Abbot and convent of
Our Lady House Nigh Dublin.

No one can say that St. Mary's Abbey was not in all things a very loyal and useful establishment to the King in his spiritual and temporal dominion over Ireland. They had assisted, by supplying food and arms, in opposing Thomas, Earl of Kildare, in his revolt. They supplied men and arms in all raids against the native Irish. They had granted, in the matter of money, the subsidy, the twentieth of their revenues, and the first fruits of their abbey in the event of a new abbot. Their house was open to the poor, to orphans, and to poor scholars, giving an education in keeping with English ideas. They had accepted the King as the Supreme Head of the Church in Ireland, acknowledging his power over religious houses. And they besought the King to destroy their ancient Cistercian constitution and make them secular priests leading a conventual life and wearing no religious dress. They went to the utmost limits to gain the favour of the King, at the expense of their principles, and even sent a present, presumably valuable, to Cromwell in order to stand unfrocked and degraded. But their petition was unheeded, for the avarice of the King was now beyond all check. Their slavish admission that they were but stewards of monastic lands and ministers unto others' needs, all for the King's honour, gained them no hearing from his Majesty, who probably despised them in his heart for their obsequiousness.

The fate of the monks had already been sealed at the time

of their writing, for in the next month (August) Gray wrote [1] to his friend, William Popley, "dwelling with my Lord Privy Seal," complaining that Pepard (Cromwell's cousin) had been preferred to the monastery possessions by his (Popley's) influence. He mentions that of two leases which he had of the abbot, and for which he paid well, one of them referred to property which was subsequently granted by the Lord Privy Seal to Finglas. Gray was not a *persona grata* with Cromwell. But he was not to be cheated of his leases, and so we find him taking up his abode in the abbey and despatching a letter to Cromwell (6 Nov., 1539), addressed from "the King's manor of St. Mary's beside Dublin."

The inventory of the abbey's possessions was taken on 23 October, 1539, and five days later the surrender was made by Abbot Laundy. Their lands lay chiefly in North Co. Dublin where they had over 5000 acres, besides 134 houses in the city and suburbs. Their annual revenue from them was £1004 (£15,000 *1914 value*). They were by far the richest community in the diocese.

Pensions Granted to the Monks.

From the following list of pensions [2] granted to the abbot and monks of the abbey it will be seen that there were only three parsons or priests, besides the abbot. The rest may have been monks or more probably those employed in the abbey in various capacities.

A pension of 40s. was granted to Walter Esmond, late parson of St. Mary's: payable out of the messuages and lands in Drysshoke, in St. Glanoke's [3] parish, near Dublin; a pension of £3 6s. 8d. to William Cottrell, late parson of St. Mary's Abbey, payable out of Robockeswalles; a pension of £50 to William Lawndey, late abbot, payable out of the manors of Ballibaghill and Portemarnoke, and the churches of Ballybaghil and Portemarnoke; a pension of £3 6s. 8d. to Henry Veyseu, late parson; of 53s. 4d. to James Barret; of 40s. to Patrick Bennet; of 53s. 4d. to John Festan; of 40s. to Seth Pecocke; of 53s. 4d. to John Barret, payable out of the lands in the Grange of Balgeth, New-Grange,

[1] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vol. viii., no. 25.
[2] *Cal. Pat. R.I.*, 1539-44. MS. F., i. 16, T.C.D.
[3] Glas-Ceannog or St. Canice's Stream, Finglas parish.

otherwise Ballichelin, and Galroweston, in the Co. of Dublin, and out of the churches of Killen and Scryne, in the Co. of Meath; of 40s. to Thomas Walsche; of 40s. to John Tyrrell; of 40s. to John Whytrell; of 40s. to William Ley; of 40s. to William Walsche; of 40s. to Robert Lyde; and of 40s. to William Loghan, payable out of hereditaments in Morragh, in the parishes of Wespelleston, and Kilkeragh, the Grange of Clonlif and the church of Sauntref [Santry].

Lord Deputy Gray's Plunder.

Gray having been recalled to England, in 1540, and on charges of treason committed to the Tower of London, an official enquiry into his property in Ireland was commanded by the Lords of Norfolk and Suffolk and others of the King's Council. William Brereton, Archbishop Browne, and Cowley (Master of the Rolls) were appointed to take an inventory, which they accordingly did and reported on 7 August, 1540. They state that they made search for all his treasure, jewels, plate, and stuff, and examined Arnold Ussher, Gray's servant, who confessed on oath that he had no more in his custody than one basin of silver, but he had a steel casket with diverse sealed bags which one Ente, another servant of Gray, took from him. How much was in the casket and bags, he could not say, but he thought there was no small sum.[1]

The stuff found in St. Mary's Abbey comprised—

8 ton and a pipe Gascoyn wyne; thre long bordes in the halle; a cobbord and a foling table; 18 coshens; 3 olde coffers; a floke bede and a fether bede and a bolster; 4 dossen of kalfe skinis; 2 dossen of bow cassis; 4 saddeles and 2 brydelis; a pece of grene kendall; a payre of shettis and 2 kaddowis [rugs]; 19 paire of shois; 2 petir pottis; 2 chayers; a lute and a casse of recorders [flute or pipe]; 3 peces of kerse; a pece of red lawne 27 yardes; the Kinges armys and the hangings of the chamber; 2 kandelstikes; a sake clothe; the hangings of the halle; a lether male [maul, trunk]; 2 standing bedis; 2 andiernis [ornamental irons for hearths]. The corn in the garnell [granary] of Saint Mary Abbey, of whet 65 pecks, of otes 9 score peckes. All these were surveyed by the Archbishop of Dublin and Robert Cowley. "In

[1] *S.P. Hen. VIII*, vol. ix., no. 41, P.R.O., London.

the Chamber of Christ Church," he had, "a parlyment robe: 2 gret coffers: 4 shues; 2 drinking glasses."[1]

The Archbishop next went to Maynooth Castle, inhabited also by the Lord Deputy for the King, and there found among various articles "chalices . . . a cross of silver gilt, to set on a church altar, copes and vestments of purple, white, and green velvet."

Royal Leases of the Abbey.

In reference to Walter Peppard, already mentioned as "the King's farmer" of St. Mary's Abbey, the following letter[2] was written to Thomas Cromwell from Mellifont, 16 February, 1540-41, by William Brabazon, Treasurer of Henry VIII in Ireland:—

My bounden duties unto your most honorable Lordship premised: It may please the same to be advertised that where as your Lordship's servant, Water Pepard, this bearer, have by your Lordship's letters been preferred unto the late monastery of Saint Mary's next Dublin, that it may please your said Lordship to continue his good Lord as well in this as all other his reasonable requests, whereby he may the rather enjoy the premises with all the commodities and profits thereto belonging according unto your good Lordship's former and most favorable grant, as he firmly trusteth, for so much as he is your Lordship's bounden servant. Thus committing your most honorable Lordship unto the tender tuition of God, who preserve your said Lordship.

In November, 1540, Henry VIII directed that the site of the house of St. Mary's Abbey (Dublin) should be forthwith delivered to Sir John Travers, Master of the Ordnance in Ireland, to be held at a reasonable rent during his continuance in office. Under this order, the church of this abbey was converted into a storehouse for the King's artillery and munitions of war.

A patent was issued in 1543, by which Henry VIII leased for twenty-one years to Walter Peppard the site, precincts, and some of the lands of St. Mary's. In the same year (9 July)

[1] *MS. Cotton. Titus B. XI*, British Museum. *Chart. St. Mary's Abbey*, ii. pp. xxxvi *seqq.*

[2] *S.P. Hen. VIII, Ir.*, vol. ix., no. 11, P.R.O., London. *Chart. St. Mary's Abbey*, ii. p. xl.

a reversion of Peppard's lease was granted by the Crown to James Fitz-Gerald, 15th Earl of Desmond,[1] and his heirs :—

The entire hospital, messuages, and lands, lying from the eastern wall of the cloister of St. Mary's Abbey, near Dublin, to the way leading between the messuage called the "back-house" [bake-house] and the wall of the hospital, and those messuages lying between the hospital and the said way, and the gate of the cemetery, and the gate within the precinct near the Anilyffe and the wall of the late house of Friar's Preachers and the wall of said St. Mary's Abbey; a stable near said gate, the bake-house, brew-house; an old messuage between said back-house and the Abbey wall; the messuage called the gate-house; the gardens and waste places on the west of the monastery, all the messuages, lands, and hereditaments within the site thereof; the demesne lands in the suburbs of the city, viz. 50 acres and 1 stang of arable, and 30 acres pasture with marsh; 1 messuage, a waste mill, 123½ acres arable, 8 acres meadow, and 10 acres pasture in the Grange of Clonelyffe, parcel of the demesne of the house; the messuages and hereditaments, called "the Fyrres of St. Mary's Abbey" (excepting the church, chancel, and aisle of church, which the King retains), the building called the Abbot's Lodgings [Guest-house], the dormitory or Abbot's Chambers, the garden, the common orchard, the ash park, the tan-house, the Ankyster's park, haggard, and barn, two gardens near the haggard, the garden on the east planted with large trees, all advowsons of churches and knights' fees, all which were valued by the King's commissioners at £14 16s. 5d. Irish, and had been demised by patent, dated 20 July, 35° to Walter Pypparde, of Kylca, gent. for 21 years: To hold to the said Earl and his heirs male, by the one-fifth part of a knight's fee.[2]

The following leases and grants were likewise made by the King :—

Lease to John Travers, Esq.: of Carrickbrenan, alias Monckenton, and the rectory of the same, Co. Dublin, parcel of the posses-

[1] Desmond had recently made his submission to Henry VIII. He visited that King in England, and became a member of his Privy Council in Ireland. The grant of St. Mary's Abbey to Desmond was made in pursuance of the desire of the King to provide some of the Irish nobility with residences and lands at Dublin, for the accommodation of themselves and their retinues, while in attendance at Parliaments and Councils there. In this grant to Desmond was a clause for its annulment, in the event of the Earl or his heirs confederating with enemies of the King of England, or attempting war against him.

[2] *Pat. R.I.*, 35 Hen. VIII, 1543.

sions of the late Abbey of the B.V.M. by Dublin. To hold for 21 years, at a rent of £24 5s. 2d. (2 June, 1542).[1]

Grant to Donogh O'Breane, knight, baron of Ibrackane, under King's letter, 9 July, 1544; of the reversion of Drisshoke near Dublin, Kilmacodrike, and Newgrange, alias the grange of Ballichelmer, Co. Dublin, parcel of possessions of St. Mary's Abbey, leased 20 July 1543, to Walter Pipperte, of Kilka, for 21 years (30 Jan. 1544).[2]

Lease to Edward Basnet, dean of St. Patrick's: of Ballydowde, Co. Dublin, parcel of the possessions of the Abbey of the B.V.M. by Dublin. For 21 years; rent 16s., and paying 23s. 9d. yearly to John Alen, farmer of Esker. (10 June 1544).[3]

Grant to Edward Basnet, dean, and his heirs, of the castle and lands of Kiltiernan. (7 Feb. 1545).[4]

These grants to Basnet will be dealt with later.

Grant, under King's letter, 9 July 1543, to Murrogh, Earl of Tomond, of the reversion of Culmyne and Ranvelston, Co. Dublin, parcel of the possessions of the Abbey of the B.V.M. by Dublin, and leased to Walter Pipparde for 21 years, 20 July 1543. To hold in tail male, by the service of one knight's fee, paying yearly 40s. to the chief lords of the manor of Castleknocke, and 3s. 4d. to the heirs of Walter Hussey. (3 Jan. 1545).[5]

Lease to James Bathe of Dromnaghe, gent., of Newton in the march of Dublin, in Co. Dublin, parcel of possessions of St. Mary's Abbey. For 21 years; rent, £4 13s. 4d. (no date).[6]

Peppard's Plight.

With reference to Walter Peppard and the grant of St. Mary's Abbey to Desmond, the following letter[7] was, in January, 1544, addressed to the King by the new Lord Deputy, Sentleger, and the Council in Ireland:—

After our most humble and obedient duties unto your excellent Majesty; May it please the same that where heretofore we were humble petitioners unto your Majesty to direct your gracious letters to the French King for redress of a certain complaint exhibited unto us by this bearer, Walter Pyparde, your Majesty's

[1] *Fiants, Hen. VIII*, no. 310. He also received a grant of the manor, castle, and mill of Rathmore, in Leinster, with 480 acres, at rent of 10 marks (*C.P.R.*, p. 116).

[2] *Ib.*, no. 401. [3] *Ib.*, no. 418. [4] *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, p. 110, no. 48.

[5] *Fiants*, no. 446. [6] *Ib.*, no. 539.

[7] *S.P. Hen. VIII, Ir*, ii., no. 31.

farmer of the late house of Saint Mary, beside Dublin, purporting that he had been robbed by the sea of as much merchandise by the Britons in time of peace as amounted to the sum of twelve hundred and fifty pounds sterling, for recovery whereof he was in plea by the space of six years and lately to his great charges obtained sentence against his adversaries and received in part of payment of his damages one hundred pounds sterling, and was appointed to have the rest by a certain day; whereupon surely trusting, and the rather at the contemplation of your majesty's said letters to have brief expedition, had, in the mean time his factor, that solicited his process, upon certain untrue suggestions of heresy laid in prison, who after by due trial and course of the law being delivered and there remaining for the achieving his costs, charges and losses according the said sentence, was again in these last wars apprehended and detained, and still endureth in sharp [cruel] prison, both to the utter impoverishing and undoing of the said Walter as the casting away of the said factor.

In consideration whereof, as also for that we upon certain considerations have assigned according your Majesty's commandment unto the Earl of Desmond for such house and land as your Highness gave unto him and his heirs male for his better supporting at his repair to your Parliaments and Councils, part of the manse and demesnes of the said Saint Mary Abbey, whereby the said Walter, after the expiring of his term in the same being uncertain of any dwelling place, must be compelled to resort to the borders of the Irishry to another farm he hath of your Majesty, where he shall be daily at great charges for the defence of the same, and also for the continual resort of the confiners[1] thereabout whose entertainment will be chargeous unto him for a time, we shall most humbly beseech your excellent Majesty, of your abundant grace, to be his good and gracious Lord, to give him for his relief and help some license for transporting and conveying some grain and leather or other merchandise out of your realm of England, and of your princely goodness to grant him some farther estate of your Majesty's said farm that he now occupieth upon the borders. Wherein we trust he shall do your Majesty the better service, as knoweth Almighty God, whom we beseech to preserve your excellent Majesty in most prosperous health and victory of your enemies.

From your Majesty's manor of Kilmaynan, the xvi January, the xxxv year of your victorious reign.

[1] People of the confines or marches; marchers who extorted coyne and livery on the English living on the borders of the Pale. Pepard was evidently mulcted in the matter of giving them entertainment.

Your Majesty's most humble servants and subjects.

Antony Sentleger—John Alen—James Ormond and Ossory—George [Archbishop] Dublin—Edward Midensis [Bishop of Meath]—Gerald Aylmer, Justice—William Brabason—Thomas Luttrell, Justice—James Bathe, Baron—Thomas Cusake, Master of the Rolls.

Of outlying lands of St. Mary's Abbey, leases were granted by the Crown to various persons, among whom are Walter Peppard,[1] Sir John Travers, and Edward Basnet, Dean of St. Patrick's Cathedral.

The squabbling over the abbey lands still continued. John Alen, Chancellor of Ireland, wrote [2] in 1546 to the Privy Council in his reply to charges made against him-by Sir Antony Sentleger, Lord Deputy :—

To that his Lordship saith, I should take an obligation of Peparde, that he should not claim for the King certain lands, which I have; by the office [Master of the Rolls] whereupon my grant passed, there is no such lands found to Saint Mary Abbey, but a rent of nine shillings by the year. But after the office, and my grant passed, the Abbot and Convent fell in contention with me for a parcel of land of thirty acres, which they, I, nor none other, knew where it lieth; yet by the persuasion of the two Chief Justices, I agreed with them to give them 12d. more by the year, and they to give me and my heirs a release of their claim for ever; which they did, under their convent seal. And albeit that the same rent, upon the dissolution of Saint Mary Abbey, was neither found within office nor survey, yet, at the making of Pepard's lease, I put the rent in; and if Saint Mary Abbey were this day *inesse*, if mine act charged me not, they are debarred by Parliament.

Convent of Grace Dieu.

Midway between Swords and Lusk in a field off a by-road, leading from the high road, and near Corduff House, is the site

[1] Peppard afterwards held the post of Gentleman of the King's Chamber to Edward VI. But he was little rewarded for his loyal services in Ireland. On 22 March, 1551, James Croft, Lord Deputy in Ireland, wrote to the King begging for some preferment or leases of lands for Peppard and as a recompense for his good services to the Deputy. In the same year, the King authorised a lease to Peppard of the site and some of the possessions of St. Mary's Abbey in succession to the grant that he had received from Henry VIII (*S.P. Edw. VI., Ir.*, iv., no. 30).

[2] *S.P. Hen. VIII, Ir.*, xii., no. 47.

of the once important and extensive convent of nuns founded in 1190 by John Comyn, the first Anglo-Norman Archbishop of Dublin. An earlier convent (early twelfth century) had stood close to Lusk, but Comyn transferred the house to Grace Dieu and placed it under the rule of the Canonesses of St. Augustine. The convent received many grants from the Anglo-Norman prelates and magnates, and was the favourite school for the daughters of these Anglo-Norman lords. Comyn granted it the tithes of wool in his manor of Ballymore, and those of his mill of Swords, and a flagon of ale (the fourth of every gallon) from every brew in Lusk. He also appropriated to it the church of Portrane, Westpalstown, and St. Audoen's, Dublin. At the suppression Grace Dieu boasted of a village of twenty-six cottages. To-day there is scarcely a cottage in the vicinity. The only remains to remind us of the ancient convent are a small pile of masonry, dwindling away yearly, and two flat tombstones. The ancient burial ground has long since been desecrated by farming operations.

The surrender of the House of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Grace Dieu was made by the prioress, Alison White, with the "consent" of the convent on 28 October, 1540. In the summary of the possessions given in the Patent and Close Rolls,[1] it is mentioned that amongst those surrendered were the goods, chattels, ornaments, jewels, and utensils of the house.

A pension of £6 was granted to Alison White, prioress, payable out of Grace Dieu, Luske, Donganston, Iryshton, and the churches of Portrane, Westpeleston, and Balmadon. Pensions were also granted to Margaret Coscrowe, Thomasine Dermyne, Katherine Eustace, Alison Fitz-Symond, sisters of the house, of 50s. each, payable out of the same possessions. It is scarcely probable that such an important establishment contained only four sisters and the prioress. It would be interesting to know what attitude the other sisters adopted in face of the suppression. Did they refuse to soil their hands with the spoiler's dole?

The convent held 7 rectories, 591 acres of land (chiefly in North Co. Dublin), 41 houses, 12 messuages, and 2 gardens, yielding a yearly revenue of £60 odd (£900 *1914 value*).[2]

[1] *P. and C.R. Hen. VIII.* xxxi.

[2] See App. III.

Browne Asks for the Premises.

As far back as 1537, Browne, expecting the suppression of the religious houses, had set his eyes on Grace Dieu. His manors in South Dublin were useless to him, and Grace Dieu was in a peaceful district and near his own manors of Finglas and Swords. It would be a nice comfortable abode for him, and near Dublin where his residence of St. Sepulchre's had been taken from him by Gray and turned into a residence for the Lord Deputy. His piteous plea reads thus :—

Whereas I wrote unto your Lordship for the obtainment of a very poor house of Friars named the New Abbey [Kilcullen], an house of the obstinates' religion, which lay very commodious for me by Ballymore, to repair unto in times of need, I am clean despatched of any pleasures there, and the profit thereof given to an Irishman, so that I am counted an unworthy person. Wherefore to you, my special good Lord, I make my moan, having no other refuge, beseeching your Lordship, that if the Abbey of Grace Dieu be suppressed, that I may have it in farm, before another, for it lieth even within the meades [boundaries] of my lands; yea, and also I am founder of the same,[1] and rather than I would lack it, would give the King's Highness yearly ten pounds above any other, or else make permutation with his Grace for other lands of mine about Ballymore, which be more commodious for his Highness, and amongst his Majesty's lands there lying, whose Majesty might so defend them, that it would amount far above the extents of the lands of Grace Dieu, as knoweth the Blessed Trinity, who have your good honourable Lordship in his most safe tuition.

The Convent Granted to Barnewall.

It must have been gall to Browne when his enemy, Barnewall, received the coveted and commodious residence of Grace Dieu. The grant reads as follows :—

The grant [2] to Patrick Barnewall, of Feldeston, Esq., the King's Serjeant-at-law and Solicitor-General, of the house, site, and precinct of the late priory, monastery, or religious house of Gracedieue, and the church and cemetery of the same; also all the messuages, lands, etc. (as in the extent) to be held for ever of the

[1] Namely, his predecessors in the See were founders of it.
[2] *P. and C.R.*, 22 July, 33 Hen. VIII (1541).

King *in capite* by knight-service,[1] at the rent of 48s. 6d. in the name of $\frac{1}{20}$ part of the entire value, free and exempt from all charges, except 4s. yearly rent, and 41s. yearly for ever to be paid to the Archbishops of Dublin for synodals [2] and procurations.

The following lease was granted to Barnewall a week later:—

Lease to Patrick Barnewall, of Feldston, gent.: of lands of Luske, Swords, Cromlyn, and Dologht, Co. Dublin: Loghshallaghe, Grenoke, and Dardieston, Co. Meath; and in Drogheda: rectories of Gracedieu, Portrarne, Lambaye, Westpelleston, Balmadon, Newcastell McGyngane, and Tobbyr, Co. Dublin: possessions of the late priory of [Gracedieu]: for 21 years: rent £40. (29 July, 33 Hen. VIII.) [3]

Another entry is more detailed as to the lands granted:—

Grant of monastery with its possessions in Grace Dieu, Donganston, Irishtown, Wymbleton, and Newtown, in parish of Lusk; Whiteston in parish of Palmerston, near Grenock; Skydowe and Browneston, in parish of Swords: Grange of Ballybaghill: Drishoke, Woleston, Belingston, Rathscall, Miche, Meniscorte, Little Meniscorte, and Browneston, in parish of Ballybaghill: Stradbally in parish of Kylsalghen; Roboches-Walls, near Malahide; and all lands near town of Portmarnocke, called the Grange of Portinnoke (Portmarnock) with appurtenances; and the lands, called Quynger, all in Co. Dublin, to Patrick Barnewall, for ever, at annual rent of 48s. 6d. *Irish* money. (23 July, 33 Hen. VIII, i.e. 1541.)

For some reason or other which does not appear, Barnewall received the following:—

License [4] to Patrick Barnewall of Feldiston, esq.: to alienate to Robert Ewstace, prebendary of Rathmyghels, William Pentrey, vicar of Morechurch, William Hamlen, vicar of St. Peter's, Drogheda, Andrew Barnwall, clerk, John Tyrrell, vicar of Rathkeny, Robert Faran of Chapelmydway, chaplain, and Robert Caddell of Twrvey (Turvey) the manors of Feldiston and Gracediewe and other lands, former possessions of Grace Dieu. (28 Jan. 1542.)

[1] *In chief;* form of land tenure, by knight's service. The tenant of a knight's fee (land liable for the service of one knight) had to follow his lord in the field for forty days in the year at his own expense.

[2] Synodals = tribute or payment in money made to bishop or archdeacon by the inferior clergy at the Easter visitation. It was so called because it was more frequently given at the synods.

[3] *Fiants, Hen. VIII*, no. 235. [4] *Ib., ad an.*

Barnewall made Grace Dieu his residence, as appears from the correspondence published in the State Papers of Henry VIII. It is said that he afterwards pulled down the convent and built a new house at Turvey from its stones. At all events a complete clearing was made of the buildings, as scarcely a trace remains of this important establishment or of the village of twenty-six cottages that grew up in its vicinity.

St. John's Outside Newgate.

This hospital was one of the oldest of the city charities. It was in existence in 1188 when Pope Clement III confirmed its privileges.[1] That was seven years after the death of St. Laurentius O'Toole, Archbishop of Dublin. Though we have no document to affirm it, it is not unlikely that the charitable Archbishop had something to do with its foundation. Ailred the Palmer,[2] the founder of the hospital, was known to him, and they affixed their seals to the same document. He resided with his wife, on a property outside the Western Gate (Newgate) [3] of Dublin, on the northern side of the road to Kilmainham. They also held lands at Glenn Uisce in Fingall and Tech Guaire in Ui Donnchadha, both of which are now known as Palmerstown, and called after him.

Having resolved to devote their lives to charitable works, they built on their curtilage outside Newgate at their own expense a double hospital and religious house for men and for women. On these they bestowed all their property, and gathering around them fellow-workers, they all took religious vows. Ailred became the first master of the hospital, and it is to be presumed that his wife took over the management of the convent and hospital for women. The brethren adopted the rule of the Canons Regular of St. Augustine, and, by privilege from Pope Clement III, were independent of the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Dublin. The hospital became widely known as Palmer's Hospital, and during the

[1] Theiner, *Vet. Mon. Hib. et Scot.*, 214.

[2] His name also appears as a witness to a grant about 1174 by Earl Strongbow to Hamund, son of Torkill, of the lands of Censale (Kinsealey) (*Christ Church Deeds*, no. 1).

[3] Present Cornmarket. Portion of old tower and wall still remain.

thirteenth century received large donations from the Anglo-Norman spoilers and acquirers of Irish lands, especially in Munster. It is interesting to note a testimony of Marianus O'Brien, Archbishop of Cashel, in 1225, to the zeal of the brethren: "I know the House of St. John's Hospital is so charged with a multitude of sick persons that it is barely able to maintain them." [1] The hospital seems to have been largely one for incurables, "bedridden in the bonds of God." But destitute persons and orphans were also received and provided for.

The original community of canons and canonesses was converted into one of Crutched (Crossed) Friars, or *Crociferi*, hospitallers by profession, and consisting of brethren and sisters. Their rule was also that of St. Augustine. They wore a cross of red cloth upon their habit. Though they first came to England in 1244, we do not know when they arrived in Ireland. They were, however, in possession of St. John's, Newgate, in 1276, according to a will of Gilbert le Decer,[2] a citizen of Dublin.

The golden age of St. John's lasted well into the first quarter of the fourteenth century. It maintained at that time 155 beds in constant use. Considering the population of Dublin at that time it was a very large number, and clearly points to the fact that St. John's supplied, besides, the place of the later workhouses of the city. The invasion of Edward Bruce in 1317 caused the citizens to set fire to the suburbs, and St. John's suffered enormously, its church and houses being burnt, its stone wall levelled with the ground, its granges plundered and destroyed, and nearly all its lands lying untilled and waste. Edward III answered their appeal for aid by granting them the *deodands*, that is, the forfeiture of beasts and inanimate objects that caused the accidental death of human beings. The hospital was the object of frequent bequests from the citizens of Dublin.

[1] *Register*, 174.

[2] One of his sons, Henry, was a member of St. John's community, the other, John, who inherited the bulk of the property, became Mayor of Dublin, and was celebrated for his large charities, especially to the Dominican and Franciscan communities. He built what is called the Newbridge over the Liffey near Celbridge, which is still standing, and it is said he also built St. Mary's Chapel in St. John's Hospital (Pembridge, *Annals* at 1308).

With the decline of English power after that period, the revenues of the hospital were diminished by the loss of distant estates. About the year 1373 the number of beds had been reduced to 115,[1] because no more could be maintained, and in 1539, when the house was suppressed, the number was only 50.[2] Some effort to maintain an infirmary on the site was made after the religious had left it. The site was leased to Edmund Redman, surgeon, on 27 September, 1539, for twenty-one years at a rent of 43s. 4d., and was afterwards granted *in capite* to Maurice, Earl of Thomond, who was succeeded by James Sedgrave, merchant, of Dublin, under whom, in 1562, Redman continued in occupation of the chapel of St. Eloy,[3] but the chapel of St. Margaret (? St. Mary Magdalen), a graveyard of half an acre, a house containing 50 beds, a kitchen, bawn and chambers are then returned as lately in the occupation of Thomas Stephens, who was also a Dublin merchant. During this period the institution was probably conducted as a private charity without endowments. Later on it took on definitely the character of a poorhouse, and such was its status in the seventeenth century.

The labours of the sisters of the hospital were not confined to nursing. Archdall tells: "The vestments for the friars of Thomas Court, for the Franciscans in Francis Street, and for the university of St. Patrick, were wrought here; for their labour they had the tenth of the wool or flax, which they spun, assigned them when the work was finished. The different orders for whom they wrought did visit this house on St. John's Day, when they presented their offerings before the image of the Saint, which stood in the great hall; and on the Saint's eve the mayor and commons were also wont to visit them, on which a great bonfire was made before the hospital, and many others throughout the city." [4]

The tower of the church stood until about the year 1800, and was then pulled down. Thus vanished the last visible memorial of one of the earliest charities in the city of Dublin devoted to the relief of the poor and suffering. With the exception of the rather limited hospital in the Priory of St. John's, Kilmainham, it was the only pre-reformation hospital

[1] *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1370-74, p. 302.
[2] Archdall, *Mon. Hib.*, 205.
[3] St. Loy, or Eligius, the Smiths' Saint.
[4] *Mon. Hib.*, 205.

in Dublin. Its site is now in great part covered by the buildings of John's Lane Distillery, and partly occupied by the church and priory of the Augustinian Fathers, Thomas Street.[1]

St. John's held lands in the counties of Dublin, Meath, Kildare, Louth, Carlow, Tipperary, and Ormond and Cork, but out of its 1725 acres, 916 were situated in Co. Dublin. It also held 24 rectories, 38 houses, 30 messuages, and 23 gardens. Its yearly income from all sources amounted to £147 (about £2200 *1914 value*).[2]

Considering its extensive hospitals and the great burden of its charity, this was not a large sum to maintain such an institution. But the impudent plea for its suppression that it "serveth no purpose or doeth no good" is an indication of the unscrupulous character of the work of the King and his Vicar-General.

The only mention of pensions in connection with St. John's is one of £15 a year granted to Thomas Everard, the last prior, arising out of its possessions in Co. Tipperary[3] (17 March, 1542). The following leases were granted of various parcels of the hospital's possessions :—

Lease to Edmund Redman, surgeon : of the site and hospital of St. John the Baptist without the Newgate of Dublin : for 21 years : rent 43s. 4d. (27 Sept., 31 Hen. VIII, i.e. 1539).[4]

Lease to William Brabazon, Esq., and Richard Delahyd : of the grange of Clare, diocese of Kildare, tithes, etc., of Donarde, Kylbele, Cryhelpe, and Welchetown, diocese of Dublin ; Cloughir, diocese of Cashel : Cordengyn, Ballenecall, and Kylstane, diocese of Emly : Arbystyll, Ruskagh, Templemurrye, and Rathtough, diocese of Leighlin ; demised by Thomas Everard, late prior of St. John the Baptist to the Earl of Kildare at a grain of corn for the first 6 years and 13s. 4d. for the remainder of a term of 31 years. To hold for 21 years : rent 3s. 4d. and paying the rent reserved by the prior. (3 April, 1538).[5]

Lease to Thomas Lutrell, of Lutreliston, Knight, of the site of the hospital of St. John the Baptist, without the New Gate of Dublin, lands in Dublin and suburbs, etc., except the services and rents out of the manor of Palmeriston by Aniliffe, and the lands of

[1] For this notice we have drawn freely from Chas. MacNeill's learned article on St. John's, *R.S.A.I.*, June, 1925.

[2] See App. IV.

[3] *Fiants, Hen. VIII*, no. 273.

[4] *Ib.*, no. 85.

[5] *Ib.*, no. 543.

Palmeriston by Aniliffe, and Irishton in the parish of Palmeriston, Whitiston in the parish of Palmeriston by Grenoke, and Newton in the parish of Luske, Dardieston, Ballydowde, and a meadow by Hoggen green. To hold for 21 years, at rent of £110. A memorandum states that £9 is allowed for the repair of the chancels and the collection of rents. (8 Nov. 1543).[1]

Priory of Holmpatrick.

On his voyage northwards, St. Patrick is said to have stopped his boat at one of the three islands, the farthest from the shore, which lie off Skerries. Here grew up a flourishing monastery the ruins of which are still visible. The village on the mainland was called by the Danes Holmpatrick or port of Patrick. For the convenience of the people, Archbishop de Loundres in 1220 transferred the canons from the island to the village where a church was built and the canons were installed. In the time of Archbishop Bulkeley's visitation (1630), the parish church was in good repair, but all traces of it have disappeared. The site is believed to be somewhere about one mile south-west of the village of Skerries.[2] In 1496 the prior petitioned the King that as there was no castle on Lambay Island, and as his priory had a house on Mellock Island, near Skerries, and as at low tide there was a dry way from that island to Lambay, and as Lambay was infested with pirates, Britons, Spaniards, French, and Scots, the prior and convent should be allowed to build a fortified harbour and wall on Mellock Island. The King granted their request and further gave them in frankalmoigne (free alms) all customs, duties, cokets, and poundages on things imported there, to the annual value of 20 marks sterling for ever.[3] The space between Lambay and Holmpatrick is now wholly impassible. At the hosting commanded by the King in 1532 to assemble on the hill of Owenstown, Co. Dublin, the prior was summoned to attend in right of the manor of Hacketstown.

Little is known about this priory. It was early marked out for suppression and was one of the thirteen houses suppressed by the Act of 1537. It will be remembered that

[1] *Fiants, Hen. VIII*, no. 374.
[2] Walsh, *Fingal and its Churches*, p. 247.
[3] *Rot. Pat. in Canc. Hib.*

Robert Cowley, 4 October, 1536, asked Cromwell to let him have the priory; he was granted his request on 1 August, 1537. Curious to relate, the extent of its possessions was not made until 29 October, 1540. According to that inquisition the priory held 906 acres in Counties Dublin and Meath, 855 of which were in the former county. It also held 1 rectory, 21 houses, 15 messuages, and 2 gardens, all yielding an annual revenue of £69 (about £1035 *1914 value*).[1]

The only reference in the State Papers to this house after its suppression is the following:—

Lease to John Parker of Dublin, gent. of the site of the priory of Holmpatrike, lands, Holmpatrike, Mylwardiston, Estan, Newgrang, Hacketiston, Loughbroghe, Lane, Barnegeraghe, Balrdastin, Skerres, Mallahonyn, Sadilliston, Pierston, Kylnure, Delabrune, Swords, Hamonston, Hayeston, and Balrothery, and custom, poundage, wreck of the sea, tithe of fish, etc., of the port of Skerres To hold for 10 years, at a rent of £57 4s. 4d. (5 Jan. 1545).[2]

St. Thomas Court Abbey.

In 1177 a church dedicated to St. Thomas à Becket, the martyred Archbishop of Canterbury, was founded by William Fitz Adelm, *dapifer* or steward, as well as kinsman of Henry II, and ancestor of the Clanrickarde family, and most of the other Burkes and de Burghs of Ireland. Becket had been put to death by the loyal men of Henry II in 1170, and canonised in 1172. This foundation was a kind of expiation for the King's guilt. It was given in charge of the Augustinian canons of the order of St. Victor, an order that had come into existence in 1113 in the revival of the monastic system. St. Laurence O'Toole, who was a witness to the foundation charter, was present at the laying of the foundation stone. The charter states that the foundation was intended by Henry II for the spiritual welfare of himself, his sons, his parents, Geoffroi, Earl of Anjou, and the Empress Matilda. Out of this church developed the great Anglo-Norman monastery called St. Thomas's Abbey or Thomas's Court. Being of royal foundation, it was a special object of royal favour, and received not

[1] See App. V.

[2] *Fiants, Hen. VIII*, no. 447. Parker was constable of the castle of Dublin in 2 Edw. VI.

only royal grants, but grants from many of the Anglo-Norman adventurers who took or acquired lands throughout Ireland. Henry granted it the lands of Donoure, and John, his son, granted it tithes of his rent from Dublin, and of the salmon brought to the kitchen of Dublin Castle, fishing rights on the Liffey, and tolls from ale and mead brewed in Dublin. Amongst the Anglo-Norman leaders who made grants to it were Strongbow and his sister Basilia, Philip and Robert de Barri, brothers of Giraldus Cambrensis, Milo de Cogan, Richard de Cogan, John de Curci, Meiller Fitz Henry (natural son of Henry I), Thomas le Fleming, Reimund "le gros," Adam and Thomas de Hereford, Hugh de Laci, Walter de Riddelesford, Robert Fitz Stephen, and Theobald Walter, brother of Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury. Amongst the prelates who made grants or ratified transactions in connection with the monastery were St. Laurence O'Toole, and other archbishops of Dublin, Giovanni di Salerno, Cardinal-legate in Ireland, the archbishops of the various provinces, the bishops of Ardfert, Colyne, Cork, Down, Elphin, Emly, Ferns, Glendaloch, Kildare, Killaloe, Kilmacduagh, Leighlin, Lismore, Meath, Ossory, Ross, and Waterford. The lands and churches granted to the monastery were to be found in almost every county in Ireland.[1] The Abbey and its lands had been constituted a liberty by King John by the name of the Liberty of Thomas Court and Donoure, that is, they were a district exempt from the jurisdiction of the mayor. The abbot exercised judicial functions, and held a Court for his district which became known as Thomas Court. According to Speed's map of 1610 "St. Thoms-Court" lay nearly midway between "St. Cathren's Church" (Thomas Street) and the western end of the Coombe, as nearly as possible where Meath Market opens (or opened) into Earl Street. This map represents Thomas Court as consisting of a great gateway, with roofed houses abutting on its western wall; bounded on the city side by part of a wall which runs from Thomas

[1] Gilbert, *St. Thomas's Register*. Another Register (unpublished), Haliday Collection, R.I.A., and also Rawlinson MSS. B. 499, Bodleian Library, Oxford. A beautiful illuminated Missal of fourteenth century of St. Thomas's Abbey is in the British Museum, Additional MSS. 24, 198. A facsimile in Gilbert's *Specimens of Ancient Chartularies*, Part II, plate lxxxvii.

Street (half-way between St. Catherine's Church in Thomas Street and Meath Street of to-day) to the western end of the Coombe, where it terminates in a gateway (possibly the "Stone Tower") spanning a road which still exists, and which is now known as Pimlico. To the south-west of the house of Thomas Court lie two other gates, nearer to what had been the monastery, and from the more western of these an irregular line of wall runs northwards till it ends in another gateway, which if it were still standing, would span the thoroughfare which is now called *Thomas Court*, just at St. Catherine's School-house.[1]

The tolboll of ale and mead referred to above as having been granted by King Henry II was the ground of a dispute between the Abbey and the mayor and bailiffs of Dublin. The tolboll consisted of a gallon and a half of the best, and as much of the second brew from the brewers of the city. In a decision given in chancery on this dispute (1385), we find that the King had granted the tolboll so that the Abbey might find and keep sixty poor people and scholars, in food, drink, and clothing, in a house called the King's Alms House, for ever. This the Abbey continued to do until 1365 when such was withdrawn. Abbot Thomas declared that the Abbey was not bound to carry on such a charity, as, in King John's charter of the same grant of tolboll, the tax was granted simply for the use of the canons, and denied that the Abbey had supplied such support. The King's serjeant averred that Henry II had granted it for this purpose, and that the Abbey had supplied the support until Easter, 1365. The jury found that Henry II had granted the tolboll for the support of the scholars, etc., and that the then King's Alms House was erected by the abbot forty years since (i.e. in 1345), but they did not know when it was first constructed. They also found that sixty years before (i.e. in 1325) the Abbey supported forty, sixty, sometimes thirty scholars, etc., without any gift of lands, etc., for such a purpose, but they did not know at what time the Abbey first gave such support. They declared, however, that such existed before that time they had heard from their parents and other trustworthy persons. The Alms

[1] See Rev. A. Elliott, *R.S.A.I.*, 1892.

House that had been built in 1348 was allowed to fall in 1368 through want of repair.[1] Presumably, the Abbey was compelled to rebuild the Alms House and carry on the charity, as the building seems to have been in existence in the early seventeenth century, according to a statement of John Smyth of 1634;[2] that is, if the ffrank house can be identified with the King's Alms House.

In the Martyrology[3] of the Abbey, of the middle of the thirteenth century, is an interesting document called the *Regulæ* or Code of Signs, written in Latin. The Victorine canons, to whom the Abbey belonged, were subject to the strictest discipline, and the silence imposed in the cloister was so rigid that they were only permitted to communicate by signs. (This discipline is still in use in every Trappist community.) If the Code of Signs be taken as embracing most of what the founders considered necessary in their houses, it must be granted that the canons of the congregation of St. Victor, when established in Dublin, led the simplest of lives. It is evident from the small number of subjects dealt with in the Code of Signs that their mutual communications must have been of a limited character. That was in the middle of the thirteenth century, but as to the development of their mode of living and of the Code, we have no document to tell.

Among the Abbey buildings was one called the King's lodgings or chamber. It was a matter of surmise as to what king was indicated by the title. In John Symth's statement referred to above, the chamber was called "King John's." This clearly proves the tradition to be correct which told that that monarch stayed at the Abbey during his visit to Ireland in 1210. In this chamber Sir Richard Edgecomb received (in 1488) the homage and allegiance of the nobles, amongst whom was Gerald, Earl of Kildare, who had declared for Lambert Simnel, the royal pretender. The allegiance was sworn "upon the Holy Sacrament," at the Agnus Dei of the Mass celebrated by Edgecomb's chaplain, after which all repaired to the Abbey church, where the Archbishop of Dublin, Walter Fitzsimons, chanted the Te Deum.

[1] Berry, *Procs. R.I.A.*, 1910. [2] Berry, *R.S.A.I.*, 1907-8.
[3] *MS. T.C.D.*, B. 3, 5.

By reason of a grant of King John, the Abbey had the right of holding a court in its Liberty of Thomas Court and Donore. The abbot had full authority in the district from the execution of criminals on the gallows at Thomas Court to weights and measures of bread and brew. He had a seneschal, a registrar, a marshal, and a weigh-master. He also sat as a peer in Parliament. The Liberty of Thomas Court and Donore included the district between Thomas Street and Harold's Cross, and between Grand Canal Harbour and a line nearly midway between Francis Street and Meath Street. It was divided from Archbishop's Liberty by watercourse down Blackpitts to the Coombe. Both the Archbishop's and the Abbot's Liberty were independent of the jurisdiction of the mayor and bailiffs of the city. The Earl of Meath, descendant of Brabazon, the Under-Treasurer of the King, to whom the Abbey and its lands were granted, succeeded to all the powers and privileges of the abbot and exercised them almost as late as the year 1836.

With regard to the suppression of the Abbey it is of interest to hear what John Alen had to say of it in a letter to Cromwell in 1537 :—

> It may be the King's pleasure to suppress the abbeys of Saint Thomas Court by Dublin, All Hallows, and the Hospital of Saint James [John] without New Gate by the same, where is neither great hospitality kept, nor yet there needeth greatly. The rents of them doth amount to 1000 marks sterling. Whereof it may please his Highness to reward the said grave person [Chief Justice Aylmer] with 500 marks sterling, yearly, for his stipend.[1]

Alen's request for his friend Aylmer seems not to have materialised. Two years afterwards, when Alen had become Chancellor, he wrote to Cromwell (1539) [2] asking the Abbey premises for himself :—

> I most heartily beseech you that having respect to my inability to serve the King's Majesty in this same and considering that I have no house in Dublin to lie in, neither provision to keep one horse there for myself that it would please your lordship that I may have the monastery of Saint Thomas Court to farm . . . whereby I shall be the more able to serve the King and yet His Grace be nothing hindered of his profit.

[1] *S.P. Hen. VIII, Ir.*, i. 484. [2] *Ib.*, iii. 128.

Even Alen did not receive the coveted Abbey. It was reserved for Brabazon.

The great surrender of the Abbey and its possessions was made on 25 July, 1539 (31 Hen. VIII), by Henry Duff, the last abbot, with the " consent " of the convent of the Abbey. Endorsed on the charter of surrender is a memorandum that the abbot and convent assembled in the chapter-house, " voluntarily " acknowledged the surrender, delivered it into the hands of the Lord Chancellor, and " prayed " that it might be enrolled in chancery in " perpetuam rei memoriam." It was witnessed by Robert Cowley, Master of the Rolls, Patrick Barnewall, Serjeant-at-law, and others.[1]

At the suppression, the Abbey held 56 rectories, 2197 acres of land, 67 houses, 47 messuages, and 19 gardens, bringing in an annual revenue of £404 (about £6000 *1914 value*). The bulk of its lands was in Meath (815*a*) and Kildare (704*a*). Its revenue was comparatively large (St. Mary's Abbey was the richest, St. John's, Kilmainham, a bad second, and St. Thomas's a bad third). But, beyond the wants of the community, it does not seem to have provided for any other useful purpose. That it continued after 1385 to provide for the maintenance and education of poor scholars is rather doubtful. In the Council's recommendation of useful houses, for education or otherwise, it does not receive a mention. In saying this, we are not condemning the Abbey. Its lands and revenues were thrust upon it by the Anglo-Norman spoilers of the country who salved their conscience by their grants to religious houses. But from the point of view of utility to the Pale, as an educational establishment, or a hostelry for the nobles, or as providing armed men for the defence of the Pale (like St. Mary's Abbey or St. John's, Kilmainham), it was of no consequence.

This is what Alen meant when he said " it provideth no hospitality and serveth no purpose." Such an accusation against a religious house, needless to say, did not furnish a solid argument for its suppression. Neither did it excuse the transference of its lands and revenues into the rapacious grip of Henry and his mercenary underlings. Patrick Barnewall, the King's serjeant-at-law, had given it as his legal

[1] *P. and C.R.*, 31 *Hen. VIII.*

opinion that even though Henry was head of the Church in Ireland he had no authority to suppress but only to amend or reform religious houses. Even Dean Swift had no better term for Henry than "that beast." The King had suppressed St. Patrick's Cathedral, to the deanery of which Swift afterwards succeeded, and Swift was irate because of the plunder of the possessions of the prebendaries, and particularly of the deanery. But the suppression and plunder of religious houses is on a par with what Swift complained of.

Pensions and Leases.

After the suppression came the doling out of pensions to the inmates as a concession and out of the charity of the royal plunderer. On 10 September, 1539 (31 Hen. VIII), Abbot Duff was granted a pension of £42, Irish, payable out of the tithes of the rectories of Grenoke, Kilsalehan, Chapelmydwaie, Ballybyn, Trewet, Donamore near Grenoke, Ratouth, and Dunsaghlen, with clause of distress. On the same day a pension of £10 was granted to James Cottrell, also late abbot of St. Thomas's; of 53s. 4d. to John Brace, late prior, and to be curate of the church of St. Catherine; of 40s. to John Butler, late parson, and to be curate of St. James's, and to have his orchard within the precinct of Thomas Court; of £5 to Patrick Clyncher, late clerk of the organ, payable out of the above tithes, and also out of Lucan. On 12 October, 1541, a pension of 53s. 4d. was granted to Nicholas Casey, late parson, same to William Owen, same to Nicholas Wogan, same to John Quyne, out of the rents of Lexlep, Confee, and Woghterard, Co. Kildare; same to John Rochforde; same to Thomas Browne; same to Thomas Sarswell; payable out of the possessions in Letercor and Kilmorre.[1]

From this it would appear that five priests (including the abbot), the clerk of the organ, and six others, presumably brethren of the community, received annual pensions. It is scarcely probable that these twelve men constituted the entire community of such an important abbey. The question arises, then: What became of the remainder, did they refuse the dole,

[1] *Cal. Patent Rolls*, p. 66. *Fiants, Hen. VIII*, no. 83.

and go forth into the world in dignified contempt of the spoilers?

Though the extent[1] was made of the possessions of the Abbey, and, presumably, the institution was suppressed on 30 October, 1540, yet the grant of the site and lands of Thomas Court and its Liberty was made to Brabazon a year and a half before that event, according to the following entry:—

On the 31st March, 30 Hen. VIII (1539) the side of this monastery, with a malt mill, a wood mill, and the double mills, one carucate of land called Donover (Donore), ten acres of meadow, two of pasture, and ten of underwood rear the abbey, were granted to William Brabazon, for ever, by military service, at the annual rent of 18s. 6d. In 1545, these land and possessions were granted to the same person, with the site and circuit of the monastery of Thomas Court, the church, the churchyard, etc., all the tenths of the premises, and all jurisdictions, liberties, etc., spiritual and temporal, to hold in capite by the twentieth part of a knight's fee, at the yearly rent of £1 14s. 11d.[2]

It will be of interest to see the various grants of the Abbey's lands during the years that followed the suppression.

The following leases and grants are found in the State Papers:—

Grant to Robert Sentleger, for a sum of £261 2s. 6d. of the manor of Kill, Co. Kildare: lands, Kyll, Artewell, Arterstowne, Nicholstoune, Arteslande, Ballibrogg, Barronragh, Alestoune, Co. Kildare, possessions of abbey of Thomas Court. To hold for ever by service of $\frac{1}{40}$ part of a knight's fee, and a rent of 13s. 9d. sterling. (5 Jan. 1546).[3]

Lease to James Bathe, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, of Blakerathe alias Canonrathe, and the rectory of Castelwarninge, Co. Kildare, parcel of Thomas Court. For 21 years, rent 43s. 4d. for Blakerath and £4 for the rectory (28 Jan. 1546).[4]

To the same: tithes of Rathtouthe, Co. Meath; belonging to Thomas Court. For 21 years; rent £10 13s. 4d (25 March, 1546).[5]

Lease to Thomas Alen: of Manor of Kyll, Co. Kildare; lands of Kill, Hartwell, Arteston alias Artureston, and Ballybroige, Co. Kildare: St. Katherine's and Alenston, Co. Dublin: rectories

[1] See App. VI.
[2] *Chief Rem. Off.*, Archdall, *Mon. Hib.*, 794. *Fiants, Hen. VIII*, no. 547.
[3] *Fiants, Hen. VIII*, no. 465. [4] *Ib.*, no. 466. [5] *Ib.*, no. 480.

of Kyll, Alasty, Hartwell, Artcreston, and Ballybroige, Co. Kildare, and St. Katherine's, Dublin: possessions of late abbey of Thomascourt by Dublin, for 21 years, rent £25 18s. 8d (16 Aug. 1541).[1]

Inquisition octave St. Martin, 19 Elizabeth, finds that 22 Oct. 3 Elizabeth, a grant was made to Thomas Manners, gent. of the rectory of Syddan, and all the tithes, and profits in Syddan, Rengerston, Leirbeg, Howtheston, Crevaghe, Mucheselston, Corbally, Tyran, Newrathe, St. John's Rathe, Begerston, Little Soleston, Moneram and Lessiaboine, all in the Co. Meath, and parcel of the possessions of this abbey.

Inquisition same day finds that 10 March, 11 Elizabeth, a grant was made to John Thomas, esq., of the rectory of Balmaglassan, in Co. Meath with all the tithes, etc., thereunto belonging in said county, parcel of the possessions of this abbey.

Inquisition 24 Elizabeth finds that Henry Duffe, the last abbot, being seised of the rectorial tithes of corn and hay, of Oughterrinny, otherwise Clomurry, viz., Nicolston, Kilmaine, Archdiakenston, Pitchefordston, Ballikenny, Killeightertir, Muchgrange, Ballekehine, Newton, Little Keppagh, and Kilmakerob, Co. Kildare, did grant the same to Nicholas Handcock and Wm. Newman of Dublin, merchants, and Nicholas Moore of said city, chaplain, for the term of 31 years, at annual rent of £9 6s. 8d.

Inquisition 25 Elizabeth finds that 28 June, 12 Elizabeth, a grant was made to John Dee, gent. of the rectory of Ballybabricke, Co. Louth, parcel of the possessions of this abbey, for the term of 21 years, at annual rent of 26s. 8d. Irish money.

Inquisition of same year finds that 24 January, 13 Elizabeth, a grant was made to John FitzEdward Fitzgerald, and Thomas Coppinger, gent. of the rectories of Ballymarter, Etesbake, Corriboe, Castrocorre and Ballianan, Co. Cork parcel of the possessions of this abbey, for the term of 21 years, at annual rent of £5 10s. 0d. Irish money.

Another inquisition of same year finds that 26 March, 19 Elizabeth, a grant was made to Sir Thomas Cusack, Knt. and Patrick Clinche, gent. of the rectory and town of Frevett, Co. Meath, parcel of the possessions of this abbey, for the term of 21 years, at annual rent of £22 6s. 8d. Irish money, and 30 bushels of corn at the feast of the purification annually.

4 Jan. 27 Elizabeth, a grant was made to Anthony Deeringe of 1 messuage, 1 cottage, 24 a. arable, 8½ pasture, in Sherraghe, at annual rent of 16s. 8d. Irish money. The moiety of 2 messuages, 70 a. arable, and 16 a. meadow and pasture, in the town of

[1] *Fiants, Hen. VIII*, no. 245.

Westerkerns ; the moiety of 1 messuage, 62 a. arable and meadow, 12 a. pasture, in the town of Easterkerns ; 1 messuage, 27 a. arable and 6 a. pasture in Little Bolyes ; at the annual rent of £4 14s. 4d. all in the Co. Meath ; also 40 a. arable and 20 a. pasture, in Ballrenuet in the Co. Kildare, at the annual rent of 20s. Irish money ; all parcel of the possessions of this abbey : to hold to him and his heirs for ever as of the manor of Kells, and not *in capite*.

Inquisition 26 April, 31 Elizabeth, finds that 24 November, 13 Elizabeth, a grant was made to Edmund Fitz-Alexander for the term of 21 years of the rectory of Moyclare, Co. Meath, parcel of the possessions of this abbey, at annual value of £4 13s. 4d. Irish money.

The tithes of Cokeston and Ballybin, parcel of the rectory of Ratoath, were parcel of the possessions of this abbey.

Inquisition 23 Feb. 33 Eliz. finds that 11 a. arable, called the Stuckyns and Gortendawke, near Lyons, Co. Kildare, annual value besides reprises 12d. Irish.

Inquisition 10 August, 2 James, finds that James Cottrell the last abbot was seised of the lands of the manor of Leixlip : and the right of a flaggon of ale out of every brewing in the said town : annual value of the whole, besides reprises, 10s.

Inquisition 20 Feb. 14 James, finds that a messuage and garden in the parish of St. James, in the suburbs of Dublin, parcel of the possessions of this abbey, were granted 7 July, 39 Elizabeth, for the term of 31 years, to John Newton, at annual rent, besides reprises, of 8s. Irish.

By an inquisition, 33 Elizabeth, the following lands were found to be parcel of this abbey.

11 a. arable, with appurtenances, called the Stuckynes and Gortanawke, adjoining the town of Lyons, in Co. Kildare, value in Irish money (12d.). The rectories of Ballymartyr, Elesbaka, Coriboc, Crosscrocere, and Ballyanna, all in Co. Cork, at yearly rent, Irish money (£5 10s. 0d.). The parish of Trevet, Co. Meath (£22 6s. 8d.).

An inquisition finds that Henry Harrington died 24th December 1612 seised *in capite* by the 20th part of a Knight's fee, of one garden 46 acres of arable land (the Abbot's land) in Oughterhard, Co. Kildare value 5s. annually besides reprises ; and of the town of Fingles in the parish of Cloncurry (County Kildare) belonging to this Abbey value 2s. annually besides reprises (16 Jan. 1625).[1]

[1] Archdall, *Mon. Hib.*, 794.

Franciscan Friary.

The Franciscans, or Grey Friars, having been invited to Ireland about seven years after the death of their founder, were granted a plot of ground by Ralph le Porter in 1235 on which to build a church and friary. Henry III seems to have been responsible for the foundation and granted fifty marks towards the building which when completed was dedicated to St. Francis. Another royal grant of ten marks was made to forward the building.[1] In 1293 Edward I made a yearly grant to it of thirty-five marks. Like the Dominican priory it was liberally assisted by the citizens of Dublin many of whom were buried in the church. John le Decer, the mayor, not only gave the friars every Friday the necessary maintenance for the day, but it is said that he built at his own expense St. Mary's chapel in the church, in which chapel he was interred in 1332. Silken Thomas, during his siege of Dublin in 1534 is said to have made the friary his head-quarters. The monastery and church practically occupied the site of the present St. Nicholas of Myra in Francis Street, and the garden extended on the north to the city wall in which was a tower called after St. Francis.

Dionysius Morgho was the last warden, and on 20 April, 31 Henry VIII (1540) he was seised [2] of a church and belfry, dormitory, hall, three chambers, a cemetery and garden within the precincts, of no value besides the reprises; also of four messuages and three gardens, with the appurtenances, in St. Frances Street, annual value, besides reprises, 27s.; six acres meadow near Clondalkan (paying to the Archbishop of Dublin an annual rent of 2s. 6d. Irish money) annual value, besides reprises, 6s. 8d.; and sixty acres of land in Brin alias Borebrine [3] near Glasnymicky, annual value, besides reprises, 20s.

According to the extent [4] of its possessions made on 31 October, 1540, the friary held about sixty-seven acres, five messuages, and four gardens, yielding an annual net revenue of £2 15s (about £41 *1914 value*). It was thus, with the Carmelite friary, the poorest of the religious houses in Dublin.

[1] Archdall, *Mon. Hib.*, 211.
[2] *Ib.*, 795.
[3] Bohernabreena, near Tallaght.
[4] See App. VII.

The following grants were made of the friary and its lands :—

Lease to William Hande of Dublin, gent. of the site of monastery of Franciscans by Dublin, with appurtenances in Francis St. and Clondolcan, for 21 years, rent 30s. (6 May 1541).[1]

On 15 June 1542, Thomas Lutrell, Chief Justice, for sum of 10 marks, was granted the lands of Brewyn alias Bohirnybrynee, to hold for ever by fealty and a rent of 12d.[2] The *Fiant* says that the lands were already in his possession.

The friary, with its messuages, gardens, and lands, was granted to Thomas Stephens, Dublin, merchant, for a fine of £36 10s. 5d., to be held *in capite*, at 2s., Irish money, annual rent (10 July 1542).[3] It is said that Stephens pulled down the church and convent and sold the beautiful corbels, mullions, and marble altars in England.

Augustinian Friary.

This monastery is said to have been established by one of the Talbot family in 1259, and stood in the present Cecilia Street on the spot now occupied by the Catholic University School of Medicine. Its garden sloped down to the river bank. Very little is known about the history of this house or its possessions. It seems, however, to have been an important foundation, and the general college for all friars of the Order in Ireland. England and Ireland then formed one province for the Order. It is said that Archbishop Browne took away with him the Provincial's official seal. For years afterwards it was used as the seal of the churchwarden of St. Nicholas Within, and is now kept in the Royal Irish Academy. It seems likely that it was of English manufacture, and that some member of the Order, probably the Visitor from England, had been staying in this house at the time of the suppression, and that Browne, a former Augustinian, got possession of it.

An interesting item in connection with this friary is contained in the State Papers. In the year 1354 a grant in mortmain was made by the King to the prior and convent of the Augustinian friars at Dublin of four marks a year. They were to provide one friar daily and two friars on Sunday,

[1] *Fiants, Hen. VIII*, no. 181. [2] *Ib.*, 324. [3] *Ib.*, 315.

to celebrate divine service in the castle chapel for the weal of the King, Queen Philippa, and the King's children, and for the souls of his ancestors.[1] The fee seems to have been paid regularly from 1354-66.[2] But in 1388, the prior procured an inspeximus of the grant,[3] possibly with the aim of securing payment of the yearly fee. But there is no evidence to show that the Augustinians continued their ministrations in this chapel after the year 1366.[4]

When the Exchequer was removed in 1366 to Dublin Castle, the premises were granted *in custodiam* to the Augustinians.

According to the extent made,[5] 31 October, 1540, the friary held 70 acres of land, 1 house, 2 messuages, and 14 gardens, yielding an annual net revenue of £6 14s. 1d. (about £100 *1914 value*). Richard Nangle was the last prior of the house. It may be remembered that he was appointed by the King to the diocese of Clonfert, and having been ousted by Roland Burke, the Pope's nominee, he became suffragan or assistant bishop to Browne. He had a speaking knowledge of Irish, and was appointed by Browne to preach the "word of God" in Irish to the recalcitrant natives. It seems that Nangle was granted the site and buildings at the suppression, but a few years afterwards a different arrangement was made:—

On 10 July 1541,[6] this monastery, with its appurtenances, and 1 messuage, 3 orchards, 10 gardens in the parish of St. Andrew, and 4 acres of meadow, and a park containing 4 acres near Hoggin-Green; 1 messuage and 1 garden in St. Patrick's Street, 2 messuages, and 3 gardens in the parish of St. Michan; and 60 acres of arable, 2 of meadow, and 20 of pasture in Tobberboyne,[7] and all other the possessions of the said monastery, the lands of Rathnecloyge excepted, were granted for ever to Walter Tyrrell, of Dublin, merchant, at the yearly rent of 6s. 1d. Irish money, in consideration of a fine of £114 13s. 4d.

With regard to Rathynnycluge the following entry occurs:—

[1] *Engl. Pat. R.*, 1354-58, p. 83.
[2] *Excheq. Accts.*, D.K.R.
[3] *E.P.R.*, 1385-89, p. 535.
[4] See Lawlor, *R.S.A.I.*, June, 1923.
[5] See App. VIII.
[6] *Cal. P. and C.R.*, 33 Hen. VIII. Archdall, *Mon. Hib.*, 213.
[7] Probably Tipra-bó-finde, alias Topur Temrach at Tara.

Robert Eustace and others, to the use of Thomas Lutrell of Luttreleston, were granted the lands of Rathynnycluge, Co. Dublin (15 June 1542).[1]

Notwithstanding the above grant to Tyrrell it is interesting to note the following which was made two months beforehand :—

Lease to Robert Casey of Dublin, gent. of site of priory of Augustinian friars by Dublin, with appurtenances in Dublin and Tybberboyne, for 21 years, rent £6 0s. 9d. (6 May 1541).[2]

Convent of St. Mary de Hogges.

This convent, founded by Dermod MacMurrough in 1146, for nuns of the Order of St. Augustine, stood behind the old Danish Thingmote or place of judicature. This mound is now occupied by the church of St. Andrew in Suffolk Street. On a map of 1650 the site of the nunnery is given a little to the west of the Thingmote, that is, it probably stood at the top of Trinity Street, then called Nunnery Lane. It was called St. Mary of Hogges after the mound (*Scandinavian* Hogge or Hogue) near which it stood, and the green in front of it was called Hoggen Green (now College Green). It is stated that women under 30 years of age were not allowed to become nuns there. This seems to be confirmed by the name given to their land in the vicinity, namely " Mynechens mantle " or fields which comprised the land between the present west side of Merrion Square, St. Stephen's Green, N., and Kildare Street. " Mynechens " meant elderly nuns of a superior class.[3] It is stated that Gregory, first Archbishop of Dublin, and Malachy, Archbishop of Armagh, were directors

[1] *Fiants, Hen. VIII,* no. 313.

[2] *Ib.*, no. 180. The church, buildings, and grounds passed, in 1597, to Walter Crowe, who built on the site his " Crowe's nest," as he termed his residence. Sir William Petty, the celebrated author of the *Survey of the Forfeited Estates*, became its tenant in 1654. The Dublin Philosophical Society, in 1684, took rooms in the " Crowe's nest " for the purpose of holding scientific meetings and reading papers on science, literature, and antiquities. In 1731 a music hall was erected on the site. from which was founded, in 1743, the Hospital for Incurables. The Crow Street Theatre was next erected on its site, where Sheridan and Kean appeared. Finally, the premises passed into the possession of the Catholic University and are occupied at present by the Medical School.

[3] Halliday, *Scandinavian Dublin*, 193.

and generous benefactors of this nunnery, and that King John rebuilt some of its chapels and endowed it with livings. Its grange or home farm lay at Ragarthe (Rathgar), and it had acres also at Baggot-rath granted to it by Sir Robert Baggot, the benefactor of the Carmelites.

According to the extent[1] of its possessions made, 8 November, 1540, it had 146 acres of land, 9 messuages, and 6 gardens, yielding an annual net revenue of £17 0s. 5d. (about £255 *1914 value*). Its lands lay in South Co. Dublin, Co. Meath, and Co. Kildare. Margaret Guidon was the last abbess of this convent, but we do not find any pensions paid to her or to the other nuns. It would appear that the whole property was granted to James Sedgrave, but the date of the grant is not mentioned.

Grant to James Sedgrave, in consideration of £1078 15s. 10d. sterling, of the entire house, ambit, and prebend of the late monastery of the Hogges, near the city of Dublin, with all the churches and chapels, cemetery, orchards, gardens, lands, and rents thereto belonging; and the townland of Ragarthe [Rathgar], Co. Dublin, rent £4 12s. 0d.

In a grant of 26 September, 1552, the annual value of the possessions is mentioned as £7 16s. Sedgrave was also granted the possessions of St. John's outside Newgate, of St. John Baptist near Drogheda, the prebend of the town of Tymothane [near Tallaght], the whole of which was valued at £53 18s. 9½d. yearly. In payment of these lands at the rate of 20 years' purchase, he is to be allowed £800 by him and his neighbours paid for the King's use, and the balance is to be paid in ready money. To hold in fee simple at a rent of £2 11s. 9½d. sterling.[2]

The King granted license to James Sedgrave to alienate to Nicholas Dromgole, Thomas Blacknee, merchant, Martin Stanton and Simon Carpenter, chaplains, the late monastery of the Hogges, near the city of Dublin, with all chapels, churches, lands, tenements, as well within as without the site, circuit, and precinct thereof; with all the cellars, closes, gardens, and lands within the franchises of the City, and the townlands of Ragarthe, alias Rogarthe, in the Co. Dublin; all castles, lands, and edifices belonging to Claruston, in the Co. Meath; and the tithes, oblations,

[1] See App. IX.

[2] *Cal. P. and C.R.*, 6 Edw. VI.

donations, and spiritualities belonging to the prebend or rectory and lands of Tymothan.[1]

Inquisition 3 Edward VI (1550) finds that Margaret the last abbess was seized of 4 acres of land of the great measure in Ardrisin, annual value 26s. 8d.; and also of the rectory of Athad, which was appropriated to the said abbey, and extended into the towns of Ardrisin and Carrick de Slane.

A document of 1550 refers to a curious application of the Government of Ireland, among whom was William Brabazon, to the English Privy Council, that the site of the convent of Hogges (" now ruinous, and nothing remaining but the walles ") be granted to Richard Tyant, a merchant of Dublin, so that he might " erect six looms of linen and woollen yarn, which will be the maintenance of a great number of persons now idle." The petition was complied with.[2]

Priory of Friars Preachers.

This priory of the Dominicans stood on the site of the present Four Courts. The land previously belonged to Holy Trinity (Christ Church) and had been granted to it by Audoen Brun and Richard de Bedeford in the following terms: " land near the water-course of Auenelich [Avon Liffey], on the north side of Oxmantown Bridge [Church St. Bridge], Dublin, as a site for St. Saviour's Church." [3] This was about the year 1218. The deed was witnessed by William, Archdeacon of Dublin. About the following year, Archbishop Henry de Loundres approved of the " erection of St. Saviour's Chapel near Dublin Bridge, provision being made for the chaplain." [4] This was also signed by William the Archdeacon and by Master Philip de Bray who was appointed precentor in St. Patrick's Cathedral in 1219, and by Master Ralph de Bristoll, appointed Treasurer the same year. Whether this chapel was ever

[1] *Cal. P. and C.R.*, 7 Edw. VI (12 Feb., 1553).

[2] Gilbert, *H. of D.*, iii., pp. 5-6.

[3] *Chr. Ch. Deeds*, no. 23. The name " St. Saviour," like that of " St. Sepulchre " (name of the Archbishop's palace), seems to have become popular here towards the end of the twelfth century. That period was marked by an increase of interest in the Crusades for the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre from infidel hands, and Heraclius, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, visited England (1184) to induce Henry II to undertake an expedition for its recovery.

[4] *Ib.*, no. 29.

erected by the canons of Christ Church we have no record to tell. But when the Dominicans came to Dublin in 1224, it is said that they were granted this site by the canons of Holy Trinity.[1] In the Christ Church Deeds there is, however, no document to support this statement. Still that seems to have been what took place. De Burgo [2] and Archdall [3] assert that the monks of St. Mary's Abbey granted the Dominicans the site, but there is nothing in the Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey to confirm this statement. Between 1224 and 1238 the Dominicans seem to have been satisfied with a very modest foundation, as it was on 1 May, 1238, that, it is said, the priory proper was founded by William Marshall, first Earl of Pembroke, for the health of his soul and that of his wife. The witnesses to the charter were Albin O'Mulloy, Abbot of Baltinglass and Bishop of Ferns, and Hugh Rufus, Bishop of Ossory. The priory was liberally helped by the Dublin citizens, and a royal grant was contributed annually to it. One of its greatest benefactors was John le Decer, mayor of the city in 1308, who laid the great stone or slab on the high altar, and on every Friday entertained the brethren at his own table. In a time of great scarcity he had three ships laden with corn imported from France, one of which he presented to the Dominican and Augustinian seminaries. On the approach of Edward Bruce with his army of Scots, in 1313, the citizens of Dublin destroyed the priory church, along with churches in the suburbs, converting the materials to the building and strengthening of the city walls. Edward II afterwards commanded the mayor and citizens to restore the church to its pristine state. Many notabilities were interred in the church of this priory.

An interesting instance of the anxiety to profit by the city water supply, inaugurated in 1254, is afforded by the request of the Dominicans in that year. The supply came from the Dodder, to which was joined the Poddle, and having been deflected to the "Back of the Pipes," James's Street, ran down Thomas and High Streets as an open stream. Nearer the city open wooden troughs were used to carry it to the conduits. To carry the water from High Street across the Liffey

[1] McInerny, *Hist. of Ir. Dom.*, i. 3.
[2] *Hib. Dom.*, 187. [3] *Mon. Hib.*, 205.

was no easy matter in those days. Yet the Dominicans succeeded. They were allowed to join their pipe to the city pipe at the New Gate (Cornmarket). It was then brought to the river bank and across the river, but the friars were solemnly warned by the Corporation of the day to do no injury to the old bridge. The diameter of the friar's pipe was to be five inches, and within their house it was to be so narrowed that its opening might be stopped by the insertion of a man's little finger. The friars were to keep up the pipe at their own expense.[1]

According to the extent [2] of the possessions of the priory made 12 March, 1541, it held 93 acres of land, 19 houses, 2 messuages, and 1 garden, yielding an annual revenue of £12 17s. 10d. (about £195 *1914 value*). It appears that the friary had been suppressed almost two years before the formal extent was taken.

An inquisition of Henry VIII found that Patrick Hay, the last prior, on 8 July, 1539, did surrender and quit this monastery being then seised of 2 messuages, 3 cottages with 2 parks, containing 6 acres of land, 80 of arable, 4 of meadow, 8 of pasture, in the wood commonly called the Holy Stide, and one of Moor in Londryston, Co. Meath, the whole of the yearly value of £4 besides reprises, all of which, together with the Dominican Abbey of Trim, were granted 24 May, 1542, to Sir Thomas Cusake at 8s. 5d. Irish money, annual rent.[3]

Though the lands and other possessions were granted to Cusake, the buildings were turned into lodgings for lawyers, as the following entry [4] shows :—

> In 1541, the judges and law officers of the Crown complained that during term they were housed and boarded in diverse merchant houses in Dublin with great loss of time in transacting the King's business, and thought it better to be housed and boarded in one house, accordingly they took possession of the suppressed house of Black Friars and have kept commons there for the past two years, and have called it the King's Inn.

This bears out the preceding entry that the friars quitted the house in 1539, which was immediately taken over by the

[1] *Cal. Anc. Recs. of Dublin*, vol. i.
[2] See App. X.
[3] Archdall, *Mon. Hib.*
[4] *S.P. Hen. VIII*, iii. 322.

lawyers before any formal grant was made to them. In fact, the grant was not forthcoming, and on 6 May, 1542, the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland wrote to the Council in England requesting them to obtain "a grant of the dissolved house of Black Friars of Dublin for the judges and officers of the Four Courts, and other lawyers." They also state that the premises are not worth above £5.[1]

Later, Alen, the Lord Chancellor, and the judges of the other courts obtained—

the site and precincts of the monastery of friars preachers, beside Dublin, messuages in St. Mighan's parish, St. Patrick's-street, and Newe-street, and a moiety of Helen Hores Meade alias Gybbetes Meade, Co. Dublin; for 21 years: rent £6 (31 July 1541).[2]

The whole site of the monastery and church was afterwards again granted to the lawyers to build the "Old Kings Inns": "The entire site and precinct of the late priory or house of the Friars Preachers, now called the Kings Inns, with the ruinous church thereof without roof or walls, and all other buildings, the burying ground now waste, and divers gardens and orchards, surrounded with the stone walls of the precinct containing three acres: all messuages and buildings, situate on the lane [Pill Lane] leading from thence to the site of the late monastery of St. Mary's Abbey, etc. . . . to hold for ever and have and possess all and singular the said premises for a common hall." (Grant of James I, 1612.)

Knights Hospitallers, Kilmainham.

This religious house was founded by Earl Richard fitz Gilbert, surnamed Strongbow, about the year 1174, for the military order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, and not for the order of Templars as has been so often asserted. Henry II confirmed its original charter. It was generously endowed by the Anglo-Normans with lands and churches throughout the country. The house was a preceptory of the

[1] *S.P. Hen. VIII*, iii. 375.

[2] *Fiants, Hen. VIII*, no. 238. Ellen Hoare's meadow extended from Island Bridge across the present Phœnix Park by the Wellington Monument, across the People's Park and the ravine, called Gybbett's Slade, to the North Circular Road Gate, and thence down Infirmary Road to the river.

Order in Ireland and was the official residence of the Grand Prior of Ireland. The lands bestowed by Strongbow stretched for over two miles along the southern bank of the Liffey from Palmerston to where the Camac flows into the Liffey. Shortly after its foundation Hugh Tyrrel of Castleknock granted it his lands of Kilmehanock, on the opposite bank of the Liffey, containing about 500 acres, now mostly comprised in the Phœnix Park. The great house of Kilmainham stood on the plateau overlooking the rivers Camac and Liffey. It covered a considerable area, and comprised an inner and an outer enclosure. The inner enclosure was the castle, a quadrangle surrounded by a strong wall with towers at the four corners and an outer ditch. The principal gate was under a tower on the eastern side, and there was also a postern near one of the corner towers apparently towards the north. Within the quadrangle were a number of detached buildings; the residence of the conventual prior; two dormitories for the brethren, some of whom seem to have had their own *cameræ* or apartments, and the preceptor or local superior had his *camera* among them; lodgings for a number of permanent guests, allotted either in the towers on the walls or in other buildings; an internal chapel; and a prison. The most striking building within the castle was the great hall, a splendid apartment in which all the residents of the house, unless disabled, met to take their meals. For each class there was a special table and a special service according to its standing; the high table at which the conventual prior of the hospital usually presided and entertained the most distinguished guests; a second table, of which the prior of the church or preceptor was president, for the brethren and guests of some rank, and perhaps all churchmen; a squire's table for the squires and for ordinary guests; a table for the higher attendants and the craftsmen, and finally a table for the grooms and horse-boys. There is now no vestige of this hall; even its site seems to be unknown. The outer enclosure surrounded the castle on every side and formed what was known as the Manor Close, Mansion or Court of Kilmainham. Its main gate was on the southern side facing the common green of Kilmainham, a commanding structure with dwelling rooms in the upper storeys. Within this gate were orchards,

shrubberies and gardens, amidst which stood many buildings of various kinds, such as the *cameræ* or separate dwellings of permanent guests, farm-buildings, hay-barns, granaries, stables, some of them specially assigned for the horses of particular persons, others for the horses of the prior, the preceptor, and other members of the Order, forges, a carpenter's shop, a brewhouse, a dairy, etc. It is to be supposed that these buildings were of wood, like most of the ordinary dwelling-houses of the time; many of them were built by the occupants at their own expense on sites marked out by the authorities. The Church of St. John of Kilmainham, which was parochial as well as conventual, stood near the ancient cross in the cemetery considerably to the east of the buildings already described.

The primary duty of the Hospitallers was hospitality, the care mainly of the necessitous, though afterwards that side of their work was overshadowed by their military undertakings. That the houses of the hospital throughout Ireland had a strategic use is frankly stated by Edward III in a letter to the justiciary and chancellor of Ireland, 22 June, 1360: "The maintenance of the brethren in Ireland," he says, "who hold a good position, for the repulse of the King's Irish enemies daily warring upon his liege people, is much impaired."[1] The house of Kilmainham was not an almshouse or an infirmary like the other Hospital of St. John the Baptist outside the New Gate of Dublin, but a hospital and guesthouse, one for pilgrims and guests. But the brethren looked after lepers and endowed a leperhouse, under the patronage of St. Laurence the Martyr, at the most western limit of Kilmainham lands, namely, above Chapelizod, on a townland called to this day St. Laurence's land. As to the guests we have abundant details regarding corrodies or arrangements made with the house for the maintenance of certain people who were benefactors. Kilmainham became a kind of *pension*. For the benefit of their guests arriving in Dublin they had a stonehouse or guesthouse in Winetavern Street near the point of landing at the river-side.[2]

[1] *Cal. Cl. Rolls*, 1360-4, p. 39.

[2] In this account we have drawn freely from an interesting article on the Hospitallers by Chas. MacNeill, *R.S.A.I.*, June, 1924.

Though the extent of the hospital's possessions was taken on 7 April, 1540, the surrender was apparently not made until 22 November, 1540, according to the following entry :—

By an inquisition taken at Dublin, 20 March, 33 Hen. VIII, it was found that Sir John Rawson, prior of this house, had, on 22 November, 1540, with the assent of his chapter, under their common seal, surrendered the same to the King, with the church, etc., of the said hospital, and all their possessions, viz. Kilbride, in the Co. Dublin, near the Three Castles, with the court, leet, frank pledge to the same belonging, and 200 great acres of mountain, 100 a. arable, meadow, and moor, and 200 a. pasture and mountain, now waste and of no value.[1]

It is curious, however, to find that, by royal licence (20 Jan., 1540) John Rawson, by indenture (29 Feb., 1540) granted to Thomas Alen (brother of the Lord Chancellor) and Mary Alen, his wife, the preceptory of Kylhehale (Kilteel), with Kilbride and Three Castles, etc., for £5 Irish.[2] The reason of the grant was " because of certain causes and considerations specified in the King's patent." We are left in ignorance as to what these were. But the Alens were having grants of Kilmainham property many months before the actual suppression of the hospital, and by royal licence.

The King, in a letter to Sentleger (5 Nov., 1540), directed him to confirm Rawson, the prior of Kilmainham, in his pension of 500 marks out of Droggs, by Kylmaynan, and to create him Viscount Clontarf, with an annuity of £10[3] out of the manors of Saggard and Ratoath. A further grant of the same was made 20 June, 1541.[4]

Rawson was born about the year 1470 of an ancient family seated at Water Fryston in Yorkshire. Before September, 1497, he joined the knights of St. John whose headquarters were then at Rhodes. In 1510 he was employed on some mission to Rome connected with the Order ; on his way he was entertained in great state at Venice by the Doge. In 1511 he was appointed prior of Kilmainham, an office that carried with it the headship of the Order in Ireland and a

[1] *Chief. Rem. Off.*, Archdall, *Mon. Hib.*, 245.
[2] See App. XI.
[3] *P. and C.R., Hen. VIII, Ir.*, p. 53.
[4] *Fiants, Hen. VIII*, no. 201.

seat in the Irish house of peers; at the same time he was sworn of the Irish Privy Council. He also held the preceptories of Quenington, Gloucestershire, and Swinfield. In 1517 he was made treasurer of Ireland, but in the following year was summoned to the defence of Rhodes, then besieged by the Turks. In 1519 he obtained a licence from the King to go abroad for three years; but apparently did not leave England. He remained in Ireland until March, 1522, and then seems to have made his way to Rhodes, as his name appears at the head of the list of English knights reviewed there by Villiers de l'Isle Adam in that year. Rhodes surrendered on 20 December, and Rawson returned to Ireland, being reappointed treasurer in the same year. In June, 1527, he was again abroad, with l'Isle Adam at Corneto in Italy; in the same month he was appointed turcopolier or commander of turcopoles or light infantry of the Order, an office that carried with it the headship of the English "langue" and care of the coast defences of Malta and Rhodes. But in the following year Henry VIII, who needed Rawson's services in the administration of Ireland, secured his reappointment as prior of Kilmainham, and again made him treasurer of Ireland. He maintained an establishment second only to that of the Lord Deputy. In 1534 he was one of the few who remained loyal to the King during Kildare's rebellion, and his property was plundered by the insurgents. He died in 1547, leaving some natural children, one of whom is said to have been a daughter named Catherine who was married to Rowland, son of Patrick Whyte, second baron of the Exchequer.[1] He had become an ardent supporter of the "reform" and was much praised for his zeal by the Lord Deputy (12 Sept., 1540).[2]

In a letter to Henry VIII, Sentleger says, amongst other things:—

I at my repair to these parts, moved the Lord Kilmaynam, Lord of Saint John's here, concerning the surrender of his name and lands, and how good and gracious your Majesty is to him, assigning unto him for term of his life five hundred marks by the year. The said Lord Kilmaynam is not only glad and willing to

[1] Lodge, *Peerages*, vol. iv., p. 54. *Dic. Nat. Biog.*, vol. xlvii.
[2] *S.P. Hen. VIII*, iii. 238.

obey your said commandment and pleasure, but also desired me to render unto your excellent Majesty his most humble thanks for your said goodness towards him. And also he, perceiving your said pleasure, hath not only given to me, your poor servant, certain implements very necessary for the house there, with corn, hay, and other things, whereof I had great need, but also hath caused the principal house there to be well and substantially repaired in all places needful; which assuredly is a goodly house, and great piety [pity] that it should decay. And forasmuch as, by the report of the most part of the Council here, the said Lord Kilmaynam hath, for the long time of his abode here, been the person, which, next your Majesty's Deputy, hath always kept the best house, and English sort, and at all times when strangers of other countries hath repaired thither feasted and entertained them to your Highness honour; and also for that it is thought by those of your English Councillors here, that it shall be a great lack to miss him out of Council, and also out of the Parliament (when any shall be), as well for his honesty, as for his long experience; they have all desired me to write unto your most excellent majesty, in favour of the said Lord Kilmaynam, that, forasmuch as your Majesty hath assigned him so honourable pension, and that he entendeth here to remain for term of his life, that your Majesty would be so good and gracious to give him the name of honour of Viscount of Clontarf, which is a place where he intendeth, with your majesty's favour, to make his abode; and to be a Lord of the Parliament, and of your Council; assigning to him such annuity, with the said name of honour, as shall stand with your Highness pleasure.

Rawson retired to the preceptory of Clontarf where he lived as a temporal lord, and the Lord Deputy made Kilmainham his official abode.

According to the extent[1] made of the hospital and its possessions on 7 April, 1540, it held in various parts of Ireland 105 rectories, 9051 acres of land, 95 houses, 88 messuages, and 35 gardens, yielding an annual net revenue of £726 (about £10,900 *1914 value*). Of these lands about 1700 a. were in Dublin suburbs and county, 1200 a. in present Co. Wicklow (worth nothing), 2276 a. in Co. Louth, 1263 a. in Co. Wexford, 783 a. in Co. Waterford, 429 a. in Co. Kildare, 399 a. in Co. Cork, 280 a. in Co. Limerick, 273 a. in Co. Meath,

[1] See App. XI.

328 a. in Offaly, 37 a. in Co. Carlow, 30 a. in Co. Kilkenny. It had preceptories at Clontarf, Kylbegg (Co. Kildare), Tully (Offaly), Kyllerge (Co. Carlow), Clonnalle (Co. Kilkenny), Kylcloghan (Co. Wexford), a hospital in the town of Wexford, another in Cork, a preceptory at Mourne (Co. Cork), at Kylsaran (Co. Louth), at Ardee, at Kilmaynanwood (Co. Meath), and at Any (Co. Limerick). These were the strongholds over the country for the defence of English dominion. The hospital held the villages of Hook and Crook,[1] on either side of Waterford harbour, strategic points of defence. It also held the *Passage* across the water at the village of Passage. It had frank or guesthouses in Winetavern Street, Dublin, at Inisboheen (Co. Wicklow), at Duleek, Skrine, and Carrick, for the use of travellers.

The following leases and grants are found in the State Papers :—

Grant to Gerald Ketynge, one of the brethren of the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in Ireland : of a pension of £6 13s. 4d., issuing out of Kilmaynanwodde, Co. Meath (6 Sept. 1541).[2]

Grant to John Walyngton, late sub-prior of the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in Ireland, and preceptor of Tully, Co. Kildare of a pension of £16 13s. 4d. (14 July 1541).[3]

Besides the pension to Rawson, these are the only ones we have found.

Lease to William Walache of Carrickmayne, of Kilpeter [Kilpedder] in O'Byrne's country, parcel of possessions of hospital of St. John of Jerusalem : for 21 years : rent 26s. 8d. (17 Aug. 1541).[4]

Grant to Thomas Alen, site of hospital of St. John the Baptist of Naas, the lands of Naas, Tristeldermot, etc. : the rectories of St. John's Naas, and Whitechurch Co. Kildare ; for 21 years, rent £39 3s. 4d. (28 July 1539).[5]

Lease to Owen O'Doyn alias Grene : of the tithes, etc., of Oregan and Russenall, in the country of O'Duyn, parcel of the possessions

[1] They held the passage to Waterford by "Hook or by Crook."

[2] *Fiants, Hen. VIII,* no. 253. [3] *Ib.*, no. 226. [4] *Ib.*, no. 246.

[5] *Ib.*, nos. 80, 120. Other possessions in Naas were also granted to Alen. Lease to Thomas Alen of Dublin : of site of monastery of Order of Preachers, by the Mote of Nase, with its appurtenances, Co. Kildare : for 21 years : rent £6 9s., 20 April, 1540 (*ib.*, no. 119).

of the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in Ireland. To hold for 21 years, at rent of £8 13s. 4d. (3 Jan. 1544).[1]

Various grants were made in later years of some of these lands :—

20 Aug. 20th Elizabeth, the rectories of Kunnaleigha, Kyltaraghta and Kylveckanainthe, in the Co. Galway, with their tithes, etc., parcel of the possessions of this priory, were granted to the burgesses and commonalty of the town of Athenry, Co. Galway, together with the monastery of Mayo.

4 Jan. 27 Elizabeth, one garden, with the appurtenances lying at the rear of St. Patrick's church, in the suburbs of the city of Dublin, parcel of the possessions of this priory, was granted to Anthony Deeringe, at the annual rent of 16s. Irish money, to hold for ever, as the manor of Kells, and not *in capite*.

22 April, 36 Elizabeth, a grant was made to William Browne, of an house called a Frank house, with the appurtenances, in the town of Skrine, in the Co. Meath, part of the possessions of this priory : together with the tithes of Tebehyn in the said county, parcel of the possessions of the Abbey of Clonard : and the priory of Ballimore Loughseudy, Co. Westmeath, to hold to him and his heirs for ever, in free soccage and not *in capite*, at the annual rent of £57 10s.

In an inquisition of 3 King James, are 10 carrucates, called Cowlands, in Inesbohin, alias Eastbohin, in O'Byrne's country, in the Co. Dublin, which did belong to this priory :

1 carrucate (120 acres) in Magherebegge, 1 c. in Ballynetra, 1 c. in Ballynecarge, 1 c. in Ballynescraghe, 1 c. in Castle Tymon, 1 c. in Inisbohin, ½ c. in Cullinmore, ½ c. in Cullinroe, 1 c. in Ballydonegan, 1 c. in Bannock Murghon, ½ c. in Ballydowlyn, ½ c. in Ballynegran, ½ c. in Ballynemayne (all of yearly value of £9).[2]

Friars Preachers, Arklow.

There is a difference of opinion among historians as to the first occupants of the religious house at Arklow. According to Lodge,[3] Theobald Fitz-Walter, First Chief Butler (*pincerna*), Ireland, who died in 1206, founded a Cistercian abbey there, " endowed the abbey with his lands on the south side of the river, the Salt Pits, and gave the island of Arklow to found

[1] *Fiants, Hen. VIII*, no. 390. [2] Archdall, *Mon. Hib.*, 250.
[3] *Peerages of Ireland*, iv. 4 (1789).

it on." And Sir William Dugdale, from a charter in the Cotton Library, likewise gives this account. But Archdall[1] states that Arklow Abbey was founded for Dominican friars by Theobald Fitz-Walter, whom he calls "fourth" Butler of Ireland, and that he "dying in 1285 was buried in this friary, where a tomb with his statue thereon was erected over him." The *Annals of Ireland* are more precise, for they say at 1285: "Thomas Theobald le Botiller died VI Kal. Oct., in the castle of Arclowe and was buried there in the convent of the Preachers." We see, therefore, that it was Thomas Theobald that was buried there, and he was evidently the founder, and the fourth Butler. It is Ware who identifies this Thomas with the first Theobald. Whether there was ever a Cistercian abbey here, which is said to have been founded from the Abbey of Furness in Lancashire, we cannot say. But there is no doubt about the Dominican occupation which began in 1264.

Very little is known about this priory or its locality. The Archbishop of Dublin's manor included portion of the district of Arklow, and a grant was made (*circa*, 1249-52) of the custody of the land of Theobald Pincerna (Butler) to Sir William the Englishman (cleric) as one of the tenants of the manor.[2] In 1275 the church of Arklow was worth 100 marks and more. Theobald Pincerna was the patron, and Fromund le Brun was rector. In 1339, in the account of Thomas de Beuley, seneschal of Holy Trinity Priory, Dublin, we find a quaint entry for Monday after first Sunday of Lent: "In the Prior's chamber for the coming of the friars preachers and chaplains of Arclo, in oysters, 2d., salmon 2d."[3] We do not know the business of their coming. It may have had something to do with the raids of the Irish clans of the district, as many entries are made about this time in the Account Roll in connection with ward and muster.

At the suppression (31 Hen. VIII) the prior was seised of the church and belfry, chapter-house, dormitory, hall, three chambers, a store, kitchen, cemetery, and garden containing 2 acres, with 2 parks and 3 acres of land of the great

[1] *Mon. Hib.*, 759. [2] *Lib. Nig. Chr. Ch.*, f. 219.
[3] *Account Roll, Chr. Ch.*, p. 10.

measure in Arklow, and 4 messuages in the said town, annual value, besides reprises, 29s. 10d.[1] No goods or chattels were found on the premises when the commissioners came to take the inventory.

After the suppression, the priory was leased to divers persons within a few years. On 15 February, 1540, a lease was granted to Edmund Duffy, gent., of the site of the priory of friars preachers of Arclow, with appurtenances, for 21 years at an annual rent of 20s. On 4 February, 1544, a grant was made to John Travers of Dublin of the site. And in 1547 a lease was granted to Terence McMorho, of Arclowe, gent., of the site, for 21 years at a rent of 26s. 8d.[2]

4 February, 35 Hen. VIII (1544) this friary, with garden containing 2 acres and 4 messuages, 6 cottages, 1 chamber, 2 parks of 3 acres great measure, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ flaggons out of every brewing of ale, for sale, in the town of Arklow, was granted for ever to John Travers, *in capite*, annual rent 2s. 2d. Irish money. So the friars had the tolboll of ale brewed in the town of Arklow.

In 1786 " large ruins of this noble structure still remain." [3]

Friars Preachers, Athy.

Athy owes its existence to two religious houses, the Dominican friary and the monastery of Crutched Friars. Originally, it derived its name from the ford over the Barrow where Ae, a Munster chief, was slain in a battle with the Red Branch Knights of Ulster in the first century. Hence its name Ath-Aoi, the " Ford of Ae." [4] The town which grew up around the religious houses was peopled principally with English settlers, as the monks themselves were of the same nation. It was granted licence to hold markets and fairs and to levy customs and tolls. On account of its position on the Irish frontier of Leix, held by the O'Mores, it was considered to be one of the keys of the marches of Kildare, and necessary for the defence of those parts. It was, therefore, placed in the custody of a military governor, and became a town of great importance.

[1] Archdall, *Mon. Hib.*, 760.
[2] *Ib.*, 759. *Fiants, Hen. VIII*, nos. 163, 535.
[3] Archdall, *Loc. cit.* [4] AFM.

The Dominican friary was founded in 1253 by the families of Wogans and Boisles (Boswells).[1] After its suppression it was granted on 26 April, 32 Hen. VIII (i.e. 1540) to Martin Pellis of Athy, with mill near Tulmacarre, for 21 years, rent 40s.[2]

On 24 January, 1544, he was—

Granted the site of the monastery, with its appurtenances, along with 6 acres in le More, near the Barrow; 12 acres and ½ a. stang of land, and 1 a. pasture of great measure in Athy; 11 a. arable, 1 a. pasture, ½ stang pasture, 1 a. gorse, in the town and fields of Ardreigh; ½ a. pasture called the Island, on the Barrow, and two fishing-weirs on said river; 1 messuage, ½ a. arable, and 1 water-mill at Tulloghnorre; 1 a. arable, 2 a. meadow, and 4 a. pasture, great measure, in Mollensgrange [Grangemellon]: to be held *in capite*, for ever, by service of a twentieth part of a knight's fee, at the annual rent of 2s. 8d. Irish currency.[3]

An inquisition, taken the Thursday after the feast of St. Nicholas, Bishop, 34 Henry VIII, found that—

the prior, on 30 April, 31 Henry VIII (1539), was seised of a church and belfry, chapter-house, dormitory, hall, three chambers and a kitchen, a cemetery, garden and orchard, containing 1 a.; also 6 cottages, 16 a. arable of great measure, and a water-mill in Clokenry, annual value, besides reprises, 32s.[4] [about £24 *1914 value*].

Though only 16 acres are mentioned in the inquisition, yet according to the grant there were 40½ acres. As in the case of the other friaries, its possessions were small.

In an inquisition, 6 September, 1621, it is stated that—

Gerald Fitzgerald, late Earl of Kildare, granted to Robert Lalor of Maynooth, the monastery or precincts of the Abbey of St.

[1] According to de Burgo, the Boswells settled at Ballycorry, in the present Co. Wicklow.

[2] Pellis received on same day a grant of manors of Athie and Woodstoke, possessions of Gerald, Earl of Kildare, attainted, rent £10 10s. 8d., and on 20 July, 1541, Oldragh and Percyvalston, belonging to the same (*Fiants, Hen. VIII*, nos. 125, 126, 232).

[3] *Ib.*, no. 399.

[4] *Chief Rem. Off.*, Archdall's copy of *Mon. Hib.* (*R.I.A.*, p. 309). *Reprises* were yearly deductions, duties, or payments, out of a manor and lands, as rent charges, annuities and the like.

Dominick, and 60 a. belonging to the same, in Athy, and also the ancient vill of Percivalstown, near Athy.

The friary stood on the east side of the Barrow, its precincts extending, according to local tradition, from the river to the corner of the street leading to where Preston's Gate [*recte* postern gate] formerly stood, and thence to the rear of the gardens of the present house called the Abbey.[1]

St. John's Hospital, Athy.

This house was founded in the same year as the Dominican Friary, 1253, and under the invocation of St. John and St. Thomas. The founder was Richard of St. Michael, Lord of Rheban. The reason of the double invocation is apparent in the following grant, and seems to be that the monastery was called St. Michael's and the hospital St. John's. Either name is used indifferently in the State Papers to denote this religious foundation.

John, son of Sir Thomas de St. Michael, knt., granted to the house of St. Thomas, the Martyr, of Athy, and the hospital of St. John thereof, common in his wood of Ayban, near his town of Corbally, to supply them with timber, both great and small, for their works, together with housebote, haybote, firebote, and right of way over the entire land, except corn and meadow—*circa* 1305.[2]

According to Archbishop Alen [3] the church of St. Thomas, Martyr, was granted to the prior of the hospital, its brethren, sisters, and sick, with mills, rents, and lands, and half a carucate of land (60 acres), the gift of Milo de Stanton, the founder of the hospital being Richard of St. Michael, Lord of Ryban. It was worth 38 marks (£25, about £375 *1914 value*) and was originally a benefice whose rector was appointed by presentation, but William (Rokeby, Archbishop of Dublin, 1512-21) conferred it by provision. The parochial church was united to the said hospital for its own use by Luke (Archbishop of Dublin, 1228-55), saving to himself and his successors the pontifical and parochial rights.

[1] See Most Rev. Dr. Comerford, *Kild. Arch. Soc.*, i. 57-68.

[2] *Chr. Ch. Deeds*, no. 536. *Housbote*, etc. *Bote*, fine or privilege: hence, in this case, a privilege to use things needful for repair or subsistence. Timber for fire and for repairing houses, as well as hay, was thus granted.

[3] *Rep. Vir.*, no. 233.

It is not stated who was the patron of the church, in whose hands lay the right of presentation; hence Archbishop Rokeby's gift of the prebend by provision. It is interesting to learn that, as in the case of St. John's outside Newgate, there were two communities in the hospital, male and female. It was evidently a most important establishment, on the borders of the Pale and Irishry.

At the dissolution, the house was granted with its appurtenances to Anthony Power. From inquisitions held later we find the possessions of this house :—

An inquisition, 1544, found that the last prior (Robert Wolf) was seised of a church, etc., 6 messuages, and 10 a. arable land in the More near Athy, annual value of the whole, 27s. 2d.: two fishing weirs in the Barrow, below the Friary, 2 a. pasture, and 2 a. meadow, near the Barrow, annual value, 2s.; 6 a. land in the townland of Athy, a mill with a water-mill and the custom, and a messuage and 1 a. land in Tullochguorre, annual value 6s. 8d., and 7 a. arable and meadow in Mellensgreall (? Mellens Grange or Grangemellon) annual value £20[1] (about £300 *1914 value*).

According to an inquisition,[2] 1 and 2 James I (1603), the following were the possessions of this house :—

The Church; a building called a Hall; a Garden; a stable of the hospital then called St. John's Hospital; 5 cottages; 6½ acres, great measure, lying between the lands of Athie and the lands belonging to the Chanter of the Cathedral Church of St. Patrick's near Dublin; 7 acres, g. m. near Woodstocke; one ruinous Tower; 2 acres of brushwood, parcell of the lands called Ballibennett; 4½ acres, g. m., parcell of Kyldrome; 2 acres arable land in Stradowe; 1 acre called Gibbes acre; 2 acres near Crosland; 1 acre called Aylmer's Land; 1 acre called Farrenmoriertaghduffe; 2 acres parcell of the land called Andrew (Ardrew) Land; ½ acre in Crotduffe; ½ acre in Millers Halfe Acre; 2 acres in Crosland; 8 acres, g. m. of wood, scrub, marsh, and bog; ½ of bog and pasture near the river Barrow; 2 islands in the said River; 2 eel-weirs in the same river; one water-mill on the W. bank of the Barrow. The tithes of Rabrane (Rosbran) near Athie. The tithes of the above-named parcells of lands [and the following possessions in Queen's Co.]: The tithes and altarages of the

[1] *Chief Rem. Off. MS.*, Archdall's own copy of *Mon. Hib.*, p. 309.
[2] *Co. D. Chanc. Inquis.*

Rectory of Caline[1] (Tecolm) which extends to the towns and fields of Tecaline,[1] Enneslaugh, and Corballie; 4 acres of land in Tecalme called Glebeland; 2 parts of the . . . of the Rectory of the parish church. The altarages of Strabo which extends to the towns and lands of Strabo, Shane, Gillbane [Kyllene-]wara, Damestoune, Rathbrenan, Dyrrene, Rathnerane, Rashmasvowkerwere, and Eynekylmense (or Eynekillines). All parcells of the above said Hospital of St. John's of Athie.

An inquisition taken the Monday after the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle, 5 Edw. VI, found that the rectory of Trecalyne, *alias* Tecaline, annual value £4 6s. 8d., and the rectory of Scrobo,[2] annual value, besides reprises, £9, were appropriated to the prior of this house.

An inquisition taken at Maryborough, 14 July, 1622, found that Robert Bowen was seised of the patronage of the parochial churches of Fontstown, *alias* Ballintubrid, and Kilmohude (Kilmeade), and of the townland of Rossbranagh, containing 5 acres, besides mountain and bog, and 1 water-mill, parcel of the possessions of the religious house of St. John's Athy. Unfortunately no valuation is given of these possessions.

An interesting item of information appears in an inquisition held at Kildare, 1st of Elizabeth. According to this, on 20 August, 8 Henry VIII (i.e. 1516), James, Prior of St. Thomas of Athy, with the consent of the community, granted to Edmund Harold, chaplain, and his heirs, one castle,[3] one messuage, and an orchard and garden lying to the west of the bridge of Athy, for the service of Gerald, Earl of Kildare,[4] and his heirs.

It will be remembered that Gerald acquired considerable property and payments from neighbouring chiefs and communities for the protection he was able to afford them in case of invasion, trespass, etc. The fines went to pay his warriors.

[1] This is *Teac Caellinn*, rather than Teac Choluim. She is commemorated on 3 Feb. (Mart. Donegal). Tecaline is near Corbally, Leix.

[2] Scrobo, evidently Straboe, Leix.

[3] Woodstock Castle. It was built probably to protect Athy Ford on the west, as White Castle did on the east. It was probably built about 1253, when the friaries were established here. It is not certain whether the founder was a Pembroke or a Fitzgerald.

[4] Gerald Oge, 9th Earl, who garrisoned and strengthened Woodstock Castle.

In this case, however, he seems to have made over the property, bestowed in return for his protection, to some secular priest in Athy who was probably one of the many priests who held their chapels from Gerald as their patron.

The fishing of a river was in those days a valuable asset, and its rights were jealously guarded. The salmon fishing on the Liffey led to many a dispute among the holders of these licences, the Hospitallers at Kilmainham, the mayor and commonalty of Dublin, the canons of Christ Church, and the monks of St. Mary's Abbey. In Athy the Crutched friars evidently resented the exclusive fishing rights of the Dominicans, who had a grant of two eel weirs on the Barrow. It appears that in 1347, John, the Prior of St. Thomas, Thomas the chaplain, William FitzThomas, baker, Laurence, cook, and Friar Maurice of Athy, were indicted for coming by night to the fishing weir belonging to the Dominicans, and there and then, by force of arms, did take away a net with the fish therein, the property of the said friary, to their loss and damage of upwards of 100 shillings (£75 *1914 value*).

But worse still was to befall the Dominicans in this matter. The fishing weirs appear to have been taken from them for some considerable time. According to the Patent Rolls, 10 December, 13 Richard II, namely forty-three years after the above event, the King committed to Robert, Prior of St. Thomas the Apostle, at Athy, the custody of two fishing weirs, the property of the prior and community, in the waters of the Barrow near Athy.[1]

As far as our information goes the revenue of this house only amounted to £33 6s. 8d. (about £500 *1914 value*) yearly. This is exclusive of some rectories and the proceeds of its mill, about which we know nothing. It would appear, however, that at some date between 1390 and 1541 the Dominicans recovered their fishing weirs as these are mentioned in the extent of their possessions at the suppression. And yet we find two eel weirs mentioned in the extent of the Crutched friar's possessions.

The precincts of the House of Crutched Friars included all that part of the town called St. John's and St. John's Lane,

[1] See Most Rev. Dr. Comerford, *Kild. Arch. Soc.*, i. 69.

and the demesne consisted of the island in the river and the adjacent fields as far as the barracks. Some portion of the walls now enclosing the burial ground at St. John's are supposed to belong to the original building.

St. John's Hospital, Tristeldermot.

Tristeldermot is the modern Castledermot, and is a corruption of Disert-Diarmuda, or Desert Retreat, of St. Dermot, whose feast falls on 21 June. The Crossed or Crutched Friars of St. John (same Order as at Newgate, Dublin) occupied a hospital here, which was founded for them by Walter de Riddlesford, lord of the town, in the reign of King John, and included male and female communities.[1] It will be remembered that it was de Riddlesford who dispossessed the O'Tooles of their lands here, when they had to retire into the mountains of Wicklow. Tradition has it that St. Laurence O'Toole was born at Castledermot. The Hospital of St. John was situated without the walls of the town and adjoining the road leading to Dublin.

An inquisition of 34 Hen. VIII (1542-43) finds—

the prior was seised of a church, steeple, dormitory, hall, chamber, and a store, a cemetery and garden within the precincts, annual value 4s.; 2 messuages, 10 cottages, 60 a. arable, 4 a. meadow, 10 a. pasture, in Castledermot; annual value £2 15s. 0d.; an ancient castle and 20 a. arable in Grangefour [Grangeforde] *alias* Grangecoole, annual value £1; 8 a. great measure in Haystown, annual value 10s.; 16 a. same measure in Tomenstown and Colenstown, annual value £1; 3 a. in Kilkaa, annual value 4s.; an annual rent of £2, Irish money, out of a watermill, 4 a. great measure in Bray,[2] annual value 3s. 4d.; the townland of Prioriton in Lexe [Leix], and the tithes of Mounternocke in Conana and Temoge.[3]

[1] *Cum fratribus et sororibus* (Alan, *Rep. Vir.*, no. 206).

[2] Evidently granted by de Riddlesford, who held lands in Bray.

[3] According to an inquisition 20 Eliz., the rectories of Monitermoho (*sic*) and Kylmakrian, Co. Galway, parcels of this monastery, were granted to the burgesses and commonalty of Athenry. The rectory of "Moyntermorgho in Connacht" extended to Kylleny, Kaslean Nackelt, Annaghkyne, Ackyne, Kloghran, Ballynduf, Roserielie, Kyldarie, Carnforan, Cahirenysarowe, Kylkilwyry, Cargyne, Ballycolgon, Ballein, and Bealeagowin. The "Moniter" and "Moynter" are evidently intended for *Muintir* (people, tribe).

According to this extent, the hospital held 125 acres, 10 cottages, and 2 messuages, yielding an annual revenue of £7 12s. 4d. (not including tithes).

In an inquisition (5 Edw. VI) it was found that the rectory of Fremock (Co. Kildare) was appropriated to the prior of this monastery, and was, besides reprises, of the value of £10.

The total annual revenue seems, then, to have been £17 12s. 4d. (about £270 *1914 value*).

On 15 June, 1543, the following was granted :—

Lease to William Keting of Trysteldermot, gent, or kern ; of the site of the hospital of St. John the Baptist of Tristeldermot lands, Tristeldermot, Graungefoure, Huyston, Tomenston, Colenston, Kilcia, and Braye, Co. Kildare. To hold for 21 years, at rent of £5 10s. 2d.[1]

Richard Keating received a grant of hospital and lands (18 Eliz.), which were afterwards granted to Henry Harrington (23 Eliz.).[2]

According to another entry, the following was granted :—

Lease to Thomas Cotton of the site of the hospital of St. John by Tristeldermot, the demesne lands, [as given above] for 21 years : rent £17 14s. 8d. ; provided that he shall not alien to any except they be English both by father and mother, or born in the Pale ; and shall not charge coyne or livery. Fine £20.[3]

The only portion of this monastery now remaining is a square tower,[4] which stands in a field called the Pigeon House Park, to the north of the town. It is 39 feet high in its present state ; the sides measure about 15 feet each side, and are $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick. Of the rest of the building there is no trace above ground, though extensive foundations are met with under the surface. Some few perches to the north-west of the tower, an underground chamber was accidentally discovered a few years ago by a horse, when ploughing, putting his foot through the vaulted roof. This tower is locally known as the Pigeon House, from having at some time long since been adapted and used for that purpose. It was, probably, when

[1] *Fiants, Hen. VIII*, no. 364.
[2] *Fiants, Eliz.*
[3] *Fiants, Eliz.* 8 Jan. XIX.
[4] Lord W. Fitzgerald, *Kild. Arch. Soc.*, i. 371.

it was devoted to that use, that the narrow slit windows were built up, and are now hardly observable on the outside, though deeply splayed within; except in the top storey, they are placed in south-east and west walls of the different floors; the top storey has a single window slit in each of the east and west walls. High up in the tower there is an arched floor having, besides a break, two oblong holes as if for bell ropes. Below this floor traces are observable of joist holes for two wooden floors, in addition to the ground floor. In the north wall are two arched doorways, one on the ground level, and the other on the level of the stone floor. If any portion of the monastic building was attached to this tower, it must have been on the north side, but even here there are no traces of roof-bonding.

Franciscan Friary, Tristeldermot.

The exact date of foundation of this friary does not appear. It seems to have been in existence in the year 1247, according to an entry in the State Papers :—[1]

Mandate to John Fitz Geoffry, Justiciar of Ireland, to cause the Franciscan Friars of Castledermot to have 15 marks of the King's gift, 28 May 1247.

During the Bruce Invasion (1316) the convent was plundered.[2] A liberal benefactor of the Grey Friars was Thomas, second Earl of Kildare (*d.* 1328), who built the magnificent Lady Chapel in which he is said to have been interred with his wife Joan, daughter of R. de Burgh, Earl of Ulster.[3] It was in this abbey church (1398) that O'Connor and O'Toole did homage, and, on bended knees, with lifted hands, took an oath, in Irish, of allegiance to the King.[4]

The remains of this priory lie at the extremity of Castledermot town, and to the right of the road as one goes from this town to Carlow. The remains, though considerable, have become greatly reduced and mutilated even within the

[1] *Cal. of Docs. Ir.*, 1247, no. 2878. [2] Pembridge, *Annals*.
[3] Wadding, *Annals*. This tradition does not seem correct. It was Maurice, not Thomas, who died that year.
[4] *Carew MSS.*

memory of persons still living. In 1837, Lewis [1] described them as follows: "The extensive and beautiful remains of the Franciscan convent consists at present, chiefly of the abbey church and the Chapel of St. Mary, the former a long building lighted at the west end by two lofty lancet-shaped windows, and at the east end by a window which, though now greatly mutilated, appears to have been of elegant design. On the south side, and attached to the church, is a low, square tower, with a circular staircase turret; and on the north side, opening into the church by a lofty arch, was the chapel of the Blessed Virgin, distinguished for the elegance and richness of its windows, of which the principal was a very magnificent window of four lights, with a large cinque-foiled circle in the crown of the arch, having the spandrils ornamented in trefoil." [2]

"In the north wall of the chancel there are three single and two double-lancet windows. To the south of the chancel wall was an arched doorway, now built up, and three windows, which at an early period underwent modification. Three arches opened into an aisle from the nave on the west side. The Lady Chapel stood at right angles on the north of the church; of this only the north gable and east wall remain. The window in the north gable is the large and beautiful one above described; the tracery was still in existence within the nineteenth century, and would probably have remained till now but that it was deliberately thrown down by a person named Graham, or Grimes, who affected to fear that the mullions might fall on and injure his sheep. He left nothing but the framework standing. Three arches on the east side opened into side chapels, two of the three windows of which are still perfect.[3]

"The gable of a building which stood at the west end of the church, but at right angles to it, still remains; it formed a portion of the monastery, but whether dormitory, refectory, or what else, cannot be determined. A projecting

[1] *Top. Dict.*, i. 296.

[2] An engraving in Grose's *Antiquities*, 1792, shows this window as described above.

[3] Another engraving in "Grose" displays two arches springing from an octagonal pillar; these have entirely disappeared.

course and corbels are visible along the exterior of the south wall of the church; those may indicate the position of the cloisters.

"A square tower, locally named the Abbey Castle, is connected with the church in the south side. A winding staircase of stone in a circular turret at the south-east corner leads to the uppermost storey. Close beside the original entrance, now built up, is a funnel down which those defending the castle could pour destruction on their assailants seeking to effect an entrance. Above the first loft was an arched ceiling of stone, and above that again were two more storeys, all lighted by narrow slits deeply splayed on the inside. This building was probably designed not only for the defence of the monastery itself, but also as a portion of the fortifications of the town.

"Attached to this friary was another chapel, dedicated to St. James, the patron of the district, of which one gable and portion of a side wall remain. From under the site of the altar flowed St. James's Well, which a late parish priest diverted to the other side of the gable. This chapel was fitted up and used as a place of worship by the Catholics until 'it was maliciously burnt in 1799 by John Lennon of Ballitore, Bill Lennon of Bellacore, Thomas Connally of Castledermot, the charter schoolmaster's sons, and Billy King, the Devonshire militiaman. The plot was hatched in Peter Graham's, the shoemaker's house, in Castledermot, and the fire was carried in a kettle out of Wat Coleman's house in Castledermot.'" [1]

Unfortunately we know nothing about the possessions of the friary. But it may be presumed that, like other friaries, it possessed very little of this world's goods. It was suppressed at the same time as the Crutched Friars' monastery was suppressed.

Convent of Timolin.

The name of this place, also called Timolin-Beg (Lesser Timolin), is derived from Tigh-Moling, house of St. Moling,

[1] Co. Kildare Letters, Ord. Survey Off., ii. 59-98. Most Rev. Dr. Comerford, *Kild. Arch. Soc.*, i. 376 ff.

Bishop of Ferns. It was called *Lesser* to distinguish it from the *Greater* Timolin, St. Moling's first foundation, in Carlow.[1] Nothing is known about this early foundation until the coming of the Anglo-Normans who founded here a convent of canonesses of the Arroasian Order of St. Augustine, about the year 1200. It was under the invocation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and its founder was Robert Fitz Richard de Valle,[2] Lord of Noragh (Barony of Narraghmore), who received this tract of land from Strongbow. Robert placed his grand-daughter (?) Lacelina in the convent as a nun, and probably as its first superioress.

In 1275, its possessions were worth 51 marks, 9s. 5d. yearly, namely, £34 9s. 5d. (about £510 *1914 value*). In 1303, their value was £21 16s. 5½d. (about £315).[3]

According to Archbishop Alen,[4] Lacelina was the niece of Robert Fitz Richard and was made the first prioress. He gives this on the authority of John Comen, the first Anglo-Norman Archbishop of Dublin, and according to the convent's documents which came into Alen's possession at its suppression. The convent was, therefore, suppressed, sometime before 1531, and "reverted to its original state." By this Alen means that the possessions of the convent fell into the prebend of Momehennock. This prebend was in the presentation of the King, and Alen instituted its rector in 1531 by royal sanction. Early in its career, in the year 1275, half of Timolin's possessions had been bestowed as a prebend in St. Patrick's, and St. Thomas's Abbey had also received other of its possessions. The half given to the prebend of Momehennock was worth £20 (£300 *1914 value*).[5] There was a dispute between the nuns and St. Thomas's Abbey over the property, and probably the possessions remained with the nuns until the suppression. We are not told the reason of the suppression; probably poverty. The church here was parochial.[6]

[1] St. Moling, *d.* 17 June, 696.

[2] This name has undergone strange changes: Valle into Veel, into Calfe, then Walle, and finally Wall.

[3] Sweetman's *Cal.*, 1303, p. 422.

[4] *Rep. Vir.*, no. 213.

[5] *Crede Mihi*, p. 145.

[6] Timolin is situated between Moone and Ballitore.

At an inquisition,[1] held at Naas, 1541, it was found

that the abbess of the monastery of Temoling-begge, at the time of its suppression, was seised, in right of the said monastery, of the site and precincts of the Abbey there, of the walls[2] of a church, a belfry, a dormitory, a courtyard (*aula*), and three rooms within the precincts there. Also of 9 messuages, 5 cottages, 132 a. great measure, and a water-mill in Temolinbegge; 29 a. *g. m.*, at Inchmacodder [Inchaquire] called St. John's land, and of 65 a. *g. m.* in Oldgrange in the aforesaid county, which lie waste.

At another inquisition it was found

that the Prioress of Temolinbegge, in right of her monastery, was seised of the rectory of Dollardston [now Rosetown churchyard] in Co. Kildare, and a parcell of land in Grangemellon [Grange-Mulling], called Drumgyrroke, and 1 a. of land in Dollardston, called the "Church Land," and that she was also seised of the rectory of Norragh [Narraghmore], which extends itself to the towns of Norragh, Glasshele, Blackrath, Incheneguyer, Ballecross, Mollaghmast, Skerries, Ballebrane, Kylmide, Ballegruge, Old Grange, Balledrummer, and Ballenisprott.[3]

In the *Fiants of Elizabeth* (no. 6169) we find as parcel of the possessions of "St. Mollins *alias* Temollin":—

A messuage and garden in length from the Haggard-Street, extending in length from the Haggard-Street leading to the castle of the Earl of Ormond on the north, and to the lands of the said earl on the south, and in breadth from the land of the vicar of the church of the Blessed Mary of Gawran on the east to the lands of the earl on the west, parcel of the possessions of the priory of S. Molingbeg, Co. Kildare. 2s. 6d.

In the same document (8 Jan. 19 Eliz.) we find—

Lease to Tho. Cotton of the site of the house of nuns of Tymolinbegge, Co. Kildare, lands in Tymolinbegge, Oulde Grange, and S. Johne's land in Inchemacudder, Co. Kildare. To hold [with other lands at Castledermot] for 21 years. Rent £17 14s. 8d. Provided that he shall not alien to any except they be English both by father and mother, or born in the Pale: and shall not charge coyne or livery [under] Fine £20.

[1] Co. Kildare, *Exch. Inq.*, no. 24, *Hen. VIII.*

[2] The roof, of lead or of tiles, had evidently been stripped of its valuable material.

[3] *Ib.*, no. 3, *Edw. VI.*

The possessions were afterwards granted (23 Eliz.) to Henry Harrington and his heirs, at the yearly rent of £21 19s., Irish money, "now worth £439." [1]

New Abbey, Kilcullen.

This was an establishment of Franciscan friars and its foundation is thus described: [2] "The age of Christ 1486. The monastery of Kilcullen, for Friars Minor de Observantia, was commenced on the bank of the Liffey by Roland, son of Sir Edward Eustace." This Roland had been created Baron of Portlester in 1462. He died on 19 December, 1496, and was buried beside his wife in this abbey which he founded. Portions of this altar tomb still exist; a slab with effigies of Portlester and his wife on six little stone pillars in the centre of the burial ground, and the sides of the tomb which are now built into the old chapel wall.[3] In the abbey was also buried in 1517, Elizabeth, wife of Gerald, ninth Earl of Kildare, and mother of Silken Thomas.

The abbey, so far as we know, did not figure prominently in history, although we may presume it had a lively time on account of its position between the Pale and the Irishry. It will be remembered that in 1538 Archbishop Browne wrote to Cromwell to obtain for him the abbey for his residence as it lay near Ballymore, his own manor, and would be a convenient place to retire to in case of Irish raids. A year afterwards, 30 April, 1539, the abbey was suppressed and an extent made of its possessions: "The said monastery contains within its precincts the walls of a church, a belfry, a dormitory, a hall (*aula*), 2 rooms, and a kitchen, which are in ruins; a burial-ground; an orchard; a garden; a small paddock for pasture, containing 8 acres." This site was leased to several people, the Eustaces, Harringtons, etc., on condition of not alienating any portion except to men of English name and nation.

Half a mile from Kilcullen Bridge, near the banks of the Liffey, lies the churchyard of the New Abbey. Of the abbey

[1] Cobbett, *Protestant Reformation*, Part II, at Kildare, Timolin.

[2] *A.F.M. ad an.*

[3] This was done by Canon Langan about the year 1873. Another Portlester tomb is in old St. Audoen's, Dublin.

itself scarcely a trace exists. The only portion at present standing forms part of the wall that bounds the churchyard on the west side. In 1782 considerable portions of the abbey, though in a very ruinous state, were still standing, namely, the choir, refectory, and confessional chapel.[1] These were demolished to provide building material for the chapel which was erected on its site about 1786. There still exists a low wall showing the cruciform shape of the chapel, which was itself pulled down in 1873 when the present church was erected.

Franciscan Abbey, Moone.

Moone, in the barony of Kilkaa, Co. Kildare, is along with Castledermot one of the most interesting Celtic foundations. Its proper name is Moen Choluim-Chille or the ramparts of Columcille's monastery, founded by that saint sometime after he had returned from Iona.[2] He had already founded Lambay and Swords. The High Cross of Moone is of the greatest archæological interest.[3] On the old Columban foundation an abbey was built, probably in the thirteenth or fourteenth century. It is said that the building was due to the generosity of the Fitzgeralds. Sir Gerald Fitzmaurice, Lord of Offaly, had already founded a Franciscan monastery at Clane in 1258, and it is possible that the Franciscan abbey at Moone may have been built at the same time. There is practically no information about this establishment. Archdall speaks of it as a monastery of conventual Franciscans, and that in 1609 "the Franciscan monastery of Moone was repaired."[4] It would seem singular if this house escaped at the suppression.

The existing remains are a ruined church and square tower. The church was a long narrow building, 110 feet by 18 feet. In the centre was a square belfry or keep, and the east end of the church was apparently adapted for defence. Adjoining the north-east wall was the Lady Chapel. The belfry fell some 140 years ago, and the Lady Chapel and north wall of the church were pulled down about twenty years

[1] Austin Cooper, *Diary*. [2] Book of Lismore, p. 177.

[3] See description by Miss Stokes, *Trans. R.I.A.*, vol. xxxi., Part XIII.

[4] *Mon. Hib.*, p. 28. Grose (*Antiquities*, ii. 26) likewise says that it belonged to Conventual Franciscans.

afterwards, and the materials used for building a farmyard adjoining. In fact, the old church was used as a kind of quarry. There is a tradition that the bells of the abbey (said to have been of silver) were hidden in the *buggawn*, a marshy land adjoining the river Griese, and close to the abbey.[1] The High Cross referred to above was found in the abbey churchyard near the south-east wall of the old abbey church.

Franciscan Abbey, Wicklow.

A Franciscan friary, it is said, was founded at Wicklow in 1278 by the O'Tooles and the O'Byrnes in gratitude for a victory gained over the Fitzgeralds who had attempted to surprise O'Toole's castle.[2] As the house lay in the O'Byrne country practically no information is available as to its history. After the suppression there is just one entry in the State Papers :—[3]

> The site of the house of the Franciscan friars of Wicklowe, Co. Dublin, cottages, a park outside the gate of the monastery on the southside, and other land in Wicklowe, with the tithes of the lands belonging to the friary were granted to Henry Haringeton, knt. Rent £3 12s. 9d. (about £54 *1914 value*).

The possessions were clearly very meagre. The interesting ruins, although much dilapidated, are in the grounds of the parish priest's residence in the town.

[1] *Kild. Arch. Journal*, vol. i., p. 286.
[2] Cobbett's *Protestant Reformation*. London, 1827, Part II.
[3] *Fiants, Elizabeth*, no. 2626.

EXTENT OF THE RELIGIOUS HOUSES OF THE DIOCESE.[1]

Dublin City and Suburbs.

	Rectories.	Lands.	Houses.	Messuages.	Gardens.	Tithes.	Value, *p.a.*
		Acres.					£ s. d.
Carmelites . .	—	5	—	9	4	—	2 13 8
All Hallows .	1	61	—	6	—	—	—
St. Mary's Abbey .	—	—	134	1	27	2 C.	70 15 3
St. John's, Newgate	—	—	11	1	20	—	19 19 9
St. Thomas' Court	2	92	42	6	17	—	30 10 10
Franciscans . .	—	2	—	4	4	—	1 11 0
Augustinians .	—	10½	1	2	14	—	5 6 0
Convent of Hogges	—	30	11	4	6	—	9 13 4
Dominicans . .	—	3	17	—	1	—	7 12 10
St. John's, Kilmainham . .	—	1097½	16	15	6	—	86 8 1
Total	3	1291	220	48	99	2 C.	£234 10 9

Co. Dublin.

	Rectories.	Lands.	Houses.	Messuages.	Gardens.	Tithes.	Value.
		Acres.					£ s. d.
Graney . .	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
All Hallows .	4	1954	32	43	20	—	—
St. Mary's Abbey .	1	5085½	70	78½	2	96½C.	323 8 0
Grace Dieu . .	6	590¾	41	12	2	—	66 12 2
St. John's, Newgate	1	916¼	10	12	2	—	55 12 0
Holmpatrick .	1	855	21	13	2	—	66 11 10
St. Thomas' Court	3	225½	—	4	—	—	31 18 0
Franciscans . .	—	65¾	—	1	—	—	1 6 8
Convent of Hogges	—	112	—	5	—	—	7 9 2
St. John's, Kilmainham . .	4	655½	21	6	—	41C.	78 15 11
Total	22	10,460¼[2]	195	174½	28	137½C.	£631 13 9

Present Co. Wicklow.

	Rectories.	Lands.	Houses.	Messuages.	Gardens.	Tithes.	Value.
		Acres.					
Graney . .	3	—	—	—	—	—	—
All Hallows .	2	594	3	14	—	—	—[3]
St. John's, Kilmainham . .	—	1200	1	—	—	—	—[3]
Total	5	1794	4	14	—	—	—

[1] Compiled from Inquisitions at Suppression. See App.

[2] Thus in the City, suburbs, and county of Dublin, 11,750 acres belonged to the religious houses of the Diocese.

[3] Nothing received as the lands are in the O'Byrne country.

Co. Meath.

	Rectories.	Lands.	Houses.	Messuages.	Gardens.	Tithes.	Value.
		Acres.					£ s. d.
St. Mary's Abbey.	11	498½	9	10	1	117 C.	123 3 4
Grace Dieu . .	—	¼	—	—	—	—	13 8
St. John's, Newgate	1	66	1	4	—	—	19 13 6
Holmpatrick .	—	51	—	2	—	—	2 16 8
St. Thomas' Court	18	815½	12	19	2	—	278 14 10
Augustinians .	—	60	—	—	—	—	2 13 4
Convent of Hogges	—	?	—	—	—	—	17 11
Dominicans . .	—	90	2	2	—	—	5 5 0
St. John's, Kilmainham . .	2	273	2	7	1	25 C.	21 16 3
Total	32	1854¼	26	44	4	142 C.	£455 14 6

Co. Louth.

	Rectories.	Lands.	Houses.	Messuages.	Gardens.	Tithes.	Value.
		Acres.					£ s. d.
St. Mary's Abbey .	2	172	—	5	1	—	23 9 4
St. John's, Newgate	—	30	—	—	—	—	1 13 4
St. Thomas' Court	1	—	—	—	—	—	1 6 8
St. John's, Kilmainham . .	22	2276¼	23	31	1	232¾ C.	223 6 10½
Total	25	2478¼	23	36	2	232¾ C.	249 16 2½

Co. Kildare.[1]

	Rectories.	Lands.	Houses.	Messuages.	Gardens.	Tithes.	Value.
		Acres.					£ s. d.
St. Wolstan's .	4	—	—	—	—	—	——
Graney . .	5	2400	—	100	—	—	——
All Hallows .	2	60	—	7	—	—	——
St. Mary's Abbey .	1	62	5	2	—	—	21 19 8
Grace Dieu . .	1	—	—	—	—	—	3 8 0
St. John's, Newgate	3	131½	—	2	—	—	11 6 8
St. Thomas' Court	22	704¾	12	14	—	—	81 1 0
Convent of Hogges	—	4	—	—	—	?[2]	1 2 8
St. John's, Kilmainham . .	21	429	—	6	—	205 C.	173 9 8
Total	59	3791¼	17	131	—	205 C.	292 7 8

[1] Out of 111 parishes in the whole of Kildare 84 were appropriated to religious houses.
[2] Waste.

Co. Wexford.

	Rectories.	Lands.	Houses.	Messuages.	Gardens.	Tithes.	Value.	
		Acres.						
Graney . .	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
All Hallows .	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
St. Thomas' Court	1	360	—	4?	—	—	2 0 0	—
St. John's, Kilmainham . .	8	1263	2	4	1	—	40 7 11	47¼ B.
Total	12	1623	2	8	1	—	£42 7 11	—

Co. Carlow.

	Rectories.	Lands.	Houses.	Messuages.	Gardens.	Tithes.	Value.
		Acres.					£ s. d.
Graney . .	7	—	—	—	—	—	—
St. Mary's Abbey .	1	—	—	—	—	—	3 6 8
St. John's, Newgate	3	4¼	—	—	—	—	5 11 8
St. John's, Kilmainham . .	3	37½	—	—	—	—	22 6 3
Total	14	41¾	—	—	—	—	£31 4 7

Offaly (King's Co.).

	Rectories.	Lands.	Houses.	Messuages.	Gardens.	Tithes.	Value.
		Acres.					
St. John's, Kilmainham . .	5	328	2	9	2	27 C.	£22 13 4

Leix (Queen's Co.).

	Rectories.	Lands.	Houses.	Messuages.	Gardens.	Tithes.	Value.
Graney . .	1	—	—	—	—	—	—

Co. Kilkenny.

	Rectories.	Lands.	Houses.	Messuages.	Gardens.	Tithes.	Value.
		Acres.				Pecks.	£ s. d.
St. Thomas' Court	3	Waste	—	—	—	180	29 17 0
St. John's, Kilmainham . .	1	30	9	3	2	—	17 13 4
Total	4	30	9	3	2	180	£47 10 4

Co. Tipperary and Ormond.

	Rectories.	Lands.	Houses.	Messuages.	Gardens.	Tithes.	Value.
		Acres.					£ s. d.
St. John's, Newgate	16	577½	15	6	—	—	47 17 0
St. Thomas' Court	2	—	—	—	—	—	8 0 0
St. John's, Kilmainham . .	2	—	—	2	—	—	9 0 4
Total	20	577½	15	8	—	—	£64 17 4

Co. Waterford.

	Rectories.	Lands.	Houses.	Messuages.	Gardens.	Tithes.	Value.
		Acres.					£ s. d.
St. Thomas' Court	—	—	1	—	—	—	0 6 8
St. John's, Kilmainham . .	4	783	6	3	—	—	46 9 7
Total	4	783	7	3	—	—	£46 16 3

Co. Cork.

	Rectories.	Lands.	Houses.	Messuages.	Gardens.	Tithes.	Value.
		Acres.					£ s. d.
All Hallows . .	1	—	—	—	—	—	
St. John's, Newgate	—	—	1	5	1	—	0 5 1
St. Thomas' Court	4	—	—	—	—	—	3 13 0
St. John's, Kilmainham . .	2	399	1	2	22	—	7 3 10
Total	7	399	2	7	23	—	£11 1 11

Co. Limerick.

	Rectories.	Lands.	Houses.	Messuages.	Gardens.	Tithes.	Value.
		Acres.					
St. John's, Kilmainham . .	31	280	12	—	—	—	£34 8 1

TOTAL EXTENT OF RELIGIOUS HOUSES OF DUBLIN DIOCESE.

	Rectories.	Lands.	Houses.	Messuages.	Gardens.	Annual Value.
		Acres.				£ s. d.
St. Mary's Abbey .	16	5818	218	96½	31	1004 7 9
St. John's, Kilmainham	105	9051¼	95	88	35	726 13 3½
St. Thomas' Court .	56	2197¾	67	47	19	404 18 6
St. John's, Newgate .	24	1725½	38	30	23	142 7 4¼
All Hallows . .	11	2615	35	70	20	84 0 0
Holmpatrick . .	1	906	21	15	2	69 8 6
Grace Dieu . .	7	591	41	12	2	60 12 10
Hogges . . .	—	146	—	9	6	17 0 5
Dominican Friary (City)	—	93	19	2	1	12 17 10
Augustinian ,, ,,	—	70½	1	2	14	6 14 1
Franciscan ,, ,,	—	67¾	—	5	4	2 15 0
Carmelite ,, ,,	—	5	—	9	—	2 13 8
St. Wolstan's . .	4	—	—	—	—	10 0 0?
Graney . . .	20	2400	—	100	—	——
Dominicans, Arklow .	—	—	—	—	—	1 0 0?
,, Athy .	—	60	6	1	—	1 12 0?
St. Johns', ,, .	2	40½	5	—	—	33 6 8
,, Castledermot .	1	125	10	2	—	17 12 4
Franciscans, ,, .	—	—	—	—	—	——
Timolin Convent .	—	226	5	9	—	21 19 0
Franciscans, Kilcullen .	—	8	—	—	2	——
,, Moone .	—	—	—	—	—	——
,, Wicklow .	—	—	—	—	—	3 12 9
Total	247	26,146¼	561	497½	159	2623 11 11¾
					1914 value about	£39,345 0 0

PART III.

"REFORM."

The work of the suppression of religious houses had been accomplished by the commissioners, Lord Deputy, and other officials. Almost every square inch of land, every acre of tithes, and every penny of value had been accounted for. Clerics and Irishmen had been called to the inquiry and swore on oath as to those possessions. Lands and tithes, if not already leased for a sum of money, were made over in the King's name to some of his grasping officials for an annual rent. And thus, by an easy and sure method, the King's exchequer was replenished with the much-needed money. The inmates of those houses were sent adrift to procure a living as best they could. The number of pensions granted was a very small percentage of the number of those who were thrown out of their convents. The only inference that can be drawn from this is that they did not acquiesce in the "voluntary surrender" imposed by Henry and his commissioners, and preferred to beg rather than receive help from the sacrilegious hands of the King.

Many of the families in Counties Dublin, Meath, Louth and Kildare, which afterwards became notable, derived their greatness from the grants they received at this time. Indeed some, such as Brabazon, the ancestor of the Earls of Meath, did not come out of the sordid business with clean hands. But the two great results achieved were that men loyal to the King and powerful to command loyalty in others were placed in possession and in control of the land, and the King received a considerable revenue with the least trouble and anxiety.

Christ Church Changed into Dean and Chapter.

The only house of religious in the diocese which escaped suppression was the convent of Holy Trinity or Christ Church. It had been, however, included in the fatal list, but such treatment of the ancient Cathedral naturally aroused indignation among the Dublin citizens. Christ Church was the centre of religious and secular activity in the city. It was the place in which the provincial synods were held, to which the clergy with the canons of St. Patrick came in procession, chanting the Litanies, on station days, in which the Lenten sermons were preached, and in which on great occasions, such as the swearing-in of the Lord Deputy and births in the royal family, the " Te Deum " was solemnly chanted. It was the place where Parliaments and Council meetings were held, and ecclesiastical and secular lords entertained. Moreover, it served as a school for the education of the sons of the more important Dublin citizens.

Accordingly, the Lord Deputy and Council, and the Mayor and citizens of Dublin, pleaded for its retention, by changing its clothing and rule.[1] The commissioners acceded to their request, but a royal confirmation was needed for the change. Accordingly, Lord Deputy Gray wrote to Cromwell, 19 January, 1538, that the King's commissioners had, by authority of their commission, restored Christ Church to its pristine and original secular foundation, by the name of Dean and Chapter. He continues :—

Wherefore, if it so be, I beseech your Lordship to be good lord unto this bearer, Sir Robert Castell, late prior, by your lordship's commendation, and now Dean of the same, concerning the obtaining of the King's Majesty's corroboration and confirmation, upon

[1] The first reliable historical account we have fixes the date of foundation of Christ Church or Holy Trinity at the year 1038, when " Sitric Danish King of Dublin gave to the Blessed Trinity and to Donat (first Bishop of Dublin) a place whereon to build a church of the Blessed Trinity." This cathedral was occupied by secular canons until the year 1163 when St. Lorcan O'Tuathail introduced the regular canons of the Arroasian Rule. Under the Anglo-Norman archbishops the same rule continued, with prior and convent. But John Cumin, the first of that line of prelates, wished to instal secular canons in his cathedral, according to the fashion of the time, and transformed St. Patrick's Church into a secular cathedral, standing near his Palace of St. Sepulchre (in Kevin Street), and within his own Liberty, free from interference of mayor and citizens. Hence the existence of two cathedrals, secular and regular, in the one city.

such order and alteration as the said Commissioners have taken, appearing by their certificate, touching the dissolution of their religiousness, and restoring them to their first foundation, according the petition of the said Commissioners; which in my mind were a charitable and meritorious act.[1]

A few days afterwards (23 Jan.), the mayor and aldermen of Dublin wrote a letter to Cromwell on the same subject:—

Pleaseth your honorable lordship to be advertised that our Sovereign Lord the King's High Commissioners here in this his land of Ireland, in consideration that the Cathedral Church of the Blessed Trinity of the King's city and chamber of Dublin standeth in the middle of the said city and chamber, in like manner as Paul's Church is in London, it is the very station place, where as the King's Grace's honorable Parliaments and Councils are kept, all sermons are made, and where as the congregations of the said city, in processions and station days, and at all other times necessary assembleth, and at all times of the birth of our most noble princes and princesses, and other times of victory and triumph, processions are made, and "Te Deum laudamus" customably is sung, to the laud and praise of God, and the honor of our said princes and princesses; and in consideration that if the said Church were suppressed and put down, being in the midst of the city, it would be a great desolation and a foul waste and deformity of the said city, and a great comfort and encouraging of our Sovereign Lord's the King's Irish enemies; the said commissioners, of their own discretions, and by the advice of the King's Council, and partly at the instance of the Mayor and Aldermen of the said city, hath taken such order therein, that the said Church shall stand, and hath caused the Prior and Convent of the same to change their habits, and in the stead of the said Prior and Convent hath made a Dean and Chapter, to have the rule and governance of the said Church and possessions of the same according to their first foundation.[2]

Order for New Dean and Chapter.

Alen, Browne, and Brabazon were evidently appointed to draw up the plan of the new chapter, and issued the following order on 12 December, 1539:—

John Alen esquire, chancellor, George, Archbishop of Dublin, William Brabazon, esquire, sub-treasurer, ordain that Holy Trinity

[1] *S.P. Hen. VIII, Ir.*, ii. 544. [2] *Ib.*, ii. 545.

church, having been secular at its foundation, its ministers shall in future be regarded as secular priests and wear secular habits: that it shall have a dean, precentor, chancellor, and treasurer, like St. Patrick's; that Robert Paynswicke alias Castell, the prior, shall be dean, and that he and his successors shall enjoy Clankene [Clonkeen] for his dignity, and the church of Glasnevin for his prebend, with the temporalities in Glasnevin and Clonmell [Clonkeen], tithes being excepted, Dromconragh [Drumcondra], with its tithes; Clankey, Dalkeya, Killeny, Balli-loghan, and Hayhurter, Ballybrenan, Ballytipper, Ballyoghan, Ballymoghan, Farnicoast, Kylmachyoke, the spiritualities in Ballyfinch and Ballycheer, the temporalities of Balscadden and Smothescourt, Priorsland and Ketingesland near Carrickmayne, and the churches of Carrickmayne, Tullaghe, Stalorgan, Clonkyne, Kylmahyoke, Dalkeya, Killeny, Ballybeghan, Rocheston, Cornelscourte, Kylbegote, Stalorgan and Newton,[1] with their chapels and tithes, and the Pole Mylle without the Pole gate of Dublin [St. Werburgh's street]; that Richard Ball the sub-prior be precentor of the church and have the church of Ballgriffyn, now created a prebendal church, and the churches of Ballgriffyn and Drumsallan, with their tithes and lands, one half the tithes of Glasnevin, one half the small tithes of Dromconragh, and lands in Cowlocke; that Walter Whyte, seneschal and precentor, be chancellor and enjoy the church of Kilcullen erected into a prebendal church, the tithes of Galmorstown, Castlemartin, Kinnegh, and Blakrath in said parish, the other half of the tithes of Glasnevin, the other half of the small tithes of Dromconragh, tithes of Kyndenall, lands in Roganstown, Lespopyll, Mynystown, Dundalke, Dromcarr, and Carlingford; that John Mosse, sub-precentor and sacrist, shall in future be treasurer, and that he and his successors shall enjoy the church of Balscaden erected into a prebendal church with the great tithes thereof, lands in Ponchestowne, and the water mill of Glasnevin; that the said dignitaries, like those of St. Patrick's, shall reside in the church [Holy Trinity]; that, saving the dean, one of them shall celebrate second mass daily, and the mass of the B.V.M.[2] and High Mass on festivals proper to the same; that eight regular canons and four choristers shall be known as the vicars choral, £53 13s. 4d. being yearly assigned for the vicars, and £6 13s. 4d. for

[1] At Blackrock. The aforementioned lands are all in South Co. Dublin, with the exception of Glasnevin and Drumcondra. Grangegorman and Clonkeen or Kill-o'-the-Grange were the principal home farms of the priory.

[2] The *Mary* or *Morrow Mass*, the first Mass of the day, celebrated very early for the convenience of the townspeople and workers. It was usually very well attended.

the choristers, such sums to be realised from the rents of lands in Grangegorman and Oxmantown Greene, the £20 from the fee farm of Dublin, the great tithes of Kilcullen, the tithes of Rathcole and Ballycor, the great tithes of Nicholstowne and Gilcoone, the lands of Athird, Delverstowne, Cloonie, Porterstown, and Kilcullen, and the tithes of fish in the Liffey; that John Curragh, priest, the first of the vicars choral, be sub-dean and have a place in the chapter and a voice in the election of archbishop and dean, and that the parish church of St. Michael, Dublin, now erected into a prebendal church, with its tithes, be assigned to him, together with £4 from the above sum for a stipend; that one of the vicars choral shall be succentor [sub-chantor or sub-precentor], whose office shall be to instruct the choristers, and that the church of St. Michan, erected into a prebendal church, be assigned to John Kerdyff as such succentor with like privileges as the sub-dean; that the chancellor shall have a vicar choral to correct the Latin of the choir books; that Christopher Rathe be appointed to such office as minor canon, and that the church of St. John the Evangelist be assigned to him, together with a stipend of 4 marks Irish from the sum aforesaid; that the treasurer shall have a vicar choral, and that Oliver Graunt be appointed to such office, as minor canon, with a stipend of 5 marks Irish as aforesaid; that the other vicars choral shall each have £2 6s. 8d. for stipend; that the archdeacon of Dublin shall have a stall in the choir, a place in the chapter, and a prebend in the church; that vacancies be filled and duties performed in manner prescribed; that a clerk learned in music and organ playing shall teach the boys, perform at Mass, and have the office of beadle with a stipend of £6 13s. 4d., and a sacristan and a third clerk be appointed to ring the bells, etc., that the building and repair of the church and refectory be maintained from the issues of the lands of Kinsale, Ballydoude, Cromlen, Mapestown, Drogheda, Athboy, Brenestoune, Donboyne, Cabroghe, Ballymore, Rathmoore, Stagubbe, in the Maginnesshes, the chief rents and tithes of Kyllester, the chapel of Philipsltowne Nugent, the woode myll, gardens in Oxmantown, [gardens] without the gate of St. Nicholas, Dublin, [gardens] near the church of St. Andrew, and [gardens] without the Pole gate; and that a syndic steward or proctor be elected to manage the affairs of church and chapter.[1]

The prior and convent (about 1540) petitioned Henry VIII for the letters patent to change them into Dean and Chapter, and afterwards the new Dean and Chapter ratified the allo-

[1] *Chr. Ch. Deeds*, no. 431 (from the *Novum Registrum*).

cation of their possessions to the dignitaries and vicars choral as arranged by the Archbishop, etc. (11 July, 1542). Accordingly a mandate (10 May, 1542) was issued that they become secular priests, and be constituted a prior and nine canons; granting them dispensations as to their rule, habit, and religion; the prior to be dean; the first three canons respectively to be precentor, chancellor, and treasurer; and the remaining six to serve as vicars choral in the church.[1]

Robert Castele, or Payneswick, a canon regular of the priory of Lanthony, who had been installed prior of Christ Church on 4 July, 1537, was appointed the first dean under the new arrangement. Although the royal letters for carrying out the change were not obtained until eighteen months afterwards, not until Payneswick went in person to the King to get them, it had been supposed that the new dean was not installed without them. This seems incorrect. Payneswick was actually, if not legally, installed within ten days after the change of 1 December, 1539. According to a MS.[2] record of food bought day by day for the common table of the cathedral clergy for six months, from Advent, 1539, to Easter, 1540, it is entered that on 22 December, 1539 (ten days after the order of the commission) purchases were made of the materials for a feast, the occasion being "the stallacon of the dane" (the installation of the dean). Thus we know that on the Monday before Christmas, 1539, with a solemn service in the cathedral, with feasting and merriment in the common hall, there came to an end that office which had been instituted by St. Lorcan O'Tuathail, held in succession by thirty-six priors, the first of the clergy, after the archbishop, and when the last of the priors became the dean of the new order of things. The general rejoicing in the common hall would lead us to infer that to Payneswick, at all events, the change was an agreeable one.

The Country in a Disturbed Condition.

The Deputy and Council of Ireland, writing to Henry VIII, 18 January, 1540, say[3] that "the detestable traitors young

[1] It is to be remarked that in some leases of land, dated 4 Dec., 1540, Payneswicke is named Dean. He had taken the title before the royal letters arrived.

[2] Library, Christ Church. [3] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, 1540, no. 82.

Gerald, O'Nele, O'Donyll, the pretended Earl of Desmond, O'Brene, O'Connor, O'Molmoy and their confederates persist in their attempts to establish the Pope's primacy and the Geraldines; urging the other Irish and McWilliam to join them and exciting the Emperor, French King, and other foreign princes to take their part. If the King intends, as he wrote, to send a main army, they think it their duty to advise what is necessary.

"The land is as large as England, too large to be altogether inhabited anew, and the total extirpation of the Irish would be very difficult, considering the lack of inhabiters and the hardships these Irishmen can endure. Those therefore who have not heinously offended might be pardoned. They think that 6000 men, with 1000 men of war of this country and the army here already, would suffice; 1700 to be horsemen and the rest artificers." An estimate is then given of the distribution of these in O'Donyll's country, Knockfergus, Galway, and McWilliam's country; stores, plan of reform, etc.; ships of war to keep Scots from coming over. Signed by Gray, Alen, Ormond, Archbishop of Dublin, Bishop of Meath, Rawson (prior of Kilmainham), Brereton, Griffithe, Travers, Robert Cowley (Master of the Rolls), Brabazon, Aylmer, Luttrell, and Justice Houth.

In a letter of the Deputy and Council to Henry VIII (13 Feb.) they state that no reliance is to be put on the peace made with Irishmen, many of whom besides O'Neill take open part with the Bishop of Rome against the King.

The Council at this time state also that though they had been given up very much to dissension amongst themselves, they now intend to preserve unity henceforth; that the horsemen of the army threaten to leave as they cannot live on £5 6s. 8d. a year; and that the wards, First Fruits, and twentieths have not come near the sum the Commissioners taxed them at.[1]

Gray Accused of Favouring the Geraldines.

Lord Deputy Gray and Lord Chancellor Alen had disputed over the prosecution of the war against the Irish. Gray

[1] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, 1540, no. 199.

was suspected of treasonable practises, and particularly of showing favour " on every occasion to traitors in the Geraldine rebellion, and of conniving at the escape of young Gerald Fitzgerald into France.[1]

Cowley, the indefatigable enemy of the house of Kildare, had repeatedly reported against the Geraldines, and for his reward the latter carried off all his (Cowley's) goods in Ireland. On one occasion he wrote : " I affirm that so long as any of the Geraldine sect be in authority or in the Council, the King's affairs will never proceed to good effect, or the Irishmen be subdued." [2] Browne wrote from Tallaght (19 May, 1540) to Cromwell in the same strain.[3] He declared that the country was never in such disorder, and accuses Gray, in sending reports to England, of giving a false account " cloked with dissimulacions only." He states that the English and Irish (except the " olde corrupte sorte ") would be glad of Gray's departure. If the King only heard the lamentable tales against the Lord Deputy they would go to his Majesty's heart. Moreover, Gray looked upon those who were " the best of the King's Council as knaves and villains, and would hang them with his own hands." On the other hand, Gray's " chief advisers are Justice Howthe, James Bathe, Walter Goldyng, and Sir Gerald Fitzgeralde, and such like, and the country is ruled according to their counsel."

Browne has something also to say of the Geraldines and their followers, and of their " crafty conveyance " about which he had previously written many times to the Lord Privy Seal, " and now again as your lordship shall perceive is declared with others in a boke of truthe the bearers whereof can more at large set forth the effect thereof." Browne refers to Alen and Brabazon who, besides being the bearer of his own letter to Cromwell, and on their way to England,

[1] *Cal. S.P. Hen. VIII, Ir.*, p. 55. In March, 1539, Thomas Wusle, constable of Carrickfergus, wrote to Mr. Laurans, constable of Ardglas : " I am informed that the Bishop O'Donyll is gone into Scotland to obtain from the King of Scots 6000 ' Redshanks ' to ' give the King's officers in Ireland a field ' " (*Car. Cal.*, p. 150). Roderick O'Donnell, Bishop of Derry, went into Scotland in midlent, 1539, to obtain assistance for O'Nele and Manus O'Donell (*S.P. Hen. VIII*, iii. 139). He afterwards became a King's bishop.

[2] 19 July, 1539, *Car. Cal.*, pp. 143-5.

[3] *S.P. Hen. VIII*, vol. ix, no. 30, P.R.O., London.

were bringing with them the book of the Kildares which they would explain to Cromwell.

The book referred to was evidently the book of the Earl of Kildare's rents and tributes which was in the hands of the Countess. In 1536 Robert Cowley had written to Cromwell informing him that " divers profitable lands, forfeited by the Earl, are concealed from his Majesty," and advised him to examine Thomas Fitzgerald, the attainted heir, then a captive in the Tower, in order to learn " where the fair book Registrall is, which was written on parchment by Philip Flattisbury, and contains all the evidences of the said Earl's inheritances." The book was afterwards discovered and was being brought over to Cromwell by Alen and Brabazon. Thus Alen, Browne, Brabazon, and Cowley were determined to put an end to the Geraldine influence and to secure the whole inheritance for the King.[1]

[1] It appears that, on the outbreak in 1534, " all Kildare's effects were carried away " by his revolted son (Silken Thomas) to Lea Castle. In the month of March, 1535, Maynooth was besieged, and taken by the English army ; but the sack of the place could have little rewarded the assailants, since it seems that Lord Thomas had providently delivered part of the plate, of which there are three different entries in the " Rental Boke " (begun in 1518), to a retainer, and to the White Friars of Kildare, besides placing a large quantity in charge of O'Brien of Thomond. He had given all the hangings or arras tapestry of Maynooth, and his parliamentary robes, to his sister. A mass of rich apparel was also sent in care to O'Brien. By royal order, dated 1547, Lady Cecilia Fitzgerald was allowed to retain certain plate which belonged to her father. The original inventory of the apparel, plate, ordnance, and other articles of value so disposed of, would, if published, add to our small store of knowledge as to the domestic wealth of the Anglo-Irish nobility. A document in the State Paper Office, dated December, 1537, gives " an account of the lands of the late Earl of Kildare, forfeited for high treason."

Among the contents of the Rental Book, we find a list of church lands and tithes which the Earl held to farm. He farmed these lands and collected the tithes because the ecclesiastical owners were unable to levy the dues, and paid them a yearly sum which was usually about a fifth less than the sum received. These lands and tithes belonged, among others, to St. Thomas's Court, St. Mary's Abbey, Tymolinge, and the Priory of Kilmainham, and were situated in various parts of the country.

Many Celtic clans paid the Kildares duties or tributes in consideration of the protection afforded them by that powerful family ; for instance the McMurroughs, the O'Nolans, the O'Ryans, the O'Mores, the McGillepatriks, the O'Dempseys, the O'Connors, the O'Farrells, the O'Byrnes, the O'Tooles (in O'Mayle and Glencapp), etc.

The advowsons or patronages of benefices held by the Earl referred to the dioceses of Dublin, Kildare, Limerick, Cork, Meath, and to the Queen's County. In the diocese of Dublin he held the advowsons of : master and submaster of the

Browne concludes his letter with a more serious accusation against Gray. Though he cannot say whether the Lord Deputy favours " that false traitor Reginalde Poole," namely Cardinal Pole, yet when he (Browne) in a conversation with Gray called Pole a " papische Cardynall," the Lord Deputy (says Browne) " in a greate fume called me poltroon, knave, friar." He then adds that shortly afterwards the Deputy set out for Galway and Limerick, where, it was commonly said, the Cardinal should arrive. Finally, Browne declares he would open his mind more, but that Alen and Brabazon would set forth the whole truth, and would also communicate his reply to certain accusations made against himself.

Gray afterwards repaired to England to justify his conduct of the war. Lord Justice Brereton then took command of the army. He, Browne, and Cowley wrote to the Council (7 Aug., 1540) that they had made search for all such treasure, jewels, plate, and stuff as Gray had left, and made out an inventory of his plate, wearing apparel, and household furniture left at St. Mary's Abbey and Maynooth, on his departure to England.[1]

Henry VIII's New Title—" King of Ireland."

So far the Kings of England had been content with the title " Lord of Ireland," by which to express their dominion over this country. The change into that of " King of Ireland "

College of Maynooth, parsonage of Yagostown, and rectories and vicarages of Maynooth and Laraghbrine.

An entry refers to the existence in the Earl's library of a Latin Book, a French Book, an English Book, and an Irish Book. The " Rental " found its way into the British Museum, where it is now preserved (a copy of it was in the Carton Library at Maynooth), but another, the " Red Book," remained through the centuries with the Dukes of Leinster.

The active cause of the great rise of power in the Earls of Kildare is said to have been their imitation of the custom by which the Irish kings imposed the maintenance of soldiers, called Bonnachta (bonnaughts), on their people, under the usage called " coigne and livery."

Yet in inquisitions at Kilmainham before Deputy Sussex and Hugh Curwen, Chancellor and Archbishop of Dublin, in 1557, the witnesses swore that the Earls of Kildare did not put bonnaughts on Irishmen except when they were deputies, and for the King's use. (See *MS. S.P.O.*, London, March, 1536. *Harleian MS.* 3756. *Kilkenny Arch. Soc.*, March, 1859, pp. 301 ff. and Jan., 1866, p. 517.)

[1] *Cal. S.P. Hen. VIII, Ir.*, p. 54. See p. 178.

had been recommended by Alen in 1537. The letter,[1] in his own hand, contains—

Certain information for our Sovereign Lord's most honourable commissioners in Ireland. First, where the Irishmen, of long continuance, hath supposed the regal state of this land to consist in the Bishop of Rome for the time being, and the lordship of the Kings of England here to be but a governance under the obedience of the same, which causeth them to have more respect of due subjection unto the said Bishop, than to our Sovereign Lord; therefore me seemeth it convenient that his Highness be recognised here by Act of Parliament Supreme Governor of this dominion by the name of King of Ireland, and then to induce the Irish captains, as well by their oaths as writings, to recognise the same, which things shall be in continuance a great motive to bring them to due obedience.

Item, where his Highness is recognised by Act of Parliament the Supreme Head of the Church of Ireland, and enacted that every man, as well spiritual as temporal, should be sworn to the same; it is convenient that the said oath be offered until every of the King's subjects by commissioners in every county, and all the lords to be sworn thereunto at the next Parliament; for as yet the said oath is not put in execution.

This view had been urged upon Anthony Sentleger by Staples, Bishop of Meath, in 1538, "as doubting not, in short time, to have all Ireland then sworn to due obedience, the lack whereof, in my opinion, doth much hinder their duties to be done." Nothing, however, was done for a few years. The Council of Ireland, including Sentleger and Browne, then took up the matter seriously and wrote to the King, 30 December, 1540, advising him to assume the title.[2]

Forasmuch as your majesty hath exhausted so great treasure for the reducing of this poor land to good order and civility, we think that if it may so stand with your majesty's pleasure, that it were good that your majesty were from henceforth called King of Ireland; whereunto we think that, in effect, all the nobility and other inhabitants of this your land would agree, and we think that they that be of the Irishry would more gladly obey your highness by name of king of this your land, than by the name of lord thereof; having had theretofore a foolish opinion amongst them, that the Bishop of Rome should be king of the same. For extirping whereof,

[1] *S.P. Hen. VIII, Ir.*, ii. 480. [2] *Ib.*, iii. 278.

we think it meet, under your highness's pardon, that by authority of parliament it should be ordained, that your majesty, your heirs and successors, should be named kings of this land, which, nevertheless, we remit to your most excellent wisdom.

It was thus considered that the new title would overawe the Irish, wean them of their allegiance and loyalty to the Pope by depriving him of all right to the country and of the right of interference in its ecclesiastical and secular affairs, and thus break the only remaining link between it and Rome. The title " head of the Church in Ireland " was not complete without that of " King of Ireland," for the basis of the King's claim to supremacy should be his kingship over the country. It is interesting to observe that Alen, Browne, and Sentleger speak of the old Irish belief that the Pope was really the first Lord of Ireland, and that the King held his lordship from him and in subjection to him. And Alen, in particular, remarks that they also believe that the King received his lordship from the Pope. Adrian's Bull was, then, accepted by the Irish as authentic. Alen's other admission that so far the King's supremacy in the Irish Church was not acknowledged, is also worthy of note. And Sentleger and Browne, in 1540, considered the only way to secure its acceptance was by proclaiming Henry King of Ireland.

Irish Parliament Confers the New Title.

It was resolved in the English Cabinet that an Irish Parliament should confer the title on Henry and his heirs. Parliament was summoned to sit in Dublin on 13 June, 1541. It opened the day after Trinity Sunday, and on Thursday, the feast of Corpus Christi, after Solemn Mass of the Holy Ghost, the Lords and Commons repaired to the Parliament chamber in Christ Church. The following prelates are given [1] as having been present on the occasion: George Cromer, Archbishop of Armagh, George Browne, Archbishop of Dublin, Edmund Butler, Archbishop of Cashel, Christopher Bodkin, Archbishop of Tuam, and the Bishops, Edward Staples of Meath, William Meagh of Kildare, Matthew Saunders of Leighlin, Milo Fitzgerald of Ossory, Alexander Devereux of Ferns, Nicholas

[1] *S.P. Hen. VIII, Ir.*, iii. 306.

Comin of Waterford, Dominick Tirrey of Cork, John Coyne of Limerick, (James Fitzmaurice?) of Ardfert, James O'Corrin of Killaloe, Thomas Hurley of Emly,[1] (O'Siaghail?) of Elphin,[2] Eugene McGuiness of Down and Connor, Roland de Burgo of Clonfert, (Dermot McCarthy?) of Ross, (?) of Achonry, (?) of Killala, (?) of Kilmacduagh,[3] and (?) of Kilfenora.[4]

Here we find four archbishops and nineteen bishops. But at the actual passing of the Act only two archbishops and twelve bishops are given as having consented. The document says nothing about the others, neither does it give the names of the consenting bishops. Are we to infer that the former returned home before the passing of the Act, or are we rather to take it that the list given above is incorrect? Of seven of the Sees given we have no information as to who were their occupants at this time. Of the remaining twelve we have definite information.

"To oblige the principal gentry, the King was more profuse of honour than he used to be, ennobling no less than six of them at the beginning of this Parliament, viz. Edmond Butler, [to be] Baron of Dunboyne, and Bernard Fitz-Patrick, Baron of Upper Ossory (June 11), Sir Oliver Plunket, Baron of Louth (15 June), William Birmingham, Baron of Carbry (17 June), John Rawson (late prior of Kilmainham), Viscount Clontarfe (20 June), and Thomas Eustace, Viscount Baltinglas (29 June)." [5]

It was then enacted:—

The Pope Adrian, forasmuch as Ireland is an isle, and it and all other Christian isles appertaineth to the right of St. Peter and the church of Rome, he granted the lordship of Ireland to the foresaid King Henry to increase therein the Christian faith and holiness, and to set the people of the land in governance of good laws and virtues, vices to eschew. This gift and grant of the Pope Adrian, Pope Alexander his successor confirmed. This title of right openly appeareth by the same Pope's bulls, the copies of which have been rife enough. Sithence came Vyvyen [Vivian], a legate from the Pope, into Ireland, and assembled at Dublin all

[1] *Tymolan* is the name given in the State Papers.

[2] O'Siaghaill, who was O'Donnell's chaplain, was not appointed by the King until 1544. He had probably assumed the title before that date.

[3] *Duanensis* given for *Duacensis*. [4] *Coranensis* (?)

[5] Cox, *Hib. Angl.*, i. 267.

the clergy of the land at a council,[1] at the which council this legate declared and confirmed to the clergy the King's right to be good to Ireland, and commanded and also denounced all the people of Ireland on the pain of cursing, that no man should depart foolishly from the legiance and the faith of the King of England.[2]

And the Act itself states—

that, forasmuch as the King and his progenitors ever rightfully enjoyed all authority royal, by the name of lords of Ireland, but for lack of the title of king had not been duly obeyed, his highness and his heirs for ever shall have the style and honor of King of Ireland, and that it shall be deemed high treason to impeach this title, or to oppose the royal authority.[3]

The Act was carefully worded so that it might not appear that it was Parliament that gave the title to the King, but that it was his by right. But Parliament recognised that the basis of that right was the grant made by Pope Adrian to Henry II, and it claimed that by that Pope's Bull the Kings of England had full authority in the land.

It was " believed that this statute would suppress and silence all those trifling objections and pretences " about the distinction between the titles, Lord and King, made " to deceive and inveigle the common people " by " those that were traitorously disposed." [4]

The King's full style now was : " Henry the VIIIth by the Grace of God, Kinge of Englande, Fraunce, and Irlande, Defendour of the Faith, and in Erthe, immediately undre Christ, Supreme Hed of the Churches of England and Irlande."

According to chap. iv. of the Statutes of this Parliament—

heretofore the usurped power of the bishop of Rome hath always entangled and troubled the mere jurisdiction and regal power of this land of Ireland, and also inquieted much the subjects of the same by his usurped power in them ; as by making that unlawful, which by God's word is lawful, both in marriages and other things, . . . therefore it is thought most convenient to the King's highness, and to his lords spiritual and temporal, with the commons of this

[1] In the year 1186, under John Comin, first Anglo-Norman Archbishop of Dublin.

[2] *Car. Cal.*, p. 179.

[3] *Ir. Stat.* 33 *Hen. VIII.*

[4] Cox, *Hib. Angl.*, i. 270. Harris, *Ware's Bishops*, p. 161.

land assembled in this present Parliament, . . . as where heretofore diverse and many persons after long continuance together in matrimony, without any allegation of either of the parties, or any other at their marriage, why the same matrimony should not be good, just, and lawful, and after the same matrimony solemnized and consummated, and also sometimes fruit of children ensued of the same marriage, have nevertheless by an unjust law of the bishop of Rome, which is, that upon pretence of a former contract made and not consummated, for proof whereof two witnesses by that law were only required, been divorced and separated contrary to God's law, and the matrimony clearly frustrate and dissolved: further also, by reason of other prohibitions than God's law admitteth, for their lucre by that court invented, the dispensation whereof they always reserved to themselves, as in kindred or affinity betwixt cousin germans, and so to fourth and fifth degree, carnal knowledge of any of the same kin or affinity, before in such outward degrees, which all were lawful, and be not prohibited by God's law, and all because they would get money by it and keep a reputation to their usurped jurisdiction: be it therefore enacted that . . . from the first day of July last past (1540) all and every such marriage [i.e. solemnized and consummated] shall be taken to be lawful, good, just, and indissoluble notwithstanding any precontract of matrimony [as mentioned above], and notwithstanding any dispensation, prescription, law, or other thing granted or confirmed by act or otherwise. And that no reservation or prohibition (God's law except) shall trouble or impeach any marriage without [outside] the levitical degrees.[1] And that no person of what estate, degree, or condition soever he or she be, shall after the first day of the month of July aforesaid be admitted in any of the spiritual courts within this the King's land of Ireland, or any other his Grace's lands and dominions, to any process, pleas, or allegations contrary to this aforesaid act.

According to chap. viii. it was enacted that all religious persons, men as well as women, of whatever order professed, after suppression of their houses, may purchase, sue, and be sued as other subjects, and enjoy all lawful things falling to them after deraignment, in as ample a manner as if never professed. Provided that such persons shall be taken or judged to be heirs to any person to any purpose or intent in law, to take manors, lands, etc., before their said several

[1] See chap. xviii. Book of Leviticus.

deraignments or departing out of their Order, nor that any of the said religious persons, being priests, or such as hath avowed religion at twenty-one years of age or above, shall not be enabled to marry unless proof of compulsion in the taking of their vows be established.

As many of the King's subjects, being laymen and having parsonages, vicarages, and tithes to them and their lawful heirs, for a term of years or for life, heretofore could not by the order and course of the ecclesiastical laws of this land sue in any ecclesiastical court for the wrongful detention of said tithes or other duties, and could not by the order of the common laws of this land have any remedy against any person who wrongfully withheld the same, it was enacted that tithes and offerings shall be truly and effectually set out or paid according to the usage of the place where they grow due: detainers of tithes may be convened by the lay or ecclesiastical owners before the ordinary or other competent minister or lawful judge, who shall examine summarily according to ecclesiastical laws and sentence. Upon appeal he shall adjudge and compel the appellant to pay reasonable costs; taking security for restoring if adjudged for appellant. Persons refusing to pay shall, upon certificate of the ecclesiastical judge, be committed by two justices of peace of the same shire to the next gaol till sureties found. No one shall be compelled to pay tithes for lands, tenements, or hereditaments, which by the laws of Ireland are not chargeable with such payment. Persons having inheritance, freehold, or interest in any parsonage, vicarage, tithes, etc., which are now or shall be made temporal, or admitted to be to lay uses, if disseised or deprived of their inheritance, etc., shall have like remedy in the temporal or other courts as the case requires, by writ original, as for lands. Writs of covenant and other writs for fines and other assurances of such ecclesiastical profits and judgments thereon, and fines levied thereof, shall be of like effect, as judgments, fines, levied of lands; although no such form of writs original, were heretofore awarded. But the remedy for the refusing to pay tithes, shall be in the court ecclesiastical, and not otherwise.

As divers parish churches had been appropriated to religious houses now dissolved, and are now without endowed

vicars to minister the sacrament, certain persons such as Sentleger, John Alen, Brabazon, Aylmer, Lutrell, Bath, Cowley, Thomas Howth, Patrick Barnewall, Robert Dillon, the King's officials in the government of Ireland, are by this Act (chap. xiv.) empowered to erect and incorporate one vicarage of one vicar in every parish church which shall have succession for ever. The Lord Deputy shall nominate in the King's name to the Ordinary a suitable person to be vicar, who after admission, induction, etc., shall be taken, impleaded, and to implead as vicar of said church. Such mansions, tithes, altarages, oblations, etc., as necessary and convenient shall be assigned to such vicars out of the possessions coming to the King by the dissolution of the monasteries, for maintenance of divine service, keeping of good hospitality within their said parishes. After certificate thereof the chancellor of this land by letters patent in the King's name shall grant and endow such vicars therewith in pure alms for ever. Reserving to the King yearly the twentieth part and First Fruits, on every presentation. The yearly value of such endowments shall not exceed £13 6s. 8d. The King shall enjoy the advowson as united to his Crown, after the first establishment of every such vicarage and first admission of every such vicar.

In the second session (chap. v.) a recital was made of the "voluntary surrender of religious houses." [1]

It was also enacted that laymen should not be admitted to ecclesiastical benefices, and that the principal manors of bishops and the parsonages of rectors and glebes of vicars (not exceeding annual value of 10 marks) should be exempt from coyne and livery. All church patronage, except bishoprics and deaneries, were to belong to the Lord Deputy. Every clerk having a dignity in a cathedral church or curate with a benefice shall call himself to be promoted within a year to priestly orders, and shall henceforth personally and continually reside in his church, unless he shall be lawfully impeded or licensed; otherwise he shall be deprived of his benefice or dignity.[2]

All faithful people shall pay to their parish churches all tithes, as well greater as smaller, mixed and minute, and also

[1] *Ir. Stat. Hen. VIII.* [2] *Car. Cal.*, p. 180 (1541).

of pasture, felled wood, fuel, and of the sheaves (*garbarum*) which in autumn they give in reward to their reapers. Foreign fishermen shall pay the moiety of the tithes of fish by them taken in the places and parishes where they resort in the fishing season, under ecclesiastical penalties.

The Title Published.

The Act having been passed on 26 June, 1541, "its publication was celebrated with memorable solemnity in St. Patrick's Cathedral the following Sunday, in the presence of the Lord Deputy (Sentleger), the Earls of Ormonde and Desmond, and others of the nobility, in their Parliament robes, and of several of the bishops and clergy, where a solemn Mass was performed by the Archbishop of Dublin; and after the Mass, the Act was proclaimed in presence of the assembly and *Te Deum* sung with great joy and gladness to all men. The same Sunday great bonfires were made in the city, wine set in the streets, great feasting in their houses, with a goodly sort of guns." [1]

The following proclamation [2] was issued on the occasion :—

Forasmuch as the hearts of all godly, natural, reasonable, and civil creatures, be kindled with love and joy, when they hear of the prosperity, triumph, and advancement of their natural sovereign liege lord, honorable assembly, ye shall understand, that the triumph shewed here this day, is done principally to give thanks to God, for his great benefits shewed to our noble and victorious king Henry the Eighth, and to deliver our own gladness and joy that his majesty is now, as he hath always of right been, acknowledged by the nobility and commons of this his realm of Ireland, to be King of the same, and he and his heirs to be named, reputed, and taken for evermore Kings of Ireland, most worthy under God. And for manifestation, partly of the gladness of the nobility here assembled, it is agreed by the king's deputy, and the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons assembled in this parliament, that all prisoners of whatever estate, degree, or condition, however they be detained for murder, felony, or other offence, which the said lord deputy may pardon (treason, wilful murder, rape, and debt, only excepted) shall be clearly delivered out of prison or prisons, though herein they may or any of them be detained, and all such

[1] Cox, *Hib. Angl.*, i. 270. Mant, *Ch. Hist. of Ir.*, i. 166.
[2] See Leland, *Hist. of Ir.*, ii. 178, note.

prisoners as so shall be delivered shall have their pardons frank and free, requiring the same accordingly. And God save the king's majesty, king Henry the Eighth, king of England, Ireland, and France, defender of the faith, and in earth supreme head of the church of England and Ireland.

The King himself afterwards issued a proclamation for a general pardon.

The following account of the Parliament session and of the solemnities in St. Patrick's, given by Sentleger, is worth recording in full :—[1]

According my most humble and obedient duty, it may please your most excellent majesty to be advertised, that the morrow after Trinity Sunday your highness's parliament begun in this your highness's realm, and for that, the Earls of Ormonde and Desmond, and many other lords of Munster were not then come, we deferred the solemn mass of the Holy Ghost till the Thursday following, being Corpus Christi day. The said earls, with divers other lords of Munster, as the Lord Barry, the Lord Roche, the Lord Fitz Maurice, the Lord Bermingham, and Magill-Patrick, now made by your highness Baron of Upper Ossory, came the Tuesday, and were all present at the said mass, the most part of them in their robes, and rode in procession in such sort, as the like thereof hath not been seen here of many years. And the Friday following, being assembled in the place of parliament accustomed, the canons presented unto us their speaker, one Sir Thomas Cusack, a man that right painfully hath served your majesty at all times, who made a right solemn proposition in giving such laud and praise to your majesty, as justly and most worthily your majesty hath merited, as well for the extirpation of the usurped power of the Bishop of Rome out of this your realm, who made of many years been a great robber and destroyer of the same, as also for your innumerable benefits showed unto your realms and subjects of the same which proposition was right well and prudently answered by your highness's chancellor here; and after, both the effect of the proposition and answer was briefly and prudently declared in the Irish tongue to the said lords, by the mouth of the Earl of Ormonde, greatly to their contentation. And that done, and the said speaker and commons withdrawn, it was by me your poor servant proposed, that forasmuch as your majesty had always been the only protector and defender under God of this realm, that it was most meet, that your majesty and your heirs should from

[1] *S.P. Hen. VIII.*

thenceforth be named and called king of the same, and caused the bill devised for the same to be read, which once being read and declared to them in Irish, all the whole house most willingly and joyously condescended and agreed to the same, and being three times read, and with one voice agreed, we sent the same to the lower house, wherein likewise it passed with no less joy and willing consent. And upon the Saturday following, the same bill being read in plain parliament before the lords and commons, it was by me your most humble servant most joyously consented, no less to my comfort, than to be again risen from life to death, that I so poor a wretch should by your excellent goodness be put to that honour, that in my time your majesty should most worthily have another imperial crown. I most humbly beseech Almighty God long to continue your majesty in the honour he hath hitherto maintained you in. There was at the same consent two earls, three viscounts, sixteen barons, two archbishops, twelve bishops, Donogh O'Brien, and the Doctor O'Nolan and a bishop, deputies assigned by the great O'Brien, to be for him in the parliament, the great O'Reilly, with many other Irish captains, and the common house, wherein are divers knights, and many gentlemen of fair possessions. And for that the thing passed so joyously, and so much to the contentation of every person, the Sunday following there were made in the city great bonfires, wine set in the Streets, great feastings in their houses, with a goodly sort of guns; and for that all men should have the more cause to rejoice, I with others of your majesty's council thought it good, that all prisoners, not lying at suit of any party for debt or such like, should be freely delivered out of the prisons wherein they were, unless it were for treason, wilful murder, rape, or debt. And the said Sunday all your lords and gentlemen rode to your church of St. Patrick's, where was sung a solemn mass by the Archbishop of Dublin, and after the mass the said act proclaimed there in the presence of 2000 persons, and *Te Deum* sung with great gladness and joy to all men. And for because my riches is small, I have sent your majesty a poor pair of gloves of silk, beseeching your majesty to accept the same, so simple a present, as of him that would as gladly present you with the empire of the whole world, if it were in him to give. Beseeching Almighty God to send your excellent majesty no less honours, than the most honourable that ever reigned in earth. From your grace's manor of Kilmainham, etc.

It is important to emphasise one item in this account, and that is, the submission of Irish chiefs or captains of their country. We find the names of Lord Barry, Lord Roche,

and Baron Magill-Patrick (*Mac-Giolla-Patrick*, i.e. son of the servant of St. Patrick). It is true that we do not find O'Neil, O'Donnel, O'Byrne, or O'Toole present, but they had not yet signed their submission. That came later. But it is sufficient for our contention that many Irish chiefs did deny the authority of the "Bishop of Rome" at this Parliament of 1541. Besides those mentioned above, we are told that Donogh O'Brien, or Baron O'Brien of Thomond, was present, and the representatives of the great O'Brien, or Viscount Thomond, were also there in the persons of Doctor O'Nolan and a bishop. Moreover, we are told "the great O'Reilly, with many other Irish captains" were also present. It is unfortunate that we are not told who those chiefs of the clans were. Again, we are told that "divers knights" were there. These were evidently the knights of the shires, but what towns they represented, we are not told. At all events, it seems clear that native Irish were strongly represented among the Commons as well as among the Peers, for at the combined assembly, the "Bishop of Rome" having been denounced, his authority denied, and the King lauded, these statements were given utterance to in the Irish language by the Earl of Ormond. And again, at the separate assembly of the Peers when the Bill was passed, the Act was read in Irish as well as in English. We are told that on both occasions the Act was "with one voice agreed," and in the Commons "passed with no less joy and willing consent." Emphasis of this point is necessary as it has often been a subject of discussion as to whether the native Irish gave assent to this Bill. Of course, we cannot associate the people with the deeds of their chiefs, or assert that such were the will of the people. There is nothing to support such a claim, and, indeed, there is abundant evidence to the contrary. On the other hand, the question as to how long these Irish chiefs continued to give their allegiance, is quite another matter. It is sufficient to observe that Irish chiefs did give their allegiance in Parliament to the King of England as Head of the Church in Ireland and as King of Ireland. But they could plead that they saw present there also two archbishops and twelve bishops of the Irish Church who gave their consent to the Bill.

Proclaimed in the Provinces.

The King's new title was to be announced in every shire of Ireland. But in Munster the proclamation was accompanied by special ordinances, founded on " the avowed state of general incivilisation, lawlessness, and insubordination, prevalent in that part of the kingdom," and " for reformation of the inhabitants of the parts of the kingdom not yet instructed in the [English] laws." [1] The Earl of Ormond in the counties of Waterford, Tipperary, and Kilkenny, and the Earl of Desmond in the rest of Munster were made custodians and executors of the Acts passed in the Parliament, with the assistance of the Archbishop of Cashel.[2]

It may not be out of place to mention here the chieftains who submitted to the King, renounced the " Pope's usurpations," and owned the King's supremacy by indenture; O'Connor and O'Dwyn, O'Donel, Brian Mac Mahon, O'Neal (at Maynooth), O'More, Hugh O'Kelly, Abbot of Knockmoy, O'Rourk, Mac Donel and Mac William or Ulick Burke, Mac Carthy More of Kerry, Mac Cormock of Muskerry, Barry Oge, O'Sullevan Bear, Barry Ruadh, Mac Donough of Allow, O'Callaghan and Gerald Fitz John.[3]

The indenture was in the following form: " That he shall renounce, relinquish, and suppress with all his might the usurped authority and primacy of the Roman Pontiff, and shall in no manner receive, protect, or defend his adherents; nor shall he permit them or any of them in his own territory, but with every effort and diligence he shall expel, cast out, and eradicate them or any of them, or he shall coerce and constrain them to submission to the said lord the king and his successors." [4]

There could be no mistake this time about the form and purpose of the oath or the indenture of the Irish chiefs.

The Council put before the King the necessity of uniformity in his title in the two kingdoms of Ireland and England,

[1] Mant, i. 167. Cox, i. 270. [2] *Ib.*, 272.

[3] *Red Book, Privy Counc. of Ir.* Cox, i. 272-3.

[4] " Quod renunciabit, relinquet, et adnihilabit pro posse suo usurpatam authoritatem et primaciam Romani Pontificis, sibi adherentes nullo modo accept tabit proteget aut defendet; nec in patria sua illos aut aliquem illorum permittet, sed omni industria et diligentia illos et quemlibet illorum expellet, ejicia- et eradicabit aut ad subjectionem dicti Domini Regis et successorum suorum coercebit et constringet."

especially in regard to the Great Seal. They intimated that there was no one in Ireland capable of engraving a new seal or altering the old one. And as it would occasion great loss and inconvenience to send the present one to England to be altered they begged the King to have the seal engraved in England, and they would send prints in wax of the present seals.[1]

Oath of Renunciation and Allegiance for Irish Bishops.

The advice of Staples had been taken, and the Irish bishops were called upon by the King to deliver up their Papal Bulls and receive the King's Briefs instead. Every bishop entering on his episcopal career was ordered to take the Parliamentary oath of the Supremacy of the King and of the renunciation of the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome. Even this oath was not considered sufficiently drastic, and a new form [2] was drawn up in 1541 :—

You shall swear that you shall bear faith, truth and obedience, all only to God, to the King's majesty, your Sovereign lord, Supreme head in earth, under God, of the Church of England and Ireland during his life. And after, to the heirs of his Grace's body begotten and procreated, and herafter to be gotten and procreated, according to the limitation in the Statute made for surety of his Grace's succession in the Crown of this realm, in the parliament be gone and holden at Westminster in the 8th day of June in the 26th year of his most gracious reign. And also for lack of such heirs, to such person or persons, as his highness shall limit and appoint to succeed the Crown, as the said Act doth more largely purpose and declare, and not to any other within or without this realm, nor to any foreign authority, power or potentate. And in case any other oath hath been made by you, to any person or persons, you now perfectly knowing and acknowledging it to be contrary to your duty of allegiance, and the due obedience which you ought [owe] to the King's Majesty your sovereign lord, do utterly refuse and renounce the same, and repute as vain and annihilate, and shall maintain, observe, and defend to the uttermost of your conning, wit, and power, without fraud, guile, or undue manner,

[1] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, x., no. 63.

[2] *Pat. R. Chanc. Ir.*, 32-33 Hen. VIII, m. 15, *dors.* nr. 24. See Gogarty, *Arch. Hib.*, i. 257.

the foresaid act of Succession, and the whole contents and effects thereof and all things that shall be done by the King's highness, by the authority of the same, and all other acts and statutes made in confirmation or for execution of the same or of anything therein contained, and thus you shall be against all manner persons of what estate, dignity, or condition soever they be, spiritual or temporal, and in no wise shall do, or attempt, nor to your power suffer to be done or attempted, directly or indirectly, any thing or things privately or aperthe [openly], to the let, hindrance, or derogation thereof, or any part of the same, or of any thing or things that shall be done by the King's highness, by virtue or authority of the said Act, by any manner, means, or any manner of pretence. And further, seeing it hath pleased his Highness to nominate and promote you to this bishopric of N——, you shall now swear and protest that you shall utterly forsake, forego, and renounce all manner title, claim, or interest, that in maintaining the bishop of Rome's unlawful, usurped power and authority, you might have, pretend, or allege in any wise to the said bishopric of N——, by any manner decrees, canons, bulls, or election, but acknowledge and confess to have, and to hold the same entirely, as well the spiritualities, as the temporalities thereof, only of the King's Majesty and Crown royal of this realm, immediately under Christ supreme head of the Church of England and Ireland. And also that you do and shall from henceforth utterly renounce, refuse, relinquish and forsake the bishop of Rome and his unjustly pretended authority, power, and jurisdiction by him claimed and vindicate with this realm. And that you shall consent nor agree that the Bishop of Rome shall practise nor have any manner of authority, jurisdiction, or power within the aforesaid realms or any other the King's dominions but that you shall refuse and withstand the same at all times with wit, cunning, and good will to the uttermost of your power, without guile, or fraud, or other undue means. And further all other acts and statutes made or to be made within this realm in confirmation and corroboration of the King's power of supreme head in earth of the Churches of England and Ireland, and in derogation of the Bishop of Rome's unlawful and usurped power and false, pretended authority. And this you shall maintain and support to the best and uttermost of your power against all manner of persons of what estate, dignity, degree, or condition soever they be, spiritual or temporal, So help you God, and all Saints, and the holy Evangelist.

This was a clear, unequivocal mandate to a new bishop undertaking control of an Irish See. He swore that he not

only received the temporalities from the King but likewise the Spiritualities, that he renounced the Bishop of Rome and all his usurped, pretended authority, power, and jurisdiction within this land, and that he recognised the King alone as the Supreme Head of the Church of England and of Ireland. It cannot be objected here that there was only question of depriving the Pope of his temporal power over Ireland. The issue was quite definite; all spiritual jurisdiction came to a bishop from the King. In the parliamentary oath of Supremacy (chap. xiii.) the question of the "Spiritualities" had not been mentioned, namely, it had not been definitely stated that the spiritual power of a bishop came directly from the King, although the rest of the oath was practically the same as that of 1541.

A legitimate question might be asked here: What are we to think of those bishops, already appointed to their Sees, who surrendered their Papal Bulls to the King? Some fourteen or fifteen went over to the King's side during Henry's reign. Did they, by the surrender of their Bulls, implicitly acknowledge the Supremacy of the King? A defender [1] of the orthodoxy of these bishops says: "This custom of the surrender of Bulls had been exercised by English monarchs for hundreds of years. The 'certain expressions of fidelity' exacted were merely expressions of loyalty, and certainly did not imply Supremacy. It is absolutely certain that perfectly orthodox bishops surrendered their Bulls to the Crown as a purely civil form in order to secure their temporalities."

It will help us in this matter to know what was the expression of fidelity exacted by the King of a bishop when restoring to him his temporalities. It will also help if we state now that the King, being feudal lord of bishops as well as of others, received the manors and lands of every See into his hands on the death of the bishop and restored them to the new bishop when the latter took the oath of fealty to him as to his feudal overlord. This was the custom during the Catholic days.

[1] W. H. Grattan Flood, *Ir. Theol. Quart.*, Jan., 1914, p. 53.

The oath of fealty [1] usually taken by the bishops to the King on the restitution of their temporalities states that the bishop swears that he will bear good faith to the King of England and his heirs, in life, limb, and worldly honour, against all peoples, and he will faithfully give due and customary service for the temporalities of his bishopric. The King, as the bishop came in person and took the oath, restored the temporalities as usual and ordered the briefs for the same to be issued.

In discussing the cases of the bishops who surrendered their Bulls after May, 1536, we are not treating of those who were entering into their Sees and taking the customary oath for the restitution of their temporalities. A completely new situation had arisen. They were asked to surrender their Papal Bulls and to receive Royal Briefs instead. Now, even if we admit that in the Catholic days bishops surrendered their Bulls to the King on the occasion of the restoration of their temporalities, they did so lest there might be in the Bull anything prejudicial to the privileges of the King in this matter. This means that the King safeguarded his feudal right of overlord with power of taking or of granting the temporalities of every See during vacancy. Nothing else was in question. But in the cases we are contemplating there was no such question at issue. These bishops had already taken the oath of fealty to the King for their temporalities. Why then were they asked to surrender their Papal Bulls after the Act of Supremacy had been passed ? Simply to acknowledge Henry as Head of the Church in Ireland, the spiritual jurisdiction of

[1] The oath to the King taken by John Darlington, Archbishop of Dublin (1279-84) reads :—

" Die Jovis proxima post festum Sancti Marci Evangeliste, anno, etc., VII, frater Johannes de Derlington, de ordine predicatorum, Electus Dublinensis, in presencia Magistri Ardicionis, nuncii sedis apostolice, fecit fidelitatem Regi Edwardo et heredibus suis Regibus Anglie pro temporalibus Dublin. Archiepiscopatus in hec verba : Ego frater Johannes de Derlington, ordinis predicatorum, quem dominus Papa providit ecclesie Dublin, juro inspectis sacrosanctis Evangeliis quod ego domino Edwardo Regi Anglie et heredibus suis Regibus Anglie portabo bonam fidem de vita et membris et terreno honore contra omnes gentes, et quod fideliter faciam servitium debitum et consuetum de temporalibus dicti Archiepiscopatus.—Et dictus Rex, quia personaliter venit et fecit fidelitatem, ut predictum est, reddidit ei temporalia dicti Archiepiscopatus prout moris est et fieri consuevit, et precepit quod haberet super hoc brevia " (*Rot. Claus.*). 7 Edw. I, m. 7, *dors.* See McInerny, *Hist. of Ir. Dom.*, at Abp. Darlington.

the King of England. The oath on the occasion of restoration of temporalities *certainly* did not imply Supremacy, but the surrender of the Bulls and the acceptance of Royal Briefs did imply Supremacy. One has only to compare the oath for the temporalities with the oath of Supremacy of 1537 (chap. xiii.) and with the oath of 1541 to see that they were as far apart as the poles. Even though the bishops already in office were not asked to take either the oath of 1537 or of 1541, yet their surrender of their Bulls was tantamount to the taking of either of these oaths by a bishop entering into his See. Can we take it that Henry allowed freedom of opinion to the former class of bishops and denied it to the latter? He was already sure of their loyalty by the fact of the surrender of their Bulls. We cannot, therefore, accept any difference in their attitude towards the English King and towards the Pope between these two classes of bishops. The meaning of their actions in both cases was identical, namely, the renunciation of the Pope as Spiritual Head of the Church and the acceptance of the King instead. And if there was any possibility of doubt about the meaning of the oath of 1537, there was certainly no doubt about that of 1541 in which it is categorically stated that the bishops' Spiritualities were granted by the King. We find it impossible then to accept the orthodoxy of these bishops.

Henry VIII's Title to the Crown. Cowley Reports Adversely Sentleger's Remarks.

In dealing with the acts and reports of the Council of Ireland it must be constantly borne in mind that the members were time-servers of Cromwell, always endeavouring to gain his favour and, consequently, promotion by spying and reporting adversely on one another. One of the most active spies was Robert Cowley, who had been promoted to be Master of the Rolls. He rarely lost an opportunity of vilifying other members of the Council. Sentleger, like his predecessor Gray, was not an ardent supporter of the "reform," and his methods did not please such a pronounced supporter of Cromwell's methods as Cowley was. Consequently, he was reported by Cowley as having spoken against Henry's title to the

Crown of England, and implicitly against his new title of King of Ireland.

The story is told in a memorandum [1] drawn up in August, 1541 :—

Memorandum. That where there hath been noted by Robert Cowley, Master of the Rolls, as information hath come to the Council of Ireland that Sir Anthony Sentleger Knight, the King's Deputy there, should say as he affirmed at his table at dinner in Kylmanan in presence of use whose names be subscribed, then sitting at the same board, that the King's father had but a very slender and feeble title to the Crown of England before he married King Edward's daughter, in so much he had thought to ground his title by conquest. And the said Robert, supposing the same as he saith to be an offence against the King, hath declared that he both noted the same and disclosed it to the Earl of Ormond, the Justice Luttrell and others, in avoiding the danger of couchement, as he affirmeth. For declaration of our knowledge therein, we affirm that we never heard no such nor like words spoken by the said Sir Anthony at Kilmaynan, but we remember that he said, Sir Anthony being at Thomas Court by Dublin, at dinner with us, Baron Walshe, John Mynne, and William Cavendisshe then present at the table the King's Chancellor, the Archbishop of Dublin, the Vice-Treasurer, and others, upon communication of King Lewis of France whose proceedings the said Sir Anthony partly recapitulated, especially the difference or dissension in his time and of other countries, and of the dissension that hath been in England betwixt the houses of Lancaster and York. In which things he said God had wrought wondrously, declaring of the coming in of King Henry the VIIth whose wisdom he much praised, saying, that yet he had no great title to the Crown before he married King Edward's daughter, whereunto I, Baron Walshe, said he had a title by his mother, the Duke of Somerset's daughter. The said Sir Anthony answered, nay, he had never perfect title before he married King Edward's daughter, in so much as I have heard say, divers that were about him advised him to have taken the Realm by conquest, but now said he, thanked be the Lord all titles be in the King our Master, which communication, as we take it, at that time, proceeded of no malice nor evil intent but only to the praise of God that wrought things so wondrously the land, of the will and proceedings of the said King Henry VII, and rejoicing that the King our Master had so perfect and clear title

[1] *S.P. Hen. VIII*, vol. x., no. 29, P.R.O., London.

to the Crown whereby all such difference and dissensions were quieted.

John Alen, Chancellor.
Thomas Walssh.
William Cavendyssh.
Thomas Lutrell, Justice.
George Dublin.
John Mynne.
William Brabazon.
[no address]

[endorsed] The Chancellor and Council in Ireland with the commissioners touching words spoken by the deputy and noted by Cowley.

This communication indirectly gives us a picture of the new uses to which the religious houses were being applied. Kilmainham priory had become the official residence of the Lord Deputy and his suite of attendants, soldiers, lackeys, etc., and was used for meetings of the Council. St. Thomas's Abbey had been taken possession of by some other official, probably by Brabazon who had obtained a lease of the premises. And so we find the various officials, commissioners, and the Archbishop, being entertained in state in the dining hall, and the kitchen and other parts of the building given over to the entertainment and revelry of the various attendants who had accompanied their lords, and who were to see them safely home. The dining hour in those days was in the early afternoon. But we shall not presume further on the reader's imagination. The incident, however, calls up a picture worth recording.

Submission of Irish Chiefs.

Lord Deputy Sentleger and the Council were making a united and determined effort to bring the country to a recognition of the King's new title, and to obtain submission from the captains of the Irish nation to English laws and customs. The King had recommended the appointment of "learned men" as judges who should reside especially at Limerick and Galway, to "ride the circuit there" in vacation time, and thus bring "tranquillity and peace" to those parts. With increased stipends these judges might be induced to take up the task of bringing to "obedience and civility this country that has so long strayed." James Fitz-John, Earl of Desmond, had been induced to come to Cahir on 16 January,

1540, take the oath of allegiance and deliver his son Gerald as hostage who should be bred after the English manner. By indenture he renounced the privilege that he and his predecessors had for a long time claimed of not being obliged to appear at the Parliament, or come within any walled town, but at their own pleasure ; and denied and promised to forsake " the Bishop of Rome's usurped primacy and authority, and covenanted that he would with all his power resist and repress the same, and all that should by any means use or maintain it." [1] The O'Breynes (O'Briens) had also made their submission to Henry as King of Ireland and Head of the Church in Ireland, and petitioned him for favours. The Council suggested to the King (2 June, 1542) that O'Breyne might get a seat in the Irish Parliament with some title of honour. As Donough O'Brien, " who is to be the next O'Brien " and who had served the King well during the recent rebellion, was to be Earl of Thomond in due course, the Council suggested to make him Viscount Thomond, and the other O'Breyne, Earl of Thomond.[2] The King, in his reply, accepted the Council's suggestion and agreed that Donough should be a baron, but that the heir of the new Earl of Thomond should not be admitted a member of Parliament until his father died, but must remain bareheaded at the bar of the house beside the Cloth of State as a listener, as the young lords do here in England.

In the north also the Irish chieftains were making their submission to the King, renouncing the authority of the Pope, and pleading for favours. The Council succeeded in making O'Neil believe that the King was conferring a great favour on him by receiving his submission and that they would put his petition before Henry. But in their letter to the King they point out how near their army was to defeat and that they had got O'Neil to agree to terms such as he had never before agreed to. After his allegiance given at Dundalk [3]

[1] Cox, i. 266, *ex MSS. Lambeth.*

[2] *S.P. Hen. VIII,* vol. 10., no. 63, P.R.O., London.

[3] Articles subscribed by Connatius (Conn) O'Neile (1541) :—

2°. " Penitus renuntio obediencie Romani Pontificis, ejusque usurpatam auctoritatem relinquo, et dictum Serenissimum Dominum meum recognosco Supremum Caput Ecclesie Anglicane et Hibernicane immediate sub Christo : et imposterum, in quantum potero, compellam omnes degentes sub meo regimine,

and his ready acceptance of the title of Earl, of lands, etc., and the conditions prescribed by the King, the Council considered him worthy of trust, and that he would not return to his former obstinacy and rebellion according to his "perverse inclination and savage nature."

They mention another matter that gives them reason for hope that O'Neil will continue peaceful. Recently, O'Neil's eldest son, Felim Kegh (*caoch* = blind), had been killed in a fray with McDonnell, captain of O'Neil's gallowglasses, which was the cause of enmity between O'Neil and the gallowglasses. The Council, perceiving this, found means to persuade the gallowglasses to forsake him. These warriors, accordingly, in O'Neil's presence, protested that they would never return to him, but would adhere to the King and serve him against O'Neil. The Council enclose McDonnell's submission, and have received his hostage. They expect this will be a warning to O'Neil to humble himself to obey the King. Moreover, they think that McDonnell's petition for the King's lands of Green Castle and Mourne, which are now waste and have been so for many years, but which will be soon profitable, will be for the King's good, for "the service of the said gallowglasses shall be better for your Majesty than treble the rent thereof."

The King in his reply to the letters of the Council of 4 June (1542), says he takes O'Neil's submission in good part, and in the event of his continuing in dutiful obedience and bringing those under him to show the same, he will, on the next recommendation of the Council, give O'Neil such name of honour and lands (the name and title of Ulster only excepted) as the Council may suggest.

The King likewise grants the Green Castle and Mourne to McDonnell, captain of O'Neil's gallowglasses, provided the

ut similiter facient; et si contingat aliquem provisorem aut provisores aliquas facultates sive bullas obtinere de predicta usurpata auctoritate, illos sursum reddere dictas bullas et facultates cogam, et semetipsos submittere ordinationi Regie Majestatis; et si aliqui, habentes similes bullas aut provisionem, easdem vellent sursum reddere, et recipere ex donatione Regia, tunc suam Majestatem humiliter implorabo illos suis ante habitis dignitatibus clementer restituere" (*S.P. Hen. VIII, Ir.*, iii. 353). O'Donnell, or as he is called McDonell, Captain of the Galoglas, subscribed to a similar oath, 18 May, 1542 (Sentleger to Hen. VIII. *Ib.*, 383).

King's laws are established there, and paths and ways cut through the lands to keep them in check.[1]

Submission of the O'Tooles.

To watch the contraction of the English Pale between the reigns of the second and eighth Henry is an interesting study. It is Anglo-Norman sway in a nut-shell. The great warrior-Archbishop of Dublin, John de Saundford, at the close of the thirteenth century, had spent a couple of years journeying west and south, doing more than one man's work to bring the country into subjection to the English King. During his term of office as Escheator he had strengthened his fortress of Castlekevin [2] and also Newcastle McKynegan and kept Ballymore strong so as to turn back the onrush of the McMurroughs, the O'Tooles, and the O'Byrnes. During the next two hundred years the southern line of the Pale was pushed back gradually to the river Dodder within a few miles of Dublin city. In 1537 Ballymore (Eustace) had become useless to the Archbishop of Dublin as one of his manors, and the Pale ran in a straight easterly direction from Oughterard, through Saggart and Tallaght, and along the Dodder. Castle-kevin between Roundwood and Glendaloch had become a ruined castle, and Newcastle McKynegan, near Wicklow town, had also been knocked out of action. Even the Archbishop's other manor of Shankhill was made useless for him by the

[1] *S.P. Hen. VIII*, vol. x., no. 65, P.R.O., London.

[2] Castlekevin (*Castrum Keyvini*), one of the Archbishop's manors, was probably erected by Archbishop de Londres about 1216, after the Glendaloch Abbey lands had finally passed to the archbishopric of Dublin. The castle was situated on a low, sandy ridge, about a mile south-east of Annamoe. This district, called Saufkevin (*Salvum Kevini*) or retreat of St. Kevin, was, with the adjoining districts of Fertir (Vartry) and Coillacht (in the Dublin mountains above Tallaght), disafforested in 1229. These mountain districts and the rich land between the mountains and the sea comprising practically the whole extent of the ancient Fercullen, were claimed by the O'Tooles as their ancient heritage. The King had made Glencree his royal forest, the Archbishop acquired Shankill, one of his richest and most extensive manors, and with the King fortifying Newcastle and the Archbishop Castlekevin, the O'Tooles were deprived of peaceful possession of this district. But they gave little peace to the archbishops and to the English yeomen who were granted extensive lands there on condition of building castles. It will be remembered that Archbishop Browne had given up Powerscourt, in his manor of Shankill, to the King so that the latter might place Peter Talbot there to defend the marches along with the Walshes, Harrolds, and Archbolds.

raids of the mountain clans. However, after 1537, Henry's plan of planting strong persons, like Barnewall in Ballymore and Peter Talbot in Powerscourt, with their followers, and by the aid of the Walshes, Harrolds, and Archbolds who inhabited South Co. Dublin from the Dublin mountains above Rathfarnham to Bray, had succeeded in turning back the mountain Irish into the valleys of the present Co. Wicklow and the sea-board south of Wicklow town. The new Deputy Sentleger had swept the mountains as far as Castlekevin, and put that castle into proper repair. He had already made a treaty with the McMurroughs or Kavanaghs, and now he compels the O'Tooles and the O'Byrnes to make peace. The subjugation of Leinster was growing apace. The Deputy and Council accordingly report progress to the King (1540) :—

According to our most bounden duties, it may please your most Excellent Majesty to be advertised, that continuing your high commandment for the full and perfect reducing of Leinster to your majesty's obedience, in as convenient time as we could after the journey upon the Cavenaghes, and after monition given by writing to the Otholes (which be an other sept of people in the same Leinster) that they should not only submit themselves to your Majesty's obedience, but also leave the country wherein they inhabited, in which is, for the most part, nothing but woods, rocks, great bogs, and barren ground, being unmanured or tilled, which was a great occasion to them to live like wild and savage persons, only living by stealth, and robbing their neighbours, the which monition they clearly denied to follow; and upon that we advanced with such number as your Highness hath here in retinue, with divers others of your English pale, both horsemen and kerne, and so entered the country. And in our way perceiving an old broken castle there,[1] appertaining to the Archbishop of Dublin, being clearly desolate, and the country clear waste, we thought the same place very "propys" [suitable] as well for the subduing of the said Otholes, as also to keep the Birnes (another sept of people there) in good order. Whereupon we determined to reedify the same, and make it wardable, which we have now, in effect, done. And continuing there and about the fastness of the said Otholes, by the space of 4 weeks, seeking and pursuing the said Otholes (of whom we slew diverse), the Earl of Ormond repaired to us with a goodly company of 600 horsemen and footmen. And

[1] Castlekevin.

the second day after his repair, the principal of the said Otholes, called Thirrologh, which now is repaired to your Highness, desired very instantly to parley with us, which we all agreed unto; and so the said Earl sent certain of his band, with whom the said Thirrologh came unto us. And after divers requests made, that we should vouchsafe to be as well contented to suffer him and his brother, and their kin, to enjoy the lands, which they did claim, as we had done the Cavenaghes they likewise submitting themselves to your Majesty's obedience, would as well serve your Highness, as they. Which offer we wholly refused, thinking the same not to stand with your Majesty's honour, that they should have at our hands such lands as they claimed; but we were contented to grant them other lands within your English pale, which should be more profitable to them, than the land which they claimed, and where they should have no occasion to do your subjects so much harm; thinking the same offer to be more honourable to your Highness to take lands at your assignment, than to have such land as they would choose themselves, and have kept many years perforce; although we think it better that your Highness should give them such lands, as they now claim, than any other, considering the same is all waste, and will be hard to make Englishmen to inhabit it without great costs to your Highness. And finally the said Thirrologh, perceiving that he could by no means attain at our hands his desired request, prayed us that we would be contented that he himself might repair to your Excellent Majesty.

The Council laid down as a condition of the pact that one of the O'Tooles' best sons should be always a hostage with the Deputy, that they were to wear English dress, and obey English laws. They say that—

Thirrologh is but a wretched person, and a man of no great power, neither having house to put his head in, nor yet money in his purse to buy him a garment, yet may he well make 2 or 3 hundred men. Assurring your Highness that he hath done more hurt to your English Pale than any man in Ireland, and will do, whensoever he shall not either be clearly banished, or restored to your Highness' favors, etc.

And if it may please your Highness to grant unto the said Thirrologhe the castle of Powerscourt (which of late your Highness gave to one of your subjects here [i.e. Peter Talbot], which is parcel of the land that they claim, called Fercullen, upon recompense to your said subject to be made), and the lands in the said

Fercullen; and to the brother of the said Thirrologh, called Art Og Othole (which is a sober fellow, and a good captain) the foresaid Castle Kevin, with the lands thereunto belonging, called the Fertur, to be holden of your Highness by such service as shall stand with your pleasure.

And obtaining the same of your Majesty, the said Thirrologh, and Arte his brother, have promised not only to put in pledges of the best they have, for their good behaviour to your Highness and subjects, but also to cause all the same lands to be manured [tilled] and peopled by such as shall in all points obey your Highness' laws and precepts, and preserve the country, that your people shall and may pass the same without danger of life or goods, and to pay yearly to your Majesty, after 2 years, five marks by the year for Powerscourt with Fercullen, and other 5 marks by the year to the said Archbishop, for his interest in the said Castle Kevin and Fertur aforesaid. And we think that those countries being once peopled, and having goods to lose, shall always be under the scourge of your deputy, in case they would at any time do otherwise than becometh them. And also the Obirnes, being the next neighbours to your English pale, who already be meetly well peopled, and live in much more wealth than the said Otholes, and will be every day better than other, who also have submitted themselves to your Highness, and to take their lands, as before is said, be also under the scourge of your said Deputy.

The Council enclosed their plan "in a book herein enclosed":—

Tyrrelagh Othoole and his brother Arte Oge's petitions to the King's Highness, as they be now qualified by the King's Deputy and Council.

First the said Tyrrelagh humbly desireth of His Majesty to have a certain territory of land, called Fercullen, which his ancestors heretofore had, till they were expulsed by the Earls of Kildare.

The said Fercullen containeth in length from Bernecullen by east and south of Glassemuckey to Polcallen by west the Wyndegates, being five miles in length, and 4 in breadth, being the more part mountains, woods, and rocks, and the other part good fertile lands.[1]

[1] The O'Toole country was claimed to be from above Rathfarnham, across the mountains to Castlekevin, and in the plain from said place to Wyndgates (between Bray and Greystones). South of that, as far as Arklow, was the country of the O'Byrnes.

A lease was granted to Edward Basnet (Dean) of Newcastell McKinegan, alias the King's Castle, in the O'Byrne's country, in the marches of Dublin, in

Within the said Fercullen were certain villages and crags, of old time, as hereafter follow, being now all desolate, except only Powerscourt.

Powerscourte	The Ovenagh	Ancrewye
Kylpeter	Ballycorty	Kylmoolyn and
Kylcoolyn	Temple Began	Ballynbrowe
Beanagh Beg	Kyltagaran	Kylleger
Beanagh More	Cokyston	The Monastery.

The said Tyrrelagh to have the premises divided him and his sequele [followers], as shall be thought meet by such as shall be appointed by the Kyng's Majesty, and after division made, every party to have letters patents of their portion. The said Tyrrelagh to hold the whole seignory of the King, by knight's service and five marks yearly, etc. ; and the residue to hold of him by knight's service ; they all to be obedient to the King's laws, use the English apparel, and do such service according the extent of their lands, as other gentlemen of the Walshes, Harolds, and Archbolds do or use, or hereafter shall do or use, in the march of Dublin.

The said Arte Oge Othoole's humble petition is, to have, after like form and sort, the manor of Castle Kevin, with the lands in the Ferture, of the King's gift, reserving yearly five marks to the Archbishop of Dublin and his successors.

And all the said gifts to be ratified by authority of Parliament.[1]

The King wrote to the Lord Deputy with regard to the above request and directed him to call before him Piers Talbot, who had possession of the lands of Powerscourt, and in a " gentle sorte " to get from him a surrender of those lands and give them to O'Toole. Turlough had also asked for the lands of Amayle (Ui Mail), which were then in an " Irishman's " hands, and the King also granted this " for a full winning of Turlough," but enjoined the Deputy to have a vigilant eye on him and his brother, and if they should happen to return to their old kind of life, to pursue them so that it might be an example to others. Turlough had interviewed the King, and Fitzwilliam was his interpreter, Turlough being unable to speak English. Besides the conditions mentioned above the O'Tooles were to use the English tongue, and bring up their children in its use ; keep the castle of Powerscourt staunch and

the Co. Dublin. To hold for 21 years at a rent of 26s. 8d. The lease to be void if the King determine to place a garrison there, 26 Dec., 1543. (*Fiants, Hen. VIII*, no. 389.)

[1] *S.P. Hen. VIII., Ir.*, iii. 266.

guardable; attend the Lord-Lieutenant upon all hostings when forewarned with their companies; not succour enemies, rebels, or traitors, hold their lands by one whole knight's fee, and five marks rent, and O'Toole shall give one of his "best sonnes" for pledge.

Peter Talbot was not left unrewarded for his obedience to the King as the following[1] shows: "Grant to Peter Talbot, gent. (upon the surrender of the manor of Powerscourt, lands of Powerscourte, Cokeston, Killegrye, and Kylgarran, and in Fercolyn); of Bloyke [Bullock], Balmachorus, Glanmunder *alias* Balymany,[2] Teghbrodan[3] *alias* Kilmaynanbege, Co. Dublin. To hold for ever, at a rent of 2d." (6 April, 1542.)

In another letter from the King to the Council of Ireland, in answer to their letters of 4 June, 1542, Henry refers to the lands granted to Turlough O'Toole. He mentions that Turlough presented himself at the English court with his son Turlough as hostage and that he was not aware of the son's "condition" at the time (namely that he was a bastard, and therefore useless as a hostage), and that the lands were then granted to him on certain conditions. A copy of these conditions had been sent to the Council, and orders were issued to see that these conditions were signed by Turlough before letters patent were made out by the Council to him for those lands, provided young Turlough agreed to those conditions. The King then remarks that that small quarter of the realm where the Tooles, Byrnes, and Cavanaghs dwell has been the cause of great disturbance, and he therefore enjoins on the Council to see that that quarter of Leinster shall be perfectly reduced to civilisation, and its inhabitants made amenable to English laws. To secure this end he orders the country to be laid open by cutting and keeping roads, paths, and ways, so that, if any one of these clans should revolt, it may be easily punished. And in such an event the Council are to send their forces to exterminate the leaders and their followers for ever, and grant the country to such Englishmen or others who will

[1] *Fiants, Hen. VIII*, no. 283.

[2] Near Old Connacht, Little Bray.

[3] Teghbrodan, i.e. Tigh-Bretan, house of the Briton. The Briton is Mo-Lua, one of St. Patrick's household, also called Dalua of Dun Tighe Bretan, and of Craoibech. The latter place is Creevagh, now corruptly Cruagh, lying between Mount Pelier and Tibradden (Teghbrodan) hill in the Dublin mountains.

hold the country against these clans, if any remain, and answer to English laws. For unless all these Irishmen, who now come and submit to the King, see that English laws are established in their country and see that their followers yield submission to them, it will be rather to their own disadvantage than to the King's.[1]

The Council then intimated that, according to the King's laws, Turlough's children were bastards, " as, in fact, all of that sort are." But the King had ordered the lands to be granted to O'Toole's heirs, which these children are not. Therefore, until they hear further from the King, the Chancellor will put a stay to delivery of these lands to O'Toole.

Archbishop's Lands Granted to O'Toole.

As Powerscourt had already been made over to the King for the purpose of fortifying the castle there and for the defence of the Pale, Browne was now asked to make over Castlekevin so that the O'Tooles, having submitted, may keep that part of the country in loyalty to the King. A strange turn in the affairs of men had taken place. Henry II's follower, de Riddelsford, had turned out the O'Tooles from their fertile lands around Castledermot, and these had to be satisfied with the mountains of Wicklow. Then the Archbishop of Dublin acquired the Glendaloch lands, and held the O'Tooles as feudal tenants, and during the centuries the clan O'Toole had wreaked vengeance on the archbishops by despoiling their lands of Castlekevin, Shankill, and Ballymore. And now another Henry restores to the same clan the lands they anciently acquired in the mountains, and compels the Archbishop to yield up Castlekevin to them.

In a letter of the Lord Deputy and Council, 2 June, 1542, to the King, they mention among other things, how the Archbishop of Dublin, the King's chaplain, had at all times been ready to carry out the royal commands, especially in this matter of yielding up his lands to Turlough O'Toole, out of which lands the King had already had yearly £3 6s. 8d., chief rent, besides other perquisites and service. They refer to the great talk that has been occasioned among the King's

[1] *S.P. Hen. VIII*, vol. x., no. 65, P.R.O., London.

poor subjects in the marches because of this grant to O'Toole, and to the fact that the Archbishop had sought no recompense for his liberality. But they mention that the Archbishop, relying on the royal clemency, had desired them to write to the King in his favour, pointing out that he owed the late Lord Rochford £250, which was not money lent by Rochford to Browne, but only a promise of reward to be given to Rochford on account of the latter's favourable pleading before the King for Browne. This promised £250 had come to the King by reason of the attainder of Rochford. They prayed the King to remit to him a debt of £280, "in respect of his [Browne's] said conformity, and that he hath, sithence his repair into this your realm, sustained great charges in your highness' service, and came very poor to his said promotion, having no manner dilapidations of the goods of his predecessor,[1] whereby he shall not only be the more able to serve your majesty, and be well requited for his said conformity, but also bind him, according to his most bounden duty, to pray to Almighty God for the long preservation of your most royal estate; otherwise we think the man shall not be able to pay your majesty, and live in any honourable estate."[2] Signed by Browne, Staples, Rawson, and Basnet, among others.

The King directed the remission of such sums of money as the Archbishop owed to the late Lord Rochford, by bond, dated 5 July, 1543:—

The King forgives the Archbishop of Dublin £250 which he owed to the late Lord Rochforde; not doubting but he will the better apply his office, and provide good preachers to teach the people their duties to God and the King, the lack whereof is great in those parts; [and directed the Lord Deputy and Council] to have a special regard to this point, and to provide that they may learn by good and Catholic teaching and the ministration of justice to know God's laws and the King's, which shall daily more and more confirm them in honest living, obedience to their own benefices, and the universal good of the country.[3] (Signed, John Allen, Chancellor; Edward [Bishop of] Meath, Gerald Aylmer,

[1] They refer to the injuries inflicted on Alen, Browne's predecessor, by Lord Thomas Fitzgerald.

[2] *S.P. Hen. VIII, Ir.*, iii. 390.

[3] *S.P. Hen. VIII*, vol. x., no. 65, P.R.O., London.

Justice; William Brabazon, Thomas Luttrell, John Travers, Thomas Cusake, Mr. Rotlox, Edward Basnet, Dean.)

Thus Browne, in return for the remission of this debt, was burdened with the heavy task of sending preachers into the country of the O'Tooles and the O'Byrnes to preach the King's Supremacy, teach them their duties to the new Head of the Church in Ireland, and turn them from all allegiance to the Pope.

Submission of the O'Byrnes.

The O'Byrnes, like their neighbours the O'Tooles, submitted to the King by an indenture made at Dublin, 4 July, 34 Henry VIII (1542) :—

Thady O'Birne, captain of his nation; Darius O'Birne; Thady Juvenis O'Birne; Dowlyn O'Birne; John, son of Remund O'Birne; Brian O'Birne; Terence O'Birn; Donogh McBraune O'Birne; Donough O'Birne; Gerald O'Birne; Shane O'Birne; Morgho O'Birne; Calagh McEdmonde Togh O'Birne; Cahir McTeg O'Birne; Braune McMelaghlyn O'Birne, and other nobles of their nation, inhabiting a certain country between Wynde Gates and the town of Arclowe in the county of Dublin, humbly submitted themselves to the King, his Deputy, and Council.

(1) They have long followed the manners, usages, and habits of foresters and wild Irish, but now they renounce them all for ever, earnestly petitioning that by the King's letters patent they may be accepted and reputed as Englishmen and the King's lieges.

(2) They petition the King to grant them by letters patent their lands and tenements, to be held by knight service.

(3) That their country may be erected by authority of Parliament into a county, with the name of the Co. Wicklow, so that the King may henceforth constitute a sheriff there, and other officers.

(4) They grant to the King that their country shall be divided into 80 ploughlands [carucates, i.e. of 120 acres each], and that the King shall have every year 3s. 4d. for every carucate in the name of a subsidy; also that the King shall have the town and castle of Wicklowe free and totally exonerated from their impositions.

(5) They surrender up to the King, his heirs and successors for ever, their manor and castle of Newcastle McKenygan, with the demesne lands of the same manor, the metes and bounds of which two persons on the part of the King and two on their part shall define.

(6) The King and his farmers shall enjoy all lordships, manors,

rectories, and other possessions in the said country lately appertaining to divers monasteries [1] and now belonging to the King by authority of Parliament; and all beneficed persons shall have their benefices without molestation.

(7) When it shall seem necessary to the Deputy and Council to take into pay armed footmen called galloglasses, then, as often as the counties of Kildare and Catherlagh shall be burthened with the support of the Scots, the said country shall be bound to support 120 Scots with their servants for a quarter of a year; so that the said country in that year shall be exonerated from the aforesaid subsidy. In case they should violate the conditions contained in this submission it shall be lawful for the Lord Deputy to burthen the said country every year for a quarter of a year with the said 120 Scots.

(8) Also they will send to the King and his Deputy in every hosting 12 horsemen and 24 footmen well armed and victualled, under the penalty of forfeiting for every horseman deficient 20s., and for every footman 6s. 8d.; and on every sudden occasion they will rise up with the Deputy for one, two or three days and nights with the whole band of men of war of the said country.

(9) Also, whereas there reside and are supported in the said country at the common expense 24 footmen with their accustomed servants, called "kerne tigh," who are wont to serve the captain of the country there, it is granted that Captain O'Birne now being, for one year after the date of these presents, shall have them as he before had them at the common expense of the country, provided that the said footmen shall be from time to time attendant on the sheriff, assisting him in making distraints and apprehending malefactors. On the lapse of the year, if Captain O'Birne or the said footmen have not well conducted themselves, then the Lord Deputy and Council in the next year shall appoint other footmen in their place at the common expense of the said country, and commit the government of them to whomsoever they please.

(10) No gentleman of the said country shall have other (*sic*) footmen at the expenses of others, unless he retain them in his own house at his own expense; except the sheriff, who may have 10 or 12 footmen at his own expense, and that of his friends, for the execution of his office. After a general convocation of all the footmen of the said country, which shall take place as soon as possible, any footman who remains there idle without a lord or

[1] St. John's, Kilmainham, held over 1000 acres between Wicklow and Arklow, but received no revenue from them.

sufficient surety answerable for him, shall be apprehended and committed to prison.

(11) Also they agree that if any of them contravene this submission, and especially if he return to the manner of the Irish, or conspire with the Irish, he and all favouring him shall forfeit their lives, lands, and goods.

This submission the Lord Deputy and Council have ratified, provided that the King should accept it within one year.[1]

For our purpose the important item in the foregoing agreement is that the King and his farmers or lessees were to receive the monastic lands belonging to the religious houses of Dublin and situated in the O'Byrne country. The King was likewise, as Head of the Church, to have all benefices in that country in his hands. He signified his willingness to allow the present occupants to retain them without molestation. Thus, for the time being, the O'Tooles and the O'Byrnes acknowledged submission to Henry as King of Ireland and Head of the Church of Ireland.

That was in 1542. Two years later, Basnet, dean of St. Patrick's, the O'Byrne country being still a peaceful land, asked for some of it for two of his brothers. This request was made by the Deputy and Council in a letter to the King (16 Jan., 1544): " At the Deputy's coming hither, the King admitted Mr. Basenet, dean of St. Patrikes by Dublin, to be one of the Council here, who has since served diligently without fee or reward and does not intend ' to be a craver for his service ' : but, having two brethren here serving in the wars, he begs the King to give them two parcels of land in the marches of Leynster, amongst the Byrnes, valued at 57s. 9d. yearly by the survey, or else to let him purchase the same or have it in fee." (Signed among others by Browne and Staples.)

Abuses to be Remedied.

Having extracted submission from the Irish chiefs, and, above all, from the most troublesome among them, the O'Tooles and the O'Byrnes, the Council of Ireland turned their attention to the promotion of a better " reformation " among the clergy and people in religious matters. Non-residence among the

[1] Document in Latin, *Car. Cal.*, p. 193.

beneficed clergy being injurious to the cause of religion and being somewhat prevalent at this time, the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland appealed to the Privy Council in England for their assistance in checking this abuse. They wrote in 1542 : [1] "Being advertised that some beneficed persons have resort thither, intending to sue for licences of non-residence, contrary to the laws of this realm, which if they should obtain, were great hindrance to the common weal here ; we shall, therefore, beseech your good lordships to move the King's Majesty to stay such suits for licences of non-residence." We are not told the reason of these applications on the part of the clergy, whether it was for purposes of study in English universities, or in order to escape a critical situation in their own country.

Again, the oath of renunciation for the bishops having been drawn up in 1541, it was now considered that some pressure should be brought to bear on the existing bishops to show themselves more zealous for the King's titles and for their acceptance by their flocks. In this cause John Travers suggests, among "certain devices for the reformation of Ireland" that : "whereas the inhabitants of this realm, for the more part, have of long time, and yet hitherto be, ignorant of the true doctrine of Christ, for lack of preaching the same, which hath caused them to neglect due obedience to God and the King ; it shall be, for the remedy hereof, necessary that the Archbishop of Dublin, my Lord of Meath [Staples], and such others as favour the Gospel, do instruct the Irish bishops of this realm ; causing them to relinquish and renounce all popish or papistical doctrine, and to set forth sincerely, within each of their dioceses, the true word of God." [2] Six years had elapsed since the Supremacy was passed and still that "word of God" was not popular with priests or people because of "lack of preaching." The bishops, though they had accepted the Supremacy, were silent before their flocks. And Travers could only name two of them who favoured this "Gospel" and who would be ardent preachers of the same. The words of Travers confirm what we have already said about the apathy of the bishops in promoting this part of the "reform."

[1] *Cal. L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vol. ii. Part III, p. 418. [2] *Ib.*, p. 431.

Another important matter that apparently caused the much-married King some concern was the continency of his priests. In this same year he wrote to the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland :—

> We think it meet, that seeing we have passed here the act for the continency of priests, you should in like manner follow, and do the same there ; or, at least, upon consideration of the state of the country, cause such a reasonable book to be devised and sent hither for that purpose, as may be to God's pleasure in the avoiding of that sin, and to the advancement of the honest name and fame of our clergy of that realm.[1]

By the English statute of 31 Henry VIII, c. 14 (1539) the incontinency of priests was made a felony ; but by chap. x of the next session, this statute, on account of its severity, was repealed for the first and second offences ; and the crime was, in the first instance, made punishable with loss of goods, and if the offender had more than one benefice, with the forfeiture of the revenues of all but one ; the second offence subjected him to the forfeiture of all his revenues ; and the third to perpetual imprisonment. All this was according to the third of the "Six Articles" known to those who hated them as the "Whip of Six Strings."

As Henry was now virtually Pope, and able to exercise more power in England than any Pope had ever possessed, he declared his royal will about certain other matters. No books of Scripture—portions—were to be sold without leave—the leave was to be had from none but Cromwell. He, as the King's vicegerent, ordered a copy of the English Bible to be set up in every church, and instructed the clergy to admonish their parishioners to read it. No one but learned divines was to dispute about the nature of the Blessed Sacrament. Holy bread, holy water, creeping to the Cross on Good Friday, setting up lights before the Blessed Sacrament, and many other ancient ceremonies, were to remain in use—till it pleased the King otherwise.

As if to show that he was in real earnest about these and kindred subjects, Henry presided at a heresy trial against one Nicholson who had declared that it was sinful to pray to saints.

[1] *S.P. Hen. VIII, Ir.*, iii. 428.

Nicholson refused to recant and was accordingly burned to death. Others of the opposite camp were either beheaded or hanged, drawn, and quartered. Men began to ask themselves on which side they should be safe. The King burned John Nokes on Monday for being a Protestant, and Thomas Stokes on Tuesday for being a Papist. To make things clear, Henry, or Parliament instigated and taught by Cromwell, passed the famous Act of the Six Articles. The first article laid down that in the Most Blessed Sacrament of the Altar there is really present under the form of bread and wine the natural Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, no substance of bread or wine remaining after the consecration, but only the substance of Christ, God, and Man. The second, that communion in both kinds is not necessary for salvation, by the law of God, to all persons, but that in the flesh, under the form of bread, is the Very Blood, and in the Blood under the form of wine is the Very Flesh, as well apart as though they were both together. The third, that by the law of God, priests may not marry. The fourth, that vows of chastity or widowhood made to God advisedly, ought to be observed. The fifth, that private Masses should be continued and admitted in this the King's English Church. And the sixth, that auricular confession is expedient and necessary to be retained, and continued, used and frequented in the Church of God. Such were the provisions of the famous Act which caused Latimer to resign the bishopric of Worcester, forced Cranmer to put away his wife, and gave sad offence to those folk who had been hoping for a general setting up of something like Lutheranism. For what was this religion of Henry's, imposed by an Act of Parliament, and to be imposed on every subject under pain of death by burning and loss of property? A great authority [1] answers that question in one sharp sentence: *It was the old religion, with the Pope left out.* But the Act of the Six Articles did not settle everything. Some people, in Ireland as well as England, in Dublin as elsewhere, were going about calling other people papists; these flung back at their revilers the word heretic. Moreover, those to whom

[1] Gairdner, one of the best authorities on the actual conditions of the sixteenth century, official of the R.O., London, joint-editor of the *State Papers of Henry VIII*, and the author of two great works on the Reformation.

his Majesty had graciously granted the right to read the Bible in their own tongue had wretchedly abused the privilege, turning it to support of erroneous doctrines. We have seen how Staples objected to this method in his controversy with Browne. Now the King was determined to have *true doctrines* established, and to that end he was going to appoint a committee to draw up a learned work settling matters once for all. This was the beginning of the book afterwards published under its title of *The Institution of a Christian Man*—but it was also the beginning of something else. " Henry," says Gairdner, " was coming gradually to the conclusion that no further use could be made of Protestantism abroad, and that he must not encourage it again at home. The whole policy of Cromwell must be laid aside, and the minister himself must be sacrificed to that clamour which, as in Wolsey's case, was quite ready to break out as soon as the support of the King himself was withdrawn. On 10 June, 1540, he was arrested, and the man who had sent countless victims to the gallows and block found himself led to the Tower." [1] Henry had done with Cromwell; Cromwell was no longer useful, and he had become dangerous because of his truckling with the German Lutherans. He was executed on Tower Hill on 28 July.

Christ Church as Residence for the Council.

Sentleger, the Lord Deputy, had been so busy bringing the Irish chiefs to a recognition of the King's Supremacy and of his new title as King of Ireland, and in securing the indentures, that he had not had time to hold the ceremony of his own installation as Lord Deputy. The country was now more peaceful. Accordingly, on 25 July, 1542, he took the oath of office in the Cathedral of Holy Trinity before Chancellor John Alen and the Lords of the Council, faithfully to maintain and defend the laws of God and the Christian faith, to observe the usages, rights, ceremonies, and liberties of Holy Church, give faithful counsel for the King's people, and keep the King's counsel.

In those strenuous days of pacification and settlement of

[1] See J. S. Fletcher, *The Reformation in Northern England*, pp. 106-10.

the country it was felt by the members of the Council that there was need of a large building or buildings which might be used as their permanent residence when in Dublin, and for their proper entertainment. Christ Church priory, where law courts and meetings of Council and of Parliament had been usually held, was considered the most suitable place for this residence. But the Council had stayed their hands in the matter which had been already settled, of converting the church and priory into a cathedral with dean and chapter. They had another plan for that ancient institution.

This the Deputy and Chancellor, in a letter to the King (27 Aug., 1542), put before him :—[1]

And further, most dread and most gracious Sovereign Lord, like as we have considered it to be very necessary to have a Council of certain learned men to reside in the parts of Limerick and Waterford for the administration of justice; so do we think it most requisite, of all other things to be established in this your Realm, to have a Council perpetually to reside in your City of Dublin, as it were to keep an account and reckoning of all your Majesty's affairs of the whole Realm, not only for the direction of your Deputy, for the time being, in all the weighty "merciall" affairs, but also, from time to time, as well to devise things beneficial for the common weal, and so always to advertise your majesty of all the discourse of things here, as to hear and order the complaints of your subjects, as the case shall require; which cannot be done without some provision, both for an house for them to reside in, and also some honest entertainment to keep a table for 2 mess of meat for them, besides certain necessary ministers and servants to attend upon them. Which thing, though we esteem it most necessary of all other devices, yet not minding to burden your Highness with the charges thereof out of your revenues in time to come, we have considered that there be 2 Cathedral churches within the City of Dublin, the one called Christchurch, a house of regular canons, the other Saint Patrick's, of secular canons and priests, well endowed, and meet to be preserved and maintained. Which house of Christchurch your Majesty was pleased, upon suit made to the same, that it should be altered into a secular state. And, forasmuch as the revenues thereof pass not £260 *de claro*, they intend to establish but a Dean, three Canons, and four vicars, in perpetuity, which is but a small number for a

[1] *S.P. Hen. VIII., Ir.*, iii. 414.

Cathedral Church in a city. And therefore, seeing the other Cathedral Church is endowed with 20 or 30 dignities and canons, with other ministers according, we think this house of Christchurch may be spared, and the house, with £200 of the revenues, converted for the purpose aforesaid. And this device standing with your majesty's pleasure, may it like your Highness to send us an ample commission to alter the state of the said house of regular canons, and to limit pensions to the prior and canons of the same; and further to establish such ministers in the said church, being already a parish church, as shall beseem to our discretions; trusting with the surplusage above the said £200, and by the annexion [annexation] to the said church of 4 little churches or chapels now adjoining very nigh thereto, with the parochians [parishioners] of the same, so to order the thing, that both the church and house shall be preserved and maintained from ruin, and such ministers appointed to serve there, as shall be necessary; whereof it may please your Highness, that one may be a school master, which will much please the citizens, that have no school now here. And surely we trust, if it may please your Highness to ensue this device, the said £200 yearly, with an £100 yearly.

And for this purpose, we have not only stayed the delivery of your Highness' grant made to the late Prior and Canons, of the alteration of the said church into a dean and Canons, but also commoned and persuaded with the said Dean (Robert Castell) now appointed, being an Englishman born, on your Majesty's behalf, on such wise as he is contented, upon knowledge of your Highness pleasure, to surrender the same, having during his life a pension of £50, till he be preferred by your Highness to a benefice in England of £50 sterling by the year, which we have promised him, on your Majesty's behalf, to have within 2 years after his surrender.

Unmindful of the antiquity and of the past services of Christ Church, the Council wished it to come to an end, and become simply a parish church, the priory being turned into a residence for the Council. They did not favour the idea of two cathedrals in the one city, which was almost unique, its prototype being Bath and Wells in England. Now that Christ Church was a miserable specimen of a cathedral with only a dean, three canons, and four vicars-choral it was unworthy of being continued as such. It might be transformed into an important parish church with sufficient number of secular priests and include the small neighbouring parishes, such as St. John's, St. Michael's, St. Werburgh's, and

St. Michan's. Moreover, since the suppression of St. Mary's Abbey and of Christ Church as a priory there was no suitable school for the citizens. One of the secular priests serving the parish might be appointed as schoolmaster, and part of the funds devoted to that purpose. As the revenues were so small, only £260, for the residence of the Council, for pensions for the dean and canons, for the support of the parish church and school, another £100 would be required. A full year elapsed before the King deigned to reply.

Meanwhile Sentleger, in a letter to the King (4 June, 1543), reminded him of the Council's suit to have the late "Abbey of Christ Church" for the establishment of a permanent Council in Dublin and free school. Henry (Aug., 1543) replied that the device seemed good, but they must send a true extent of the revenues, and a particular declaration how they would employ them.[1] The King was cautious, and the Council had forgotten the important fact that the possessions of Christ Church were mixed up with diocesan property by reason of the original grants. Hence the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland in a further letter [2] (20 Jan., 1544) to the King, say :—

We have perceived, as well by the relation of the Lord Archbishop there, as by sundry other, that the yearly value thereof doth not pass the sum of £160 6s. 8d., and that the same is the Metropolitan Church, in whose name or title much of the said Archbishop's lands is annexed to his said See. And also the Mayor of your Highness' city, with his brethren, in the name of all the commons of the same, hearing, by what means we know not, that the same was moved to be changed from the name of a college, and to be made a parish church, made instant suit to us, to be humble suitors to your Majesty, that the same might still remain in the state it is now in, considering that there is no more colleges of your Highness new erection within the whole realm; which considerations hath moved us, not only to certify the same unto your Majesty, but also be humble petitioners that the said Christ's church may stand, as it now is; for otherwise the said citizens think their city to be totally defaced and disparaged; which moveth us to change our former purpose, etc.

[1] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, 1543. [2] *Ib.*, 489.

Thus Christ Church was allowed to continue its career as a cathedral, with dean and chapter.[1]

The Jesuits in Ireland.

The death of George Cromer, Archbishop of Armagh, on 15 March, 1543, reveals a state in ecclesiastical affairs in Ireland of which it is important to take notice. Cromer had been accused of heresy at Rome, and Robert Wauchop (Venantius), a priest of St. Andrew's in Scotland, appointed to administer the See until the Archbishop should purge himself.[2] Wauchop was a noted theologian, and, in spite of his imperfect sight, had the singular reputation of riding post better than any man in Europe. This reputation may have been gained by the rapidity with which he went from place to place. He had lived chiefly at Rome, and was employed by the Holy See on many missions, including attendance at the diets of Worms, Ratisbon, and Spires.

After Cromer's death, Wauchop received the pallium, and bore the title of Primate at the Council of Trent, where he attended for eleven sessions, and where he shared with the Archbishop of Upsala the distinction of having never seen his church. In the meantime George Dowdall was appointed to Armagh by the King on Sentleger's recommendation. Dowdall was an Irishman, a native of Co. Louth, and an official of Cromer. Henry, it seems, had already promised the See to him when he surrendered the friary of Ardee of which he was prior. He was appointed by the King, with Lord Louth, arbitrator of such controversies as might arise in Ulster on certain subjects specified in the edict.

It was by Wauchop's advice that the disciples of Ignatius of Loyola began their work in Ireland. Pope Paul III addressed a brief to Con O'Neill (24 April, 1541) as prince of the Irish of Ulster, acknowledging the receipt of letters which he had sent to Rome by the hands of Raymond O'Gallagher,

[1] This constitution continues, with minor variations, to the present day.

[2] The Consistorial Acts of 13 July, 1539, whilst registering his appointment as Administrator of Armagh, describe him as " Robertum Wauchop, Clericum Sancti Andreae Diaecesis, in aetate legitima et ordine sacerdotali constitutum, in Sacra Theologia Magistrum, debilitatem visus patientem." From childhood he suffered a great delicacy of sight, but there is no sufficient proof of his having been blind. (Moran, *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, i. 14.)

"by which letters," wrote the Pope, "and by his fuller verbal communications, our mind has been variously affected; for we have learned with the pain it calls for how that island is cruelly ravaged by the present King, and to what a pitch of impiety he has brought it, and with what savage ferocity he has spurned the honour of God Almighty. But when, on the other hand, we learned from thy letters and Raymond's words that there existed in thy person a Champion of God, and of the Roman Church and of the Catholic religion, we rejoiced greatly in the heavenly Father's love. We praise thee then, beloved son, as thou hast deserved, and commend thee in the Lord; and we give Him thanks for granting thee to us and endowing thee with such virtue and piety for the preservation of that island at the present time, and we pray Him long to prosper thee, and to preserve thee to us unchanged. We have taken such care as we were bound, and as thou hast asked us to take for thee and for the other champions of the Catholic Faith. We therefore exhort your lordship, and all the peoples of Ireland who follow your authority and piety, to preserve you all as becomes faithful servants of the True Christ, in the Catholic Faith which you have received from your fathers, and preserved with the greatest constancy to this day. For we who embrace that island with singular affection and desire to preserve it in its ancient attachment to the Holy Faith, will never be wanting to your lordship or to your followers in piety." [1]

Wauchop enjoyed the friendship of St. Ignatius, and as early as the month of March, 1540, obtained from him two of his companions to labour on the Irish mission. These were John Codure and Alphonso Salmeron, who were selected by the Pope as nuncios to Ireland, and another brief was sent to the clergy of Ireland exhorting them to receive the Jesuits with honour and goodwill. Codure died before he could visit Ireland, and Paschal Broet accompanied Salmeron in his stead. Francesco Zapata, not yet admitted to the society, was their secretary. Broet, whom Ignatius called the angel of his society, was a native of Picardy. Salmeron was a Spaniard, and one of the original seven companions who took the society's vows upon the hill of Montmartre. These companions brought their brief to James V, King of Scotland, who, in a letter (Feb., 1541) to the chieftains of Ireland, mentions that the Pope's brief shows how solicitous his

[1] Bagwell, i. 307.

Holiness is for Ireland and its people, and desires him to commend them, in their passage to Ireland, to his islanders and to those friends through whose dominions they pass. James begs that they may be received and assisted, and wrote a similar letter to O'Neill.[1]

Amongst the instructions given by Ignatius to the three companions, it was specially mentioned that they were to instruct the children assiduously in the catechism.[2] Other instructions were: " (5) Appointments were to be anticipated rather than deferred, so that there might be plenty of time for the business in hand. (6) In money matters they were to meddle as little as possible. Even the fines which they took for dispensations should be given in alms by the hands of others, so that they might be able to swear that they had not touched one penny. (7) Paschal was to be chief speaker in dealing with great men. In doubtful cases there was to be a consultation, and the opinion of two was to bind the other. (8) They were to correspond with Rome frequently on their journey, immediately on their arrival either in Ireland or Scotland, and at least once a month afterwards." [3]

After narrowly escaping imprisonment in France, the three emissaries reached Scotland and saw James V, who wrote the letters as stated above. A brother of Bishop Farquharson of the Isles accompanied them to Ireland, where they found nothing to their liking, either civil or ecclesiastical. According to a learned historian: [4] " The people were savage and the clergy negligent, and neither bishoprics nor parishes were properly served. All the chiefs but one were not only sworn to the royal supremacy, but had declared their readiness to burn the Pope's letters and to deliver his messengers bound to the King or his Deputy. The single exception [O'Neill] was to follow the general example. The Irish chiefs were all afraid to confer with the nuncios, or even to secure them a safe passage out of the island. The Jesuits also complained that the Scottish King had not performed his promises. But if Paschal and his companions could do nothing with the chiefs, they were successful with the people. They changed their place of abode constantly,

[1] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, Feb., 1541.
[2] *Spic. Ossor.*, i. 14.
[3] Hogan, *Hibernia Ignatiana*, p. 4.
[4] Bagwell, i. 309.

exhorting men everywhere in private, hearing confessions, and celebrating the Mass as often as possible. Indulgences were sparingly granted, but they gained goodwill by varying burdensome vows, and by remitting fines and dues. Their personal virtue was evident; they never spared themselves, and they asked for nothing. Any money that came within their reach they diverted through the debtor himself, or through the bishop, to such good work as the repair of churches, the relief of widows, and the care of unprotected girls. After thirty-four days thus spent the pursuit waxed too hot. Rewards were offered for their apprehension, and they escaped to Scotland, where they vainly hoped to find a quieter people. The Scotch chiefs seemed as bad as the Irish, and the foreigners were fain to sail to Dieppe, whence they reached Paris on foot. Zapata remained there for study, and the two Jesuits pursued their journey to Rome in rags, and almost penniless. They were arrested as spies at Lyons, but rescued by Cardinals Tuornon and Gaddi, who were passing through and who recognised them. Thus, in apparent, but only apparent, failure ended the first descent of the Jesuits upon Ireland." [1]

During the remaining years of Henry's life no fresh efforts were made to advance any new movement in ecclesiastical affairs. It was simply a question of guarding the "reform" against Lutheranism and of obtaining more general acceptance of the King's Supremacy. To secure the latter a more determined effort should be made to get bishops and priests to renounce papal jurisdiction. The King, in a letter to the Deputy and Council (23 Sept., 1541), says :—

> We be also content that you, our Deputy, shall receive all such bishops and priests as will leave their provisions [papal]; and, by these presents, give authority to you, our chancellor, upon a warrant signed with our said Deputy's hand, to deliver them freely, for this time, their provisions again, under our Great Seal of that land, being in your custody.[2]

Thus another appeal was made to all promoted to bishoprics and benefices by the Pope to deliver up their briefs to the Chancellor and receive instead the King's authority under

[1] See Hogan, *Hib. Ignat.*, pp. 3-9. [2] *S.P. Hen. VIII, Ir.*, iii. 334.

the Great Seal, and a threat was conveyed that such condescension on the part of the King would not be repeated.

Another entry deals with the great question of granting faculties and dispensations. It had been pointed out to the King that the Pope was granting these freely and *gratis*. The want of a Vicegerent of the King in Ireland was felt, who would grant such faculties and dispensations. In the minutes of the Council, with the King's command, there is a reference to the settlement of this matter. The Bishop of Meath, with the assistance of a layman, was to be appointed Vicegerent with the same power as the Archbishop of Canterbury. The following is the entry :—

[In margin] A vicegerent for the clergy is thought best, and he to have the authority, and a temporal man joined with him, whom His Majesty hath named to be Mr. Doctor Rede.

[Text] A commission to be granted to the Bishop of Meath and some other whom it shall please the King's Majesty, to dispense with pluralities, etc., as my Lord of Canterbury doth ; the lack whereof driveth many to Rome, to seek them there[1] (year 1546).

The admission that the clergy and people were freely applying to Rome for faculties and dispensations, and that these were being freely given *gratis*, sheds new light on the failure of the King's Supremacy. Clearly little or no impression had been made on the heart of the people by the King's new titles, and Rome was still the centre of their thoughts and of their religious life.

The majority of Irish chieftains seemed to have cared a great deal for land and titles, and were ready enough to accept the King's ecclesiastical polity, the rather that they hoped to go on exactly as they had done before. But with the people it was different. It was not for their interest that tribal lands should be turned into private estates, nor could they hope for special marks of royal favour. In the austerity and self-denial of the friars they could discern a higher light than that provided by Henry VIII and his grasping officials. Against the friars Henry had no available weapon ; they could not even be prevented from preaching. Under the very

[1] *S.P. Hen. VIII., Ir.*, iii. 580.

shadow of Dublin Castle the King could bring no peace to his "reformed" Church, of which the only sincere supporters were a few new-comers from England. Except Browne and Staples, who did not agree, there was no one to preach what Henry wished the people to learn. And neither of them could speak a word of Irish. The lawyers in Dublin heard and disliked the expounders of the new ideas, but the great mass of the population did not even hear them. The friars had it all their own way, and every feeling, national and religious, predisposed the Irish to believe their statement of the case. The people had been educated in the belief that Ireland was a fief of the Holy See, and that the vassal (the King) had forfeited all by treason to his sovereign lord. The "Defender of the Faith" had become its assailant, and he was manifestly no longer a Catholic. These were the arguments used daily and never answered. Even Staples admitted that "the supremacy of our sovereign lord is maintained only by power, and not reasoned by learning." The official State Church was to be defended mainly by power, by a few English-speaking ecclesiastics, and by the self-seekers who sought preferment where the sceptre was strong enough to protect them. On the side of Rome were ranged popular feeling, religious tradition, the faith handed down to them through generations, and these had the support of crowds of devoted men who could exhort the people in their own tongue, and whose example was sometimes more eloquent than their words. The *Four Masters* described Henry's "reformation" as "a heresy and new error in England, through pride, vain-glory, avarice, and lust." There can be no doubt that these were the ideas prevalent in Ireland in the sixteenth century. In England Anglicanism was the outcome of national independence; in Ireland it was the badge of conquest.[1]

Browne Engaged in Political Affairs.

Between the year 1539, when Browne returned from his preaching tour, and the year 1541 little is recorded about him. The only incident that comes to light is that concerning his appeal for the House of Grace Dieu. In 1541 he comes prominently into view in various places and affairs.

[1] See Bagwell, i. 312.

Amongst those examined (Oct., 1541) in the charge of treason brought against Leonard Gray, former Lord Deputy of Ireland, were Browne, Staples, Rawson, and Basnet. Presumably, they had crossed over to England for the purpose. On 8 January, 1542, the Council of Ireland wrote to the Council of England that Ireland was at peace, and, in the following April, Brabazon, the Receiver-General, accounted for the twentieths and the first fruits from ecclesiastical benefices.[1] In the same year, an inquisition was taken of the possessions of the See of Dublin in city and county, and, on that occasion, the King wrote to the Council of Ireland " showing them the necessity of providing good and faithful pastors through the diocese of Dublin, for instructing the people in the duties of religion, and no less in obedience to these new laws, which every day restored to them more and more of their Christian liberty, and promoted trade and industry through the whole kingdom." [2] About this time also, the Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, and all other prelates and spiritual pastors, were recognised as intercessors, that is to say, *slantighe*, so that they could fulminate censures and ecclesiastical penalties against the violators of the peace.[3] And Browne himself was one of the witnesses to an indenture between Con O'Neyle, Earl of Tyrone, and Magonius (Manus) O'Donell, chief of Tirconnell.[4]

Brabazon, the Under-Treasurer, and receiver of the monastic spoils, as has been seen, had received a good deal more of these than he had accounted for. And when Leonard Gray was impeached and Brabazon took his goods into his hands, Robert Cowley, the indefatigable spy, wrote to the King charging Brabazon with receiving more of Gray's goods than he accounted for. All the Council, except Cowley, wrote to the King also saying that all they could say in the matter was that they heard it stated so. But Cowley had sent on to the King " a great book against the Vice-Treasurer, of concealments, omissions," etc. The Council told him he had done wrong in showing it to the King before showing it to the commissioners, Mynne and Cavendyssh. To which

[1] *Cal. S.P. Ir.*, p. 60.
[2] *Chanc. Roll, apud* Mason's *St. Patrick's*, p. 149.
[3] *Car. Cal.*, p. 203. [4] *Loc. cit.*

he replied that he had heard the "Bishop of Dublin and the Vice-Treasurer had written against him, and he sent it to keep his credit." [1]

On 25 July of this year (1542) Browne was present at a Privy Council at Windsor, and on 23 August at Hampton Court.[2] There is nothing to indicate the reason of those visits. They may have had something to do with the alienation of See lands which Browne negotiated in the following year.[3]

In the following year (1543) a few entries in the State Papers are worth recording. During the years when the mountain Irish overran South Co. Dublin (which then included the present Co. Wicklow) in which were many lands belonging to the priories of Dublin and St. Patrick's Cathedral from which they drew no revenues, an Act of 10 Edward IV, authorised them to let lands to Irishmen and to barter with them. On 7 April, 1543, Henry signified to Parliament to repeal this Act.[4] Mention is again made that the Bishop of Rome grants all things free to allure the Irish. This refers, of course, to faculties and dispensations. It is also stated that guns and powder had been placed in the Castles of Wicklow and Arklow, with a view to keeping the O'Tooles and the O'Byrnes in their lately-sworn loyalty to the King.

Browne Busy about His See Lands.

In 1543 a contest arose between Browne and Sir Christopher St. Laurence, Lord of Howth, concerning the right, title, and inheritance of Ireland's Eye, which was decided by the Lord Chancellor in favour of the Archbishop and his successors. It may be remarked here that, among the possessions of this archbishopric which Alexander III had confirmed to St. Lorcan O'Tuathail in 1179, were Ireland's Eye (*Insulam filiorum quondam Nessani*, i.e. the Island of the Sons of Nessan), and Dalkey Island (*Delcinsi*, i.e. Deilg-Inis).[5] And Pope

[1] *Lett. and Pap. Hen. VIII*, 16 July, 1542.

[2] *Loc. cit.* [3] See next section.

[4] *L. and P. Hen. VIII, ad an.*

[5] *Crede Mihi*, p. 2. The Pope gave Ireland's Eye its proper name. It was the *sons* of Nessan who had founded the church and cells on the island. It was they who were reputed saints, not Nessan himself, who is canonised by moderns with the title of St. Nessan. Dalkey, as well as Ireland's Eye, had a Celtic church on it. After Danish Days the See of Dublin claimed these possessions.

Innocent III confirmed to Archbishop de Loundres, in 1216, the Islands of Lambey, Ireland's Eye (*Irlandeseia*) and Dalkey.[1]

It will be convenient here to group together a number of conveyances [2] by which Browne disposed of his See lands. He evidently found it inconvenient and troublesome to look after them, so he leased them for a sum of money, as a rule, and an annual rent.

The King granted licence to Browne, with the assent of the chapters of his cathedral churches of Holy Trinity and St. Patrick's, to grant to Edward Basnet, Dean of St. Patrick's, 7 acres in Clondolkan, Co. Dublin, adjacent to the lands of the Dean in Denrath, on the southern, western, and northern sides. To hold to him and his successors Deans of St. Patrick's for ever. Rent, 2 capons at the feast of the Nativity (21 Mar. 32 Hen. VIII).

Licence to George, Archbishop of Dublin, with the consent of the chapters of the cathedrals of the Holy Trinity and St. Patrick, Dublin, to alienate to Patrick Barnewall, of Feldeston, gent., all messuages, burgages, lands, and tenements in Balgeith, in the parish of Swerdes, 3 a. of meadow in "le Brode Mede" in same parish, 50 a. of land near Wourganeston in Clonmethan parish, commonly called "lez fyftieacres," 1 burgage or tenement in Swerdes, lying between the holding of Patrick Uryell, on the north, and the street of Swerdes, on the east, a park in the occupation of Ellen Hancoke, on the west, and a tenement of the said Archbishop, wherein Maurice Serjaunt dwells, on the south, and 13 a. in the west part of the Castellfelde in Swerdes, in the Co. of Dublin. To hold to the said Patrick and the heirs male of his body. Rent, for the premises in Balgeith and Wowrganeston, £3 12s. 8d., Ir., and for the premises in Swerdes, 9s., Ir. (no date).

Conveyance whereby George, Archbishop of Dublin, for £40, conveys to Silvester Genynges, Laurence Townley, and Andrew Wise, all of Thomascourt, the town of Rathlande, and 60 a. of arable land in the village and fields of Rathlande, lying on the southern part of Thomas-court wood, in the occupation of Thomas Bathe; also all the lands and tenements in Rathlande, and the rents and reversion thereof. To hold for ever to the use of William

[1] *Crede Mihi*, p. 9.

[2] *Cal. Pat. and Cl. R., Ir., Hen. VIII.* A pardon was granted to Browne on 3 July, 1543, but it does not appear for what reason. It may have been in connection with the leases of these lands.

Brabazon, his heirs and assigns, at the yearly rent of 13s. 4d. (12 June, 36 Hen. VIII).

Seisin and possession of the preceding lands, delivered and taken in a certain parcel called the "Buckler's Acre," after the delivery of the conveyance (5 July, 36 Hen. VIII).

A licence was granted to Archbishop Browne, with the consent of the Chapter of the Cathedrals of Holy Trinity and St. Patrick, to alienate to Robert Eustace, prebendary of Mahahiderte [Mulhuddard]; William Pentneye, vicar of Morchurche; William Hamlen, vicar of St. Peter's of Drogheda; Andrew Barnewall and John Tyrrell, vicars of Rathkenye, the office of constable of the manor and castle of Swords, from the death or surrender of Thomas Fitzsimone, of Swardys [Swords], in trust for the use of Patrick Barnewall, of Gracedrewe [Grace Dieu] and his heirs for ever (no date). George, Archbishop, with the consent of the chapter of Holy Trinity, granted to Edward de St. Laurence *alias* Houthe, lord Houthe, John Eustace of Conffe [Confey, Salmon Leap], John Plunket of Dunsoghly, Reginald Talbot of Belgarde, Thomas Fitzwilliam of Baggotrath, Edward Barnewall of Dromnaghe [Drimnagh], Christopher Luttrell, son and heir of Sir Thomas Luttrell of Luttrellston, chief Justice of the Common Bench, John Bathe, son and heir of James Bathe, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, Christopher Barnewall, son and heir of Patrick Barnewall of Grace-Dieu, Richard Dyllon of Scryne, and Patrick Fynglas, son and heir of Thomas Fynglas of Wespalleston, the advowsons of Ballybought [at Ballymore-Eustace], Boyeston [Baltyboys], Templebodan [near Blackditches, Blessington], and Uske [Co. Kildare]; in trust that the grantees shall, whenever a living is vacant, present one of the vicars choral of Holy Trinity church thereto, and assign the whole, should royal licence be obtained, to the dean and chapter there (*partly English*). [Dated, 20 Sept., 1 Edw. VI, 1547.]

[*In dorso*] Witnesses to the livery of seisin, Walter Trott, vicar of Rathmore, Thomas Long of Hertwell, Richard Eustace of Newland, gent., Ramond Ketyng, gent., Gerrott McDonaghe galoclaghe, Fylyme O'Berne, Maloghyng Kelly, and Edmond O'Malowny.

Sir Edmunde Ewstas attorns for the spiritualities of Ouske in presence of John Kyelly, curate of Kylcollyng [Kilcullen], James Flanagan, vicar of Donaday, Dannes Stanton, and Wm. O'Collynnan, clerks of Clogoyswood.

Sir Edmond Ewstas, yearly tenant of the spiritual tithes of Balleboght near Ballymore, Co. Dublin [now in Co. Kildare], attorns in presence of Fergus McEocha.

Ferrall McKeho, tenant of the temporalities of Balleboght,

attorns in presence of Fergus McEocha mac Fergus, Sir Edmond Ewstas, parson of Ousk, and Laghlen Kelle.

Alsand Mak Eohe attorns for the spiritualities of Boystone [*attornments partly in Irish*].[1]

Archbishop Browne granted to the Dean and Chapter of Holy Trinity, for his life, 6s. 8d. yearly for proxies of the churches (as mentioned in no. 440). [Dated 20 Sept., 1 Edw. VI, (1547.]

Licence to George Browne that he, with the consent of the Chapter of Holy Trinity, may alienate to William Walsh, of Dublin, James Hanckoke, son and heir of Nicholas Hanchoke, merchant; Richard Barnewall of Dublin, merchant, the mill called the " trell mill " in Shurdys [Swords], with a close called the mill park, a small tower, and 72 acres in Swerdys, and the " broode meade " [Broadmeadow] of Shewerdy's; the watercourse running to the mill, and ingress and egress through the mill green, with liberty of pasturage in the glebes and lands around the mill, and upon the hill called " the Heely's "; a garden near the Piphill, and a chief rent issuing out of the burgageries and lands called " Franckhomes lande," in Shwerdys; 20 acres near Hiltoune, called Beneteslande; the lands of Mochfarowe, Little Farrowe, Nevinstowne, Balsharye, Dullardys, and Magillstone, in the parish of Shewerdys, and Rollestone, in the parish of Killosserye, in the Co. of Dublin; 6 acres called " Joy's land "; 16 acres in Knockmollis land, and 5 acres of meadow in the " broode meadow " to hold for ever. Rent, £42 7s. (6 July, 1547).

Licence to George Browne, with the consent of the chapter of Holy Trinity, to alienate and grant to John Challoner, gent., his heirs and assigns, in fee farm, the Island of Lambay, and all its appurtenances, with the castle and lands, courts leet,[2] and view of franc pledge, at a rent of £6 13s. 4d., Irish: provided he erect a harbour within six years, and a village for shelter and refuge of the fisherman[3] (21 Sept., 1551).

Letter from the Council of England to the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland stating that John Goldsmithe, clerk of the Counsel, requested from the King a gift in fee simple of the late church of St. Tullock's,[4] in Dublin, parcel of the late house of

[1] *Chr. Ch. Deeds*, no. 442.

[2] *Court leet* was the petty criminal court for a hundred or manor, as the *court baron* was held by the steward of a manor for settling controversies between tenants, punishing misdemeanours, etc. *Frank-pledge* was a system of mutual suretyship that required men to combine in associations of ten to stand as sureties for one another's good behaviour.

[3] *Cal. Pat. and. Cl. R., Ir., Edw. VI*, p. 245.

[4] *St. Tullock's* was a corruption of *St. Olaf*, the Danish King. Amlaf, Olaf, or Olave, was called in England St. Oley or corruptly St. Tooley, and

Augustine's, beside Bristol, consisting of a church, with the tenements, orchards, gardens, and other appurtenance now in his possession. His Majesty desires to gratify him in consideration of his long service, and ordered a survey of the possessions to be sent to him. Meantime, the Council are directed to grant him a lease of the late Frier's house in Wicklow of which he has now the custodiam, for the term of 21 years, at the usual rent. (25 June, 1552.)

From some of these deeds it is clear that there was no longer opposition in the Irish districts of Ballymore and Blessington to the Anglo-Norman regulation of parish affairs and to the collection of revenues. And it is interesting to note that many persons bearing Irish names came in as witnesses in these matters and that a portion of one document was actually drawn up in Irish. This latter proceeding was evidently carried out in order to satisfy those present who knew no English.

Browne Busy About Parish Churches.

Besides granting leases, Browne now busied himself with the rearrangement of the churches in the city and suburbs. The revenues were evidently too small to support so many pastors and curates. In 1543 (7 April) he informed William Carde, vicar of St. Dulach's, that the chapel of Balgryffyne, near by, with its minor tithes, had been united to his vicarage.[1] In 1544 he erected three prebends in Christ Church, namely, St. Michael's, St. Michan's, and St. John's, and assigned to each of the prebendaries severally a pension and a church for the corps of their prebends. About the same time he united the church of St. Mary le Dam (Cork Hill) and the church of St. Andrew (Dame Street), to St. Werburgh's, "in regard there were so few parishioners, and the income so small, that

evidently was hardened in Dublin popular speech into *St. Tullock*. The lower end of Fishamble Street, where the church stood, was called St. Tullock's Lane. St. Olave's was the name generally used in official documents. The precise site of the church was that on which Smock Alley Theatre was afterwards built, and now occupied partly by SS. Michael and John's Church. St. Olave's belonged to the Augustines of Bristol. The Bristol Colony in Dublin possibly acquired the land in this neighbourhood and granted the church to the brethren of Bristol. Austen's Lane and Austen's Gate between Ship Street and Castle Street probably took their name from the Augustines.

[1] *Chr. Ch. Deeds*, no. 435.

there was not sufficient to maintain a clergyman." In 1546 (18 March) he was granted licence to unite the church of St. John's of Kilmainham and St. James's, without the suburbs, to St. Katherine's within the suburbs, in consequence of the tenuity and proximity of the parishes.[1] In 1547 (16 Sept.) he released to the Dean and Chapter of Holy Trinity 40s. (portion of 46s. 8d.) yearly out of his proxies from the churches of St. Michael Archangel, St. John Evangelist, St. Michan, Clonkeyne, Stalorgan, Dalkey, Kyllenen (Killiney), Tullagh, Whitechurch, Balgriffen, Balscadan, and Glasnevyn for the maintenance of the vicars choral in Holy Trinity.[2]

With regard to the city churches, Browne was evidently carrying out in some measure what had been proposed by the Council, namely, the union of some of the smaller churches with Christ Church. It seems clear that the four churches intended by them for that purpose were St. Michael's, St. John's, St. Michan's, and St. Werburgh's. Browne made the three first prebends of Christ Church, and enlarged St. Werburgh's by the addition of St. Andrew's and St. Mary le Dam's.

In later years he united the churches of St. Brigid of Stalorgan and Kylmohude (Kilmacud) to the church of St. Fintain of Clonkeyne, the union, if there be any, of Kylmohude with the church of St. Mary of Donabroke, being first revoked (3 Aug., 1551).[3]

Browne Reports Quarrel Between Sentleger and Ormond.

Once more we find Browne engaged in political matters. Even his own party had very little respect for him, and treated him in very indifferent fashion. Gray had despised him, and now Ormond, his great fellow-worker in the " reform," seems likewise to despise him.

In a letter [4] to the King (28 Feb., 1546) Browne speaks of the quarrel between the Lord Deputy and the Earl of Ormond which if not speedily settled will bring destruction to his Majesty's realm of Ireland and especially to the mere English subjects. He complains that Ormond, sent for by the Council,

[1] Mason's *St. Patrick's*, p. 149.
[2] *Chr. Ch. Deeds*, no. 440.
[3] *Ib.*, nos. 443-44.
[4] *S.P. Hen. VIII, Ir.*, iii. 557.

on coming to Dublin brought with him a company of gallo-glass[1] much to the Archbishop's and others' expense; that Ormond was more like a prince and a governor than a subject. Ormond had asked the Council not to tell the King the state of the country, though the Deputy had ordered to the contrary. Browne complains also that when the King gave land this side of the Barrow to the Earl, ten soldiers were there to guard the neighbouring parts of Dublin and Kildare, but within eight weeks afterwards, Browne's tenants lost twelve score kine, and eight horses, to the value of 1000 marks. He tells how, although the Earl goes to the Council meetings in English apparel, yet in those lands of the Earl there is "more Irish order and rule and more stealth" than even in the days of the Geraldines. Browne then while praising the Lord Deputy who carries out the King's advice—as far as he knows—yet, to be plain with his Majesty, he must say that they are wary here of "us all who be Englishmen." He advises the King to send for the Deputy and the Earl. He then informs the King that the country is more peaceful for the last four or five years than it has been for years before. But there is war, and mischief, under the Earl's own rule between his sister, Lady Katherine Butler, and Sir Gerald Fitz John, which will lead to further trouble unless the quarrel between the Deputy and the Earl is ended.

It would seem from this complaint that Ormond had made some kind of compromise with the people of his territory, was not exacting from them conformity to English law and apparel, and was in the habit of extorting coyne and livery for his soldiers. Sentleger evidently did not look favourably on the Earl's actions and a quarrel ensued. This would be disastrous to the King's rule, for Ormond was one of the most powerful lords, having taken the place formerly occupied by the Geraldines. In order to quash Ormond's compromise with the Irish, the Council, including Browne, Dowdall, and Staples, wrote to the King discountenancing any further faith being placed in the Irish. In their letter (20 March, 1546)

[1] Here Browne mentions that "insatiable ambition and continual conuoyn [Coyne] and liverie, called extortion," reign. Henry VII forbade the use of liveries or military uniforms by retainers of the great nobles, the right of clothing retainers in uniform being reserved to the Crown.

they say : [they] " dare not undertake that the Irishmen are to be trusted more than to such barbarous people should be trusted, which of nature and long custom being disposed to ambition, liberty and ravin, oft transgress and revolt from their duties and promises if fear of punishment refrain them not." [1]

Irish Hierarchy During Henry VIII's Reign.

Although this matter does not directly enter into the subject of this book, it is advisable to deal with it even in a general manner as providing a background for our history. The question is better dealt with here and now, at the end of Henry's reign, as the rise of new questions in Edward's reign creates an entirely different situation.

We have already said that religion under Henry was the Catholic religion with the Pope left out. How was the Irish hierarchy affected by the King's Supremacy? At this period there were thirty dioceses in Ireland. About fifteen bishops appointed by the Pope before 1536 continued to rule through all or most of Henry's reign. Of these fifteen it can be said with practical certainty that thirteen subscribed to the Supremacy. One refused, and the other is doubtful. During Henry's reign ten bishops accepted consecration through royal mandate. To six of these Sees Pope Paul III appointed in opposition to the royal nominees. In no instance was the papal nominee successful in dislodging Henry's bishop. As to the remaining bishoprics of the thirty above mentioned we have no definite information. Some even of the papal bishops appointed after 1536 surrendered the Pope's Bulls and accepted the Supremacy. In all we can trace about twenty-two bishops who yielded obedience to Henry during his reign; a few others are doubtful, and the remainder unknown. So that against twenty-two King's bishops there were only about eight or nine papal bishops at a given time who were definitely opposed to the King's Supremacy. It is thus evident that Henry had succeeded to a very large extent in imposing his authority on the Irish hierarchy, although not necessarily on the Irish Church. This seems a strong and serious indictment of the orthodoxy of the hierarchy.

[1] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, 20 March, 1546.

It may naturally be asked, is there any explanation for this *volte-face* of those Irish bishops? We must again distinguish between those appointed before 1536 and those appointed afterwards. Of the first class we have seen that about fifteen accepted the Supremacy, and it must be remembered that the Act was passed by both Houses in the first session of the 1536 Parliament in Dublin. Though the bishops objected to first fruits, twentieths, suppression of religious houses, etc., they passed the Supremacy, even though they may have fought against it at the beginning. And we know that ten bishops, not including Browne, subscribed to the oath at Clonmel in 1539. This was a confirmation of their Parliamentary attitude in the matter. Deliberation was then evident in their choice. It might be said that the English bishops had accepted the Supremacy, and why should not the Irish do likewise, as they were practically all subject to the King? It cannot be pleaded that the bishops of Ireland were Englishmen.[1] So that the idea of an English national church cannot be brought forward as an explanation, unless we are to suppose that these Irish bishops, with Irish names, were as English as the English themselves. Such a supposition would have no justification. We must repeat that we are dealing with bishops appointed by the Pope. It has been said that in England the Supremacy established a National Church, but in Ireland it meant slavery.

What, then, is the explanation of this phenomenon? The historian who will attempt to explain it will have a difficult task indeed. Was there any theological reason to justify it at the time? We know that men like More in England in those days gave up their lives in defence of the papal Supremacy. We know, too, that Mary, when she became Queen some years later, would not for one moment claim to be head

[1] During Henry's reign of thirty-eight years scarcely more than twelve out of the seventy-three appointments fell to Englishmen. One fell to a Scotchman, Wauchop. The Englishmen were seated chiefly in the dioceses within the influence of the Pale. In Armagh, Meath, and Dublin, the most lucrative of the Irish Sees, the succession throughout the reign was, with one exception, English. There were Englishmen in Kildare, Down and Connor, Leighlin and Elphin, and perhaps also in one or two others. It is clear from the names of the bishops that the English element was in a small but by no means unimportant minority.

of the Church. Could it be that the Irish bishops, whilst accepting the King as head of the Church, could say to themselves that it did not matter, as they received their power from the Church of which the Pope was head? But how could they accept the Pope as head of the Universal Church if they agreed to cut him off from Ireland? We have no information as to how they regarded the question. Possibly, the explanation lies in the question of the King's control of the temporalities of the Sees under his jurisdiction. Even though the Pope appointed to a See, and the King gave his consent, the King alone restored the temporalities. The sustenance of the bishop was, therefore, at the free disposal of the monarch, and when he turned his back on the Holy See he used this power most successfully to thwart the designs of the Pope and to harass the bishops appointed by the Holy See. Did these bishops see in the full claim of the King to control over the spiritualities as well as over the temporalities any great dishonour to the Pope or derogation of his power, even though it was an innovation? Was the transition such as to cause an upheaval in the Irish Church? Such an upheaval did not take place. The bishops calmly accepted the situation. We have no documents to tell us of any positive opinion offered by them on the point, except in the case of Staples (Browne's of course, was a King's appointment). We have then an extraordinary state of affairs in the Irish Church; some fifteen papally appointed Irish bishops renouncing the Pope's authority over them and accepting the King of England as the Head of the Irish Church; explain it how we will.

As to the second class of bishops, namely, those appointed by royal mandate after 1536, is their case in any way different from that of the first class? It must be remembered that this second class had to take an oath that declared that the papal power was an usurpation of divine right and of the right of the King of England. This was the oath of 1537. A stronger oath was insisted on in 1541. Could any bishop of the Catholic Church hold such a view? Were they prepared to remain on the same level as the Eastern Church? To many of their dioceses the Pope appointed his own bishops in opposition. Was not this a direct action on the part of the Pope as Head of the Catholic Church showing that his

opponents were schismatics? And yet these bishops persevered in their opposition to the papal nominees. Here there was positive renunciation of the papal claim as in the case of the ten Clonmel bishops. And what was the reason of their success and of the apparent failure of the papal nominees? Simply this, that the King's bishops had possession of the temporalities, and had the support of the Irish Government. In only one case do we find the King's bishop dislodged, namely, in Clonfert, and that was brought about by the clergy and people. Does it not then seem extraordinary that a similar attitude was not adopted in other dioceses, that is to say, if the clergy and people took the matter seriously? We are taking it, as we have reason to do so, that the clergy and people were not with these bishops in this matter. The situation is perplexing. What seems to have occurred, if we can generalise from the case of Ossory, is that the bishop went his way, enjoyed the temporalities, and the clergy and people went their own way, had all the Sacraments of the Church and the Mass, and applied to Rome for their faculties and dispensations. The Supremacy meant nothing to them.

The case of Dowdall, Archbishop of Armagh, is an important one, and may throw light on the situation. George Cromer, his predecessor, had been appointed by the Pope in 1522, but was deposed in 1539 by the Holy See, and Wauchop was appointed as administrator until Cromer should repent of his heresy or until he should die. Cromer had been reported to Rome by grave and learned men as guilty of heresy.[1] Unfortunately, we have little or no information about him. The question arises: What heresy could he have been guilty of? The fact that, during his lifetime, no successor to him was appointed by the Pope is very striking. His heresy would appear to have been that he accepted the Supremacy of the King in or after the Parliament of 1536. Whether the references to him supposed to have been made by Browne (according to Robert Ware's account) were true or not at the time, Cromer, at all events, accepted the Supremacy ultimately. Such an example from the Primate would be

[1] Brady, *Episcopal Succession*, ii.

calculated to bring down upon his head the papal wrath. The fact that, although he retired to Termonfecken some years before his death in 1543, the King did not appoint to the See until after his death, would be sufficient proof in itself that he had accepted the Supremacy. So far, therefore, we have these facts; the Primate of all Ireland accepted the Supremacy, and yet the Holy See would not appoint a successor until after his death.

Cromer was succeeded by Dowdall by royal appointment. In the mandate for his consecration (given 28 Nov., 1543) the King commissions eight, seven, six, five, four, or three bishops to consecrate Dowdall and invest him with the insignia of Armagh and with the pallium. The eight bishops mentioned in the mandate are Edward of Meath, Cornelius of Raphoe, Rory of Derry, Eugene of Down and Connor, Edmund of Kilmore, Hugh of Clogher, Florence of Clonmacnois, Richard of Ardagh, and Thady (Reynolds), Suffragan Bishop of Dublin (i.e. Browne's assistant). The King describes all these bishops as " prelates in whose fidelity we confide." The mandate states expressly that Dowdall took the oath of Supremacy of 1541 thereby renouncing the power and jurisdiction of the Pope. Dowdall (like others appointed by the King) continued as King's bishop, and Wauchop was appointed as papal primate by the Holy See. To unravel this entanglement is one of the most difficult problems in all Irish history.

The following table (pp. 308 and 309) will help to show the attitude of the occupants of the various Sees during this period.

Suppression of St. Patrick's Cathedral.

The King was not yet satisfied with the plunder of the ecclesiastical possessions in Ireland. Those of the dignitaries and prebendaries of St. Patrick's Cathedral offered a valuable field for further plunder. On 8 November, 1546, a commission was directed to Sir Anthony Sentleger, knight, Lord Deputy of Ireland, Sir Richard Rede, Lord Chancellor, Edward, Bishop of Meath, Sir Thomas Cusake, knight, Master of the Rolls, and others, to receive a surrender from the Dean and Chapter of St. Patrick's, of the Cathedral Church or College of St. Patrick, with all its lands and possessions, and all the

	Diocese.	Bishop.	Appointed.		Became.	1547.	Remarks.
			Year.	Title.	Year.	Title.	
	(*Province of Armagh.*)						
1	Armagh	Cromer, George	1522	P.[1]	—	—	*Dep.* by Pope, 1539. *d.* 1543.
		Wauchop	1543	P.	—	P.	Administrator, 1539. *d.* 1551.
		Dowdall, George	1543	K.	—	K.	*d.* 1558. P.
2	Meath	Staples, Edward	1530	P.	*Vert.* 1536	K.	*Dep.* by Q. Mary, 1553.
3	Clonmacnois	Kirwan, Florence	1539	P.	*Vert.* 1541	K.	*d.* 1556. P.
4	Clogher	O'Cervallen, Hugh	1535	P.	*Vert.* 1542	P.	———
		MacMahon, Raymond	1542	P.	—	P.	———
5	Down and Connor	McGuiness, Eugene	1539	P.	*Vert.* 1541	K.	*d.* about 1563. P.
6	Kilmore	Nugent, Edmund	1530	P.	*Vert.* 1540	K.	———
		Brady, John	1541	P.	—	P.	———
7	Ardagh	O'Ferral, Richard	1541	K.	—	K.	———
		Mahon, Patrick	1541	P.	—	P.	———
8	Dromore	Magennis, Arthur	1540	P.	—	—	*Vert.* 1550.
9	Derry	O'Donnell, Rory	1520	P.	*Vert.* 1543?	K?	*d.* 1550. P.
10	Raphoe	O'Cahan, Cornelius	1514	P.	*Vert.* 1534?	K.	———
		O'Gallagher, Edmund	1534	P.	—	P.	———
	(*Province of Dublin.*)						
11	Dublin	Browne, George	1536	K.	—	K.	*Dep.* by Q. Mary, 1554.
12	Kildare	Wellesley, Walter	1531	P.	*Vert.* 1536	—	*d.* 1540.
		O'Bechan, Donald	1540	P.	—	—	*d.* 1540.
		Reynolds, Thady	1540	P.	*Dep.* 1540	—	Became K. "Suffragan" of Browne in 1543.
		Meagh, William	1540	K.	—	K.	*d.* 1548. K.
13	Ossory	Baron, Milo	1527	P.	*Vert.* 1536	K.	*d.* K?
14	Ferns	Purcell, John	1519	P.	—	—	*d.* 1539. P.
		Devereux, Alexander	1539	K.	—	K.	*d.* P.
		O'Donnell, Bernard	1541	P.	*Trans.* 1542	P.	*Trans.* to Elphin.
		Sto Stevo, Gabriel de	1542	P.	—	P.	*Trans.* from Elphin.
15	Leighlin	Saunders, Matthew	1527	P.	*Vert.* 1536	K.	———

[1] P. represents Pope's Bishop; K, King's Bishop; *d.*, died; *Vert.*, verted; *Dep.*, deposed; *Trans.*, translated. Cases where Pope's and King's Bishops reigned simultaneously are given in brackets.

	Diocese.	Bishop.	Appointed.		Became.	1547.	Remarks.
			Year.	Title.	Year.	Title.	
	(*Province of Cashel.*)						
16	Cashel	Butler, Edmund	1527	P.	*Vert.* 1536	K.	*d.* 1550. K.
17	Emly	Hurley, Thomas	?	?	*Vert.* 1536	—	*d.* 1542.
		O'Hernan, Aeneas	1543	K.	—	K.	*d.* 1553.
18	Limerick	Coyn, John	1522	P.	*Vert.* 1536	K ?	*d.* 1551. P.
19	Ardfert and Agadoe	Fitzmaurice, James	?	—	—	—	Nothing known. *Bp.*, 1551-76.
20	Waterford and Lismore	Comin, Nicholas	1519	P.	*Vert.*	K.	*Res.* 1551. K.
21	Cork and Cloyne	Tirrey, Dominick	1536	K.	—	K.	*d.* 1556. K.
		MacNamara, Lewis	1540	P.	—	—	*d.* 1540. P.
		O'Heyne, John	1540	P.	—	P.	*Trans.* to Elphin, 1545.
22	Ross	McCarthy, Dermot ?	—	—	—	—	Nothing known.
23	Killaloe	O'Corrin, James	—	P.	*Vert.*	—	*Res.* 1546. *d.* P.
		Hogan, Richard	1536	P.	—	—	*Res.* 1539.
		O'Dea, Cornelius	1546	K.	—	—	*Trans.* from Kilmacduagh by K.?
	(*Province of Tuam.*)						
24	Tuam	Bodkin, Christopher	1536	K.	—	K.	*d.* 1572. K.
		O'Frighill, Arthur	1538	P.	—	—	———
25	Kilfenora	?	—	—	—	—	Nothing known.
26	Elphin	O'Siaghail	1544	K.	—	K.	O'Donnell's chaplain.
		Magennis, William	1539 ?	P.	—	—	———
		Sto Stevo, Gabriel de	1540-1 ?	P.	—	—	*Trans.* to Ferns.
		O'Higgin, Bernard	1542	P.	—	—	Fled from Elphin ; retired, 1553.
		O'Heyne, John	1545	P.	—	—	*Trans.* from Cork.
27	Clonfert	de Burgo, Roland	1536	P.	*Vert.* 1541	K.	*d.* 1580. K.
		Nangle, Richard	1536	K.	—	—	*d.* about 1541. K.
28	Kilmacduagh	Bokkin, Christopher	1536	K.	—	K.	Held this See with Tuam.
		O'Dea, Cornelius	1542	P.	*Vert.* 1546 ?	—	*Trans.* to Killaloe by K.?
29	Killala	?	—	—	—	—	Nothing known.[1]
30	Achonry	?	—	—	—	—	,,
31	Enachdune	?	—	—	—	—	,,
32	Mayo	?	—	—	—	—	,,

[1] Our information as to many of these Sees is very meagre, and sometimes confused as in the case of Elphin.

jewels and ornaments of the church. On 16 January, 1547, the commissioners made their return and certified that on the 8th of that month, they caused the Dean and Chapter to appear before them in the Chapter House, and received from them an acknowledgment of their surrender in writing for the purpose of enrolment in Chancery.[1] The surrender was made in the following terms :—

Surrender by Edward Bassenet, Dean of St. Patrick's, with the consent of the Chapter, of the Cathedral Church or College of Saint Patrick, with its appurtenances near the city of Dublin, and of the site, circuit, belfry, and cemetery, with all manors, lands, tenements, woods, reversions, knight's fees, wardships, marriages, native men and women, and villains, with their followers, courts leet, hundred, with all charters, evidence, and writings, and all utensils, ornaments, and jewels belonging to the cathedral[2] (8 Jan., 38 Hen. VIII).

According to Mason :[3] "This resignation was made in a very unlawful manner, without the will or consent of the Archbishop, the chief ordinary, founder and patron of almost all the prebends ; it appears, likewise, that the dean [Basnet] imprisoned the precentor, treasurer, two archdeacons, and fifteen of the prebendaries, who were the persons that formed the chapter at that time, and forcibly detained them until he obtained their consent."[4]

Meanwhile Henry VIII died, and his successor, Edward VI, issued letters patent, dated Westminster, 24 March, 1547,

[1] *Cal. Pat. and Cl. R.*, p. 132.

[2] *Loc. cit.* Mason, *St. Patrick's*, 150. It is useful to note the distinction above between the *natives* and the *villeins*, i.e. between the betaghs and the serfs.

[3] *St. Patrick's*, p. 150.

[4] This appears from the plea of Quartermass, their attorney, when he sued, in their name, for an "amoveas manus," after the Cathedral had been restored by Philip and Mary. The unlawful manner in which the surrender was made occasioned a contest between Archbishop Loftus and Brereton, relative to the legality of a lease made by Loftus's predecessor in the See to Brereton, which was confirmed only by the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church, whereas it should have been confirmed by both chapters to make it valid. The matter was strongly contested, but the English judges differed. A majority of five held that the lease was good as there was no Chapter then in being but that of Christ Church, and that by the gift and grant of the Dean and Chapter the cathedral was dissolved even without the consent of the Archbishop. (*Chan. R.*, 11 Eliz. ; *Dig. Dec.*, p. 237.)

appointing commissioners to dispose of St. Patrick's and its appendages which had been surrendered to his late Majesty. The persons nominated were Anthony Sentleger, Richard Rede, William Brabazon, Thomas Luttrell, James Bathe, and Thomas Cusake. They were directed to survey the yearly value of the manors, lands, and impropriations belonging to the Cathedral, and the rents and charges arising thereout, to ascertain what portion belonged to the Dean, "residennaries," and ministers, and how the same was used and employed; instructing the commissioners to make an inventory of the plate, ornaments, and jewels of the Cathedral; and so much thereof as should be considered convenient for the furniture of the Cathedral (of Christ Church) should be delivered to the Dean and Chapter, another portion to be appropriated to the use of the parish church (St. Patrick's) and the remainder to be delivered to Sir William Brabazon, the Vice-Treasurer, to be kept for his Majesty until his pleasure be known; assigning to the Dean, Prebendaries, Fellows, and other ministers of the Cathedral, such pensions as in their discretion should be thought reasonable, and directing that the officers and servants should have their wages; and for the augmentation of Divine Service in the Cathedral (Christ Church) his Highness directed six priests and eleven children, choristers, to be added—each of the priests to be paid an annuity of 10 marks, and each of the children choristers 4 marks (£40 *1914 value*) yearly out of the Exchequer; as to the disposition of the Cathedral, the commissioners were instructed to appoint one portion for the administration of the laws, and for the courts to be held there, and another portion for the parish church; four of the bells of the Cathedral to be given to the church, and the remainder to be delivered to the Vice-Treasurer; and the commissioners are required to appoint within the precinct of the Cathedral a suitable place for a grammar school, and to assign proper stipends for the master and usher; "and as the Deputy cannot be so well lodged for the repair of the noblemen and counsellors, as he should be, in the Archbishop's palace, called Saint Sepulchre's," his Highness directs the Lord Deputy to treat with the Archbishop for his consent, restoring to him, in recompense, the house belonging to the Dean, and orders

a suitable mansion to be appointed for the (Lord) Chancellor and for all resorting to him at all times; enjoining that an hospital should be erected within the precincts for twelve poor men who have done the State some service, or who, by hurt of wounds have been incapacitated from labour, with 5 marks yearly for each during their lives; and that the Usher of the Court of Exchequer should have an annuity of 4 marks, as there was then no Usher appointed for the suing of the Court nor for the keeping of the place where the laws were appointed to be kept; and, finally, the commissioners are instructed to pay the pensions and annuities directed by the King's instructions. Signed, E. Somerset, T. Canterbury, W. Seint John Russhell, F. Warrearke, Cuth. Durefin, Anthony Brown, W. Herbert, R. North.[1] (No date.)

The tide had turned against St. Patrick's and in favour of Christ Church. It was in a sense a triumph for the mayor and citizens. The miserable chapter of Christ Church was to be augmented with extra canons and annuities, and the wealthy St. Patrick's was to be stripped of all its glory and ceremonial. The church was to be transformed into a law court, only a portion, the chapel of St. Nicholas Without, being reserved as a parish church. The badly-needed grammar school was to be set up in the precincts. And, in order to complete the destruction of the Cathedral element, Browne was to be asked to surrender his palace to the Lord Deputy, receiving instead the Dean's quarters. Though Gray had deprived Browne of his palace, the formal surrender had not so far been insisted on. The surplus bells, the jewels and ornaments were to be divided up, the precious ones being reserved for his Majesty. The former plea of the Council that there were too few colleges or cathedrals in the realm did not influence Edward in their favour. But more detailed instructions were still required as to the new arrangement. These were sent two months afterwards to the Deputy and Council (25 May, 1547) in the following draft :—

Touching St. Patrick . . . it appeareth by your said letters that the people of that realm have a great affiance [trust] in the said saint Patrick taking him (as you write) for their chief patron

[1] *Pat. and Cl. R. Edw. VI.*

under Christ, the King's Majesty's pleasure with the advice of me the lord protector and the rest of his privy council is, that as well for the . . . superstitious opinion as of the common people (and su)ndry other considerations you shall accordingly (a) [as ?] you already begun proceed further to the full execution of all things touching that college, in such sort as was prescribed unto you by your former instructions in that behalf, saving [as we doubt not but ye have] a special consideration in the appointment of the pensions to the honesty, learning, and other qualities of everyone there (?), and his Majesty's [pleasure] is that in respect of the good and . . . service done by the dean of that College you shall appoint unto him one yearly pension of cc [200] marks sterling, (b) unto such time as he shall be advanced by his Highness to a living.

And as for the plate and ornaments of the said College his Majesty's pleasure is that such portion of the same as shall remain bes[ides] that which you shall think meet by your discr[etion to be gi]ven to the other church there [be s]ent by some convenient and trusty messenger to Bristol and there delivered to the Treasurer of the Mint by indenture.

And (c) of the ornaments of said church such portion as you shall think meet for his Majesty we require you to cause the same [to be sent] hither accordingly.

And where as we have been informed that a great number of common people there have been accustomed to have their parish church [1] within the said College of S. Patrick, his Majesty's pleasure is you sh(all leave ?) such portion of the said college church (as may) suffice for a parish church, leaving for the same iiii [4] of the smallest bells and such convenient portion of other mean ornaments as by your discretions ye shall think meet for the furniture (of the) said parish accordingly.

M. to the deputy and Council of Ireland xxv Maii 1547.

(a) to your desire already in that matter for the survey and appointing of the pensions which his Majesty taketh in very thankful part (*erased*).

(b) during his life (*erased*).

(c) in case there shall be among the said plate and ornaments

[1] This was the Church of St. Nicholas *Without*. During the episcopate of Alexander de Bicknor (1317-49), the old city parish of St. Nicholas *Within the Walls* was extended *without* the city so as to include the liberties of St. Sepulchre and the Deanery of St. Patrick's; and the north transept of the Cathedral was screened off as a parish church for the use of the residents, the Dean and Chapter reserving the patronage of both churches dedicated to St. Nicholas.

some notable or rich Jewel or other thing meet for his highness' own use, his Majesty's pleasure is ye shall cause the same (*erased*).[1]

On 20 September, 1547, King Edward assigned the site and precinct of the late house of the Vicars Choral, within the close of the late Cathedral of St. Patrick, and called the vicar's house, for a grammar school, and for the lodgings of the "pedagogue" (master) and "hipodidasculum" (usher) of the school, and appointed Matthew Talbote "pedagogue," and William Talbote "hypodidasculum," during pleasure, with a salary of £20 to the former, and £10 to the latter.[2]

On 3 March, in the following year, the King made an assignment of the house, ambit, and precinct of the Petty Canons within the Close of St. Patrick's Cathedral, for an hospital for twelve poor persons who had served in the wars of Henry VIII, and were now infirm—namely, Arthur Sheall, William Tyler, John Wodde, Geoffry Worthe, Roland Blode, Kydwalader of Ryes, Peter Redmam, Thomas Hilton, Henry Skinner, Dominick Pottell, Thomas Oo, and George Holdres, praying for the souls of the King his father, and forefathers, with a pension of £5 each.[3]

Later nominations were of William Baker in the room of Henry Skinner; of Thomas Moyle, otherwise Clarke, of Kilmaynan, in the room of Roland Bloddy (fee, 5 marks); of Richard Baker in the room of Thomas Owe (fee, £4); of John Aylmer, in place of George Tyssingham (same fee); and of Richard Hyelen, soldier, in place of Edward Redemane (fee, 5 marks).[4] All except the first of these later nominations were made by Queen Mary. It is to be noticed that she had cut down the pensions.

The Archbishop's Palace of St. Sepulchre was handed over to the Lord Deputy as his place of residence, and the Deanery house was given to Browne. The Vicar's Hall became a grammar school, and that of the minor canons was fitted up as an alms-house.[5] The Cathedral became the Courts of Law, and the manses of the canons were given to the officers of those courts.[6] When the manse of the prebendary of

[1] Shirley, *Original Letters on Church in Ireland*, pp. 2-5.
[2] *Pat. and Cl. R., Edw. VI*, 1547.
[3] *Ib.*, 2 *Edw. VI.*
[4] *Ib.*, Mary.
[5] Bernard, *St. Patrick's*, p. 13.
[6] Mason, *St. Patrick's*, p. 14.

Timothan was granted (4 Edw. VI) to Bart. Cusack for twenty-one years, at 12s. per acre, a clause was inserted to the effect " that the grant should be void if conveyed to any person not exercising the office of Examiner in Chancery or some other office in the King's Four Courts." [1] A portion of the church " plate, ornaments, and jewels " was ordered to be transferred to Christ Church, some of less value left to the parish, but the rich plate was sent to the Bristol mint, and the jewels to his Majesty.

Bellingham had express orders to set up a mint in Dublin, which he did, but it continued but a short time for want of bullion. In this connection it is interesting to see what became of the church plate, etc., that still remained in the hands of Basnet, the late dean.

The Lord Protector Somerset and the Lords of the Council, in a letter to Bellingham, Lord Deputy, and the Council (6 Jan., 1548-49) state that—

for the better furniture of the mint, being advertised that 1000 ounce of plate, of crosses, and such like things remaineth in the hands of you the Dean of St. Patrick's, we have thought good to require you to deliver the same to the hands of Agard the King's majesty's officer of the mint there, indenting with him for the receipt of the same, to be employed to his majesty's use as by him shall be thought most for his highness commodity. And for the safe keeping of it hitherto by you the Dean, his majesty of his liberality by our advices is pleased to allow unto you the sum of £20 in ready money, which his majesty's pleasure is the Treasurer of the Mint shall pay unto you accordingly.[2]

Total annual value of St. Patrick's Cathedral at Suppression :—

Dignitaries and Prebendaries . . .	£1032	2	2
Economy possessions	160	6	8
Minor Canons ,, ...	46	13	0
Vicars Choral ,, ...	101	7	3
Economy's houses in the Close . . .	30	6	10
	£1370	15	11

(*1914 value* about £20,550.)

[1] *Pipe Roll.* [2] *Ib.*, no. 11.

Possessions of St. Patrick's.

		Order of the Dignitaries and Prebendaries.	Valuation for First Fruits, etc. Irish Curr. 30 Hen. VIII.			Valuation of Prebends at Suppression, Inq. 38 Hen. VIII.			Yearly Value of Houses of Dign. and Prebs. in the Close at Suppression.			Value of Prebends, Inq. 1 Edw. VI. Irish Curr.			Pensions Granted at Suppression 25 Apr., 1 Edw. VI.			1914 Equivalent Value of Prebends at the Suppression.		
			£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Dignitaries.	1	Dean	145	5	0	240	9	9	2	13	4	240	0	0	200 m.			3600	0	0
	2	Precentor	51	12	8	90	5	3	2	0	0	88	8	7	60	0	0	1350	0	0
	3	Chancellor	50	5	0	78	10	3	2	0	0	79	10	0	60	0	0	1170	0	0
	4	Treasurer	68	3	4	89	16	11	2	0	0	76	8	7	66	13	4	1350	0	0
	5	Archdeacon Dublin	42	15	8	59	11	4	2	0	0	70	11	4	40	0	0	900	0	0
	6	,, Glendaloch	34	9	0	46	10	0	1	13	4	46	5	0	36	5	0	690	0	0
Diaconal. Sacerdotal Prebends.	7	Preb. Cullen	—			—				10	0	33	8	8	23	8	8	495	0	0
	8	,, Kilmactalway	13	6	8	33	8	8		—		52	19	4	28	13	4	765	0	0
	9	,, Swords	32	14	0	51	0	0	0	7	0		—		8	0	0	150	0	0
	10	,, Yago	10	16	8	10	0	0	0	10	0	16	0	0		—		60	0	0
	11	,, St. Audoen's	7	9	10	4	0	0	1	10	0	21	5	4		—		315	0	0
	12	,, Clonmethan	28	6	8	21	5	4		—		46	13	4	20	0	0	690	0	0
	13	,, Wicklow	10	0	0	46	13	4	0	13	0	10	0	0	9	0	0	150	0	0
	14	,, Tymothan	10	0	0	10	0	0	0	10	0	39	0	0	33	6	8	600	0	0
	15	,, Malahiddert	18	0	0	39	0	0	1	6	8	47	0	0	33	6	8	705	0	0
	16	,, Castleknock	22	6	4	47	0	0	0	13	4		—			—		315	0	0
	17	,, Tipper	16	10	0	21	0	0	1	0	0	20	10	0	13	6	8	300	0	0
	18	,, Tassagard	10	1	8	20	10	0		—		20	0	0	12	0	0	300	0	0
	19	,, Dunlavan	12	6	8	20	0	0	1	13	4		—		30	0	0		—	
	20	,, Maynooth	23	2	3	—			1	10	0	33	10	0	20	0	0	495	0	0
Subdiaconal.	21	,, Howth	24	16	10	33	10	0		—		22	0	0	13	6	8	330	0	0
	22	,, Rathmichael	8	1	1	22	0	0	1	0	0		—		10	0	0	120	0	0
	23	,, Monmohenoc	11	15	11	8	6	8		—		19	17	0	12	0	0	300	0	0
	24	,, Stagonil	1	13	4	19	18	0	0	13	4	13	6	8	6	8	4	90	0	0
	25	,, 1. Tipperkevin	5	6	8	6	13	4		—					4	0	0	90	0	0
	26	,, 2. Tipperkevin	4	0	0	6	13	4	0	10	0	6	0	0	3	0	0	45	0	0
	27	,, 1. Donoghmore	3	0	0	3	0	0		—					2	0	0	45	0	0
	28	,, 2. Donoghmore	3	0	0	3	0	0												

Economy.				Minor Canons.				Vicars Choral.			
Churches, etc.	Valuation at Suppression. 38 Hen. VIII.			Possessions [10] at the Suppression.	Value.			Possessions [10] at Suppression.	Value.		
	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
St. Kevin (tithes)	8	13	4	Parish, St. Brigid	0	18	0	Shanganagh	1	6	8
,, (tenements)	5	5	4								
Crumlin	10	13	4	St. Nicholas Without		11	0	Tassagard		14	8
Castleknock [1]	17	6	8	Kilmaynan		12	0	Eskar and Lucan		13	4
Mone-Columbkille	5	6	8	Cromlyn		8	0	Swords		6	8
Byrton (Chapel) [2]	6	13	4	Taullagh	1	1	0	Cromlyn [11]		—	
Ardscull (Chapel)	—			Newcastell (Lyons)		18	0	Adderge (lands)	3	6	8
Kilmesantan [3]	4	13	4	Lucan	2	5	0	,, (tithes)	18	0	0
Templeogue (Chapel) [4]	—			Pension from Proctor	40	0	0	Rathcowle	8	12	4
Kilbride	—				—			Dalkey		1	4
Brenockstown (Chapel)	4	0	0		—			Clondalkan	1	3	4
Rathsallagh	2	0	0		—			Tallagh		3	0
Freynstown (Chapel) [5]	1	0	0		—			Augustinian Friars (chief rent)		2	5
Terrenemok	—				—			Kynnegh (Co. Carlow)	3	6	8
Selyot	—				—			Co. Meath [12]	4	0	10
Ballyogan	—				—			Co. Louth [13]	24	17	10
Rent from Dublin City	—				—			St. Nicholas, Without [14]	7	8	4
Altarages, St. Nicholas, Without [6]		6	8		—			St. Katherine [15]	4	10	0
,, ,, ,, [7]	3	14	8		—						
,, ,, Within	—				—			Francis, St.		5	0
,, St. Brigid	2	0	0		—			Coombe	3	17	4
Ballimore	1	0	0		—			St. Michael's [16]	2	3	0
Swords [8]	79	0	0		—			St. Nicholas, Within [16]	1	18	0
Culmyn	2	0	0		—			St. Brigid's [16]	3	14	2
St. Audoen's [9]	1	6	8		—			St. Peter's [16]		6	0
Clondalkan	2	0	0		—			St. Kevin's [16]	10	9	8
Uske, Rectory	3	6	8		—						
	£160	6	8		£46	13	0		£101	7	3

[1] Includes Castleknock (£12), Whitetown (26s. 8d.), and moiety of Cabragh (£4). [2] Two parts of Byrton and Selyot (40s.), third part of Byrton and Ardscol (40s.), and two other parts Ardscoll (53s. 4d.). [3] *Alias* Glassmochy. [4] Or Tachmelog. [5] Or Villa Fraxini (Ashès). [6] Tithes. [7] Tenements. [8] Tithes, altarages, and oblations of Killeghe, Killostre, Cloghran, Booles, Furrows, Dreynam, and Malahyde. [9] Tenement in Bridge St. [10] Lands and tenements. [11] Amount, 3s. 4d., paid to the King as quit rent. [12] In Holthiston, Wardton, Mygaddy, Ratoweth, Thornton, and Dewleke. [13] In Stabanam demesne and Ardee, and tithes of Stabanam, Laleston, Dromgolston, Clyntonstowne, Ballybragan, Dromcashell, and Rowyston. [14] Houses and gardens in Patrick St. [15] Houses and gardens in Thomas St. [16] Houses, gardens and orchards. James Umfrey held St. Kevin's.

Remarks on Dignitaries and Prebendaries :—

1. The dean's revenue was derived from demesnes and tithes of Deansrath, Ballybane, Angerstown, Priestown, Clondalkin, Kilbride, Esker, Rathcoole, Tallagh, Kilberry.

2. The precentor's from one portion of Luske, including Corduffe; Collinston, Donganston, Rush, Whiteston, Tyrrelston, Ballykee, Kilmeighe, Ardlawe, Balcony, Heithson, Parnelston, Wymmilton, Haeketstown, Walshtown, Kinnure, Three Rowans, Newett; also Balrothery, St. Andrews, Dublin, and Ardry.

3. The chancellor's from Finglas, including Donachmore, St. Margaret's, Ward, Artaine; also St. Martin's, Dublin, and Killegar (Bray).

4. The treasurer's from Ballymore and half of Lusk.

5. The archdeacon of Dublin's from Taney (Dundrum) which included Rathfarnan, Donabroke, and Kilgoban.

6. The Archdeacon of Glendaloch's from Newcastle Lyons, including Agoo (Agadoe), Loghtown and Colmanstown.

7. The prebend of Cullen belonged to the Archbishop, by which he was a canon of the cathedral, and by right of which he had a voice in the chapter. It was not valued at the Suppression.

8. The prebendary of Kilmactalway's revenue was derived from the demesne of Clonmatalway (near Lucan), and the tithes of Kylmatalwey, Kyngesmyltone, Galrotyeston, Grange, Angerystowne, Loghtown and Newcastle-Lyons.

9. The prebendary of Swords' from Swords, Lissenhall, Balmadroght, and Little Bealyngstown.

10. The prebendary of Yago's from Yagoteston, Little Boolyes, Rochestowne, and Logh-brettoge.

11. The revenue of St. Audoen's prebend was derived from "privy tithes."

12. The revenue of Clonmethan prebend was derived from lands and tithes of that place, including Oldtown, Kyllene, Cabragh, Morton, Jordanstown, Cotterelston, New Ynnyngs, Wyaneston, and also from Feldston.

13. The inquisition determined the amount of Wicklow as above, as in ordinary years, but did not include it as it lay in the county of the Birnes among the Irish. The names of the townlands included in the prebend were unknown at the time. But in a later document we find: "the great and corn tithes of the chapelries of Rathnew, Killisky, Glanealy, Kilcolman, and the parish of Wicklow are the property of the prebend of Wicklow." (See Mason, *St. Patrick's*, p. 56, note.)

14. Tymothan[1] or Timon, in the parish of Talleaght; the prebend property consisted of a ruined fortress (Timon Castle), 2 messuages, 2 cottages, 240 a. of land, 120 a. of meadow and pasture.

15. Mulhuddard included Culduffe, Bossardiston, Abbotstown, Daneston, and a moiety of Cabragh.

16. Castlenock included the hamlets of Belgre, Gallonteston, Holywodrathe, the Baye, Castlecurraghe, Moreton, Godamende, Mestayliston (or Marshalstown), Hounleston, Whytesland (Whittyland), Wyllyamston, Bathesland, Keppoke, Dunsink, Skebryston, Damaystown, Macestown, Pomerston (Palmerston), and Kylmarten.

17. Tipper included townlands of Typper, Cradockstown, Newton-more, and Ballytrasne.

18. Tassagard or Saggart included also land called the " Parson's Croft," and Culmyne and Newton.

19. Dunlavin included also Loghtrane and Tornant.

20. Maynooth was not valued at the suppression, probably because it was annexed to the " College of Maynooth " which was also suppressed. The tithes of the rectory were derived from Maynoth, Sheane, Newton, Creanstown, Cormickstown, Tradstowne, and Corraghanstowne.

21. Howth included 20 a. of demesne lands claimed by Lord Howth, and tithes from Correston, Howeth, Balkyll, Sutton, Kylbarrocke, and Lyttel Mayn.

22. Rathmichael; lands there, and tithes from Rathmykell, Shenkyll, Balmacorus, Ballyrowgein, Shengannath, Quorke (Corke), and Ballygelonen.

[1] The following licences were granted in connection with this prebend :— The possessions of the late prebend and town of Timothane, with all the spiritualities and temporalities of the yearly value of £10 4s. 5½d. were granted (6 Sept., 1552) *inter alia*, to James Sedgrave, merchant, Dublin, in fee simple by order of the King. These lands and tithes were, in the Co. Meath, at Bertrameston, rent, 2s.; Rathe, rent, 2s. 2d.; Hawkenston, rent, 2s. (annual value of the three, £4); Clareston, rent, 7s. 8d. (annual value, £5); Mychenston (Meckenaneston), rent, 4s. 9d. (annual value, £3 3s.); Ballyhacke, rent, 3s. (annual value, £1 15s. 8d.); Ballybyne and Ballybroks, rent, 6s. 1d. (annual value, £4 2s.); and in the Co. Dublin, at Ballyfermote, rent, 1s. 4d. (annual value, 17s. 9½d.).

On 12 Feb., 1553, licence was granted to him to alienate to Nicholas Dromgole, Thomas Blacknee, merchant, Martin Stanton and Simon Carpenter, chaplains, the above possessions of Timothan. On 22 Feb. he was granted licence to alienate them to Henry Myssett, John Docket, John Rocheforde, chaplains, and John White, merchant, for his own use, and again on 28 Oct. he was granted license to alienate them to Thomas Fynynge, John Rochesforde, Edward Baran, and George Bruyn, for the use of Thadeus Duffe, of Dublin, merchant, his heirs and assigns for ever. (*Pat. and Cl. R., Edw. VI.*)

23. Monmohennock or Dunmanog.

24. Stagonil includes manse and demesne lands there, also tithes of corn and hay from Stagonnyll, Kylbride, Kylcornan, and Kylroddery.

25, 26. Tipperkevin included a manse and demesne lands, and tithes from Typperkevin, Dowdyston, Barreston, and Elverston.

27, 28. Donaghmore included the townlands of Donaghmore, Whitestown, Kilbrewhye, Castelsallagh, Quysshagh, Castelnerodderry, and Collywhaddre (Collynaddre). This is Donaghmore in Imaal (Ui Mail).

The following pensions were granted to the various dignitaries and prebendaries, and vicars choral :—

£6 13s. 4d. to Nicholas FitzWilliam, late canon and prebendary of Ballemore [Eustace] ; £60 to James Humffreye, late canon and precentor, and prebendary of Dunmahilaghe or Burgaii [Donachimelech or Burgage, Blessington] ; £33 6s. 8d. to Richard Ellercare, late canon and prebendary of Casternoke [Castleknock] ; £60 to Nicholas Alen, late Chancellor ; £4 to William Cockys, late prebendary of one portion of Typperkevyn ; £30 to Richard Johnson, late prebendary ; £13 6s. 8d. to Thomas Creyf, late canon and prebendary of Tassagarde ; £8 to Henry Danseye, prebendary of Yagottestone [Yago] ; £12 to Martin Stanton, prebendary of Stagonyll ; £12 to William Pounde, otherwise Frauncys, prebendary of Donelebane ; £33 6s. 8d. to Robert Eustace, prebendary of Malahiderte [Mulhuddard] ; £33 8s. 8d. to Henry Parker, prebendary of Kilmalalweye [Kilmactalwey] ; £36 5s. to Christopher Howtys [Howth], otherwise Christopher de Saint Laurence, Archdeacon of Glandalaghe, prebendary of Newcastell [near Wicklow] ; £13 6s. 8d. to Anthony St. Leger, canon ; £3 to Nicholas Wogane, Vicar Choral ; £4 to William Yonge, Vicar Choral ; £4 to John Cane, Vicar Choral ; £4 to Robert Molande and Thomas Robbins, Vicars Choral ; £9 to Eustace Browne, Canon ; 40s. to Richard Betaghe, Vicar Choral ; £4 to Thomas Bullene, to Richard Nolane, to James Sarsfelde, Vicars Choral ; £4 to George Browne, Vicar Choral ; £4 to John Claregenett ; £28 13s. 4d. to John Deythike, Canon ; £3 to Thomas Wafre, prebendary of Donaghmore in O'Maylye ; £20 to Simon Geffrey, prebendary of Houth ; 40s. to John Wogane, Canon ; £6 13s. 4d. to Richard Wakefelde, Canon ; £6 to William Crowe, to William Denycke, to Patrick Flynn, Petty Canons ; £20 to John Somengis, prebendary of Wyclowe ; £40 to William Powerie, archdeacon of Dublin, prebendary of Tanee [Dundrum] and Rathfernane ; £10 to Thomas Fescani, prebendary of Manna-

henoke [Monmahenock, near Moone, Co. Kildare]; £2 14s. 1d. to Christopher More, vicar choral; £4 to William Loghane, Vicar Choral; £4 to Walter More, £4 to Nicholas Core, Vicar Choral.[1]

A source of revenue to the economy fund of St. Patrick's which was not taken into the King's hands at the dissolution of the Cathedral was that known as " St. Patrick's Ridges." The origin of it may probably have been in the protection that was issued on 3 April, 1225 " for four years for the preachers of the fabric of the church of St. Patrick's Dublin, going through Ireland to beg alms for that fabric." However this may be, a regular source of income seems to have been organised, probably about that time, in the shape of a mortgage or first tax on the diocesan lands of the various Sees in the province of Dublin. This was St. Patrick's Ridges. A ridge of land sown with corn cost so much in labour to cultivate. This was commuted into money, and the amount became known as St. Patrick's Ridges. Whether it was one ridge in ten, twenty, etc., which was granted, we do not know. A lease of the Ridges a few years afterwards (10 May, 1550) shows the continuance of the subsidy, evidently for the repair of the chapel of St. Nicholas *Without.*

Conveyance, whereby John Lowe, of Dublin, carpenter; John Kerroll, baker; Edmond Wade, and Patrick Fleminge, tanners, " Wardyngs and Procuratorys " of the Parish Church of St. Patrick, Dublin, granted to Sir Edmond Eustace, of Ballymore, chaplain, and Edward Page, of Donlavan, yeoman, all the ridges of corn called St. Patrick's Ridges, with the commodities thereunto belonging, of the five dioceses of [Dublin], Ferns, Ossory, Leighlin, Kyldare, with the deaneries of O'Morthey, Rathmore [probably Ballymore], and Saltus Salmonis [Salmon Leap]; To hold for 3 years, at a rent of 6 marks; and it is covenanted and agreed that the said wardyngs and their successors shall have all the commodities of O'Byrne, ys countrye, this lease notwithstanding. And further yt is covenntyth and agreyde betwext the said parties that yff the said offyes or ridges be callyd bake [back] and not swefferyd within the said thre years, that then the said wardyngs and their successors shall discharge the said Sir Edmonde and Edward their executors and assigns of the syx marks.[2]

[1] *Pat. and Cl. R., Edw. VI.*

[2] *Pat. Roll, 4 Edw. VI.* In 1594 Sir Adam Loftus, proctor, gives credit for the sum of £6 13s. 4d., rent for St. Patrick's Ridges; and Jas.

Browne's Plan for a University of Dublin.

The suppression of St. Mary's Abbey and Christ Church priory had placed education in Dublin at a great discount. And when the recommendation of the erection of a school in Christ Church side by side with the conversion of that cathedral into a residence for the Council had failed, there was no provision for higher, not to speak of, secondary education in the city. This state of affairs seems to have opened Browne's mind to the serious consequences to the preaching of the "word of God" and to the acceptance of the King as head of Church and State. How was he to send suitable preachers and priests to the O'Tooles and O'Byrnes, and indeed throughout the whole country, as he had been admonished to do? Where could he have them trained? There was not even a public grammar school in his cathedral city.[1]

The miserable make-shift of a cathedral had been allowed to continue in Christ Church, but the wealthy St. Patrick's had been confiscated. A bright idea struck Browne: Why not turn St. Patrick's into a great university? This idea seemed to have been present to the minds of the Deputy and the canons of that cathedral at its suppression, and, according to Browne, was a powerful factor in extorting from the canons their compliance with the dissolution of their ancient and glorious cathedral. For some reason or other, Browne had crossed to England early in Edward's reign, possibly to survey the religious situation and make himself acquainted with the Lord Protector and his Council. Whilst there (in 1547) he seems to have drawn up his plan for carrying into effect what had already been bruited abroad, namely, the establishment

Usher, proctor in 1606, has, in his receipts for that year, inserted as follows:—

"Item, St. Patrickes ridges for Kilkennye, £2 13s. 4d.

Item, St. Patrickes ridges for the deanery of Morphye [O'Morthy], the Nase, and Kildare, £2 0s. 0d.

N.B. St. Patrickes ridges, from henceforth set to Mr. Robinson and Mr. Bolger for £6 13s. 4d. *Irish*, per ann."

The 6 marks mentioned in the conveyance in the text above would only represent £4 (about £60 *1914 value*).

[1] The chantry priests of St. Anne's Gild in St. Audoen's, High St., conducted a school attached to the church, probably for the choristers and the children of the members of the gild.

of St. Patrick's University.[1] And it would seem that he had done so with the connivance or at the command of someone in authority. The draft was actually endorsed by Sir W. Cecil (clerk of the Council) and was afterwards found among the State Papers. The following is the full text of Browne's scheme :—

A device or petition framed by the Archbishop of Dublin for a University to be founded and erected in Ireland with a plain declaration how the same may be easily done by the King's Majesty

[1] Browne's was not the first project for a university in St. Patrick's. In 1311 Archbishop Leech procured a Bull from Pope Clement V empowering him to establish a university in Dublin, but the project was not accomplished until 1320, when his successor, Alexander de Bicknor, obtained a confirmation of draft statutes from Pope John XXII. The Dean of St. Patrick's, William Rodyard, was elected the first Chancellor of the University. Kind Edward III not only instituted a Divinity Lecture there but granted the following patent (31 Edw. III, i.e. 1358) for the protection of the students : " That a supplication of the clergy and scholars of Ireland, that through want of means, and on account of the great perils they sustained in passing the seas for the sake of learning, they were terrified any longer to repair to foreign parts upon that score, and therefore propose to continue in the City of Dublin, both in reading and learning Divinity, the Civil and Canon Law, and other clerical sciences, and to exercise all kinds of studies there by the favour of God. The King, therefore, reciting the advantages of such studies especially in the propagation of virtue and maintaining of peace, took the petitioners into his especial protection, and granted his safe and secure conduct to them, their servants and attendants, together with their goods and luggage, both in coming to the said university, their abode in it, and their return from thence ; and commands all magistrates to defend and protect them upon all lawful occasions " (Record, Birmingham Tower). In what state, whether flourishing or decadent, the university continued, we have no records to tell. Between 1358 and the suppression of the cathedral in 1547 we have one solitary reference to it. At a provincial synod held in Christ Church in 1496, under Archbishop Walter Fitzsimons, an annual contribution for seven years was settled by the clergy of the province of Leinster, to provide for salaries for the lecturers of the university in St. Patrick's Cathedral. We do not know whether the contribution continued for seven years or not. But it seems that the university had long passed out of existence before Browne came to the See, and, indeed, that he had never even heard of such. He says in his scheme : " and thereof a faire and lardge colledge to be made, for the fyrst plainting of an universitie there." Browne evidently thought that his was an original idea. Others, afterwards, not knowing of Browne's scheme, considered that the first plan of a university in Dublin was due to the government of Sir John Perrot in 1584. This was afterwards put into effect by Queen Elizabeth in 1591. Perrot's additional instructions were " to consider how a college may be erected ; and St. Patrick's Church, and the revenue thereof may be appropriated thereunto, and every diocese by Act of Parliament may be made contributory out of the leases of impropriations." This was a recasting of Browne's original plan.

to the great glory of God, his Majesty's honor and immortal remembrance, and the speedier reducement of the people there to a due obedience and acknowledging of their duties in that behalf.

First where the Cathedral Church of Saint Patrick's beside Dublin hath of late been suppressed and dissolved, that the same Cathedral Church may be erected again and established for ever, together with all the houses appertaining and lying commodiously about it, and thereof a fair and large college to be made, for the first planting of a university there, and there to be placed a certain number of fellows to be continual students (in all discipline necessary) and so in time and by degrees convenient to grow to be preachers.

Secondarily that for the better proceeding in all good literature of the said students and others that shall repair to the said university for learning, there may be found perpetually to endure four ordinary lectors to be instituted and erected. One of the Latin tongue, another of the Greek tongue, the third of the Civil Law, and the fourth of Divinity, and of these the first two to be read every working day in term time, the other two thrice in the week, that is to say, Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, the Divinity lector, and on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday the Civil law.

Item, everyday Sunday and feastful day throughout the year one sermon to be preached in the said College Church by the divinity reader or one other of the fellows of the College being a divine, or by some other godly man to be thereunto admitted by the Master and Seniors of the said College, or by the Archbishop there for the time being.

Item, that where as Christchurch standeth within the City, that the Dean and Ministers thereof may be transferred to serve God at the said College, for there is room enough for them all, and where the King's Majesty is now charged with £67 yearly out of his grace's coffers for maintenance of certain priests and choristers in Christchurch, the same may be relieved and resumed with an honest portion of the temporalities of the said Christchurch to the King's Majesty's use, appointing to the Dean and fellows now being there sufficient livings and salaries, to serve in the said college to be erected, during their lives.

Item, that the Church now called Saint Patrick's may be named the Church of Holy Trinity and the College to be called Christ's College of the foundation of King Edward the Sixth, etc.

Sixth, that these benefices following may be annexed to the said University for the finding of the foresaid Lectors, first the parsonage of Trim, the parsonage of Armulghan, the parsonage of Rathewere, the parsonage of Callan, the wardenship of Youghal,

the parsonage of Dungarvan, and a lector to be kept upon the Archdeaconry of Meath for ever, and that the Master of the College do pay to every of the readers [lectors] £40 yearly.

Item, that towards the commons of the said College and students may be applied all and singular such portions and allowances as did belong to four petty canons and 16 vicars before the suppression of Saint Patrick's aforesaid and the commons of the church which with the benefices abovenamed will suffice; wherein is to be noted that of the same benefices the king's Majesty is patron of Rathewere, Ardmulghan, and Roslare, my lord of Ormonde patron of Callan, the Bishop of Meath patron of Trim, and the King's Majesty in possession of Dungarvan, the Earl of Desmond patron of the wardenship of Youghal.

Item, the king's Majesty's most gracious letters tenderly to be directed to the lords and bishops of Ireland that they will help with some other more parsonages and benefices to be applied and annexed to and for the better endowment and maintenance of the said university.

Item, that commission under the king's great seal here may be directed to such as to his highness shall be thought good, *ad audiendas et terminandas causas ecclesiasticas*, to the intent that thereby the people may be occasioned to leave and omit the popish trade, which many of them now embraceth, and also to swear all bishops and priests to the obedience of the King's Majesty and his successors as their immediate head and governor under God and for the execution of other his Majesty's proceedings according the order used in England.

Item, that two Archdeacons of Dublin may be again restored to aid and assist the Archbishop there for the time being which was taken away at the suppression of Saint Patrick's, and this the rather that there is no bishop in Christendom without an archdeacon, but only Dublin, and so the said Archbishop the worse able to supply his charge who had before the said suppression two Archdeacons [they to find 2 lectors].

Item, that now immediately may be sent thither three to be Bishops and to preach, every one of them to have a sufficient living to the intent that neither they through default or living be burdenous to any person, and yet may without that care most diligently and earnestly travail in setting forth to the people by an uniform doctrine the words of God and the Christian proceedings of the King's Majesty as it is here in England.

Item, that the Archbishop of Dublin and certain others may be incorporated by the king's charter to receive to the use of the said

university as well all the said lands, rents, rectories and hereditaments to be given thereto for the maintenance of the same by the King's Majesty as by all other lords and bishops that will depart with anything for that purpose, the statute of mortmain notwithstanding.

Item, that the Dean, dignities and prebendaries of Christchurch in Dublin upon their translation to the said church of the Trinity beside Dublin may be incorporated by such name as shall please the King's Majesty with honest livings to them appointed having a chapter and council to assist the Archbishop for the time being, in common matters as the King's laws shall permit. Thus may a noble University be founded for an immortal memory of the king's highness, and to his majesty's no great charge, so that his grace's commandment may go withal unto the lords and bishops of Ireland that every of them truly and faithfully put to their good aid and help for the said university to be erected in Dublin as a place of all other in Ireland most proper for the same.

Item, that a commission be now directed to resume into the King's hands all colleges, free chapels and chantries within that Realm, *and that sundry free schools may be erected upon same for education of youth there*,[1] which shall be a good augmentation of his highness revenues.

First for the erection of an university to be established within the Realm of Ireland by Dublin to be there remanent for ever as well for the increase of God's divine service as the King's Majesty's immortal fame and the unspeakable reformation of that realm and for education of students and youth, which may from time to time grow, as well in the knowledge of God the author of all goodness, without whom, the knowledge of the King, the obedience of his laws, shall never be had there, the lack whereof hath been only the ruin and decay of that realm, and so by process of time the same students being repaired to their native shires shall by their learning and good education be both example of good living and also a lively trompe [trumpet] to call that barbarous nation from evil to good, and consequently from good to better, and so to be perfight [perfect] and civil.

It is thought good that the late church of Saint Patrick's by Dublin with all the houses, mansions, orchards and gardens, which the late dean, prebendaries, petty canons, and vicars choral of the said late church had, shall be given by the King's Majesty to such as the King's Majesty and his most honorable Council think good, or others to be named by the deputy and Council there for

[1] Portion in italics erased.

and to the use of the Chancellor or ruler of the same University, and the fellows thereof, and the dean and fellows of the cathedral church and college there for ever, or such other as the King and his Majesty's Council shall think meet and convenient.

Item, for the establishing of a dean and chapter there, it may pass well, that the dean and fellows of the Cathedral church of the Blessed Trinity of Dublin be translated to the said late Church of Saint Patrick's, there to continue with their livings for ever, for the better maintenance of God's divine service there.

Item, for as much as the chantries there, are yet undissolved, and that the incumbents thereof make spoil of the same as in giving leases of them for so many years, as in time neither the King shall have any profit thereof, nor yet any godliness thereby maintained, for avoiding whereof, and for the maintenance of the said university, it may please his Majesty to direct his highness' commission for dissolution of the same chantries, and the revenues thereof to be applied to the use of the said University in manner and forme following.

Four lectors to be kept there continually, that is to say, viz., the Greek lector, the civil lector, physic, and the divinity lector, to be read from time to time, as they are read in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and that every of the readers of the said lectors shall have yearly of the issues and profits of the said chantries £40 and further that upon the [rest] of the issues and profits of chantries there shall be maintained for ever in the said University the number of 200 students to learn the said liberal arts, receiving of the said issues and profits their livings and sustentation, as the thing shall extend sufficiently for that purpose, and so shall his Majesty have continual Orators [intercessors] to pray for his highness most victorious and immortal fame for ever.

And where upon the dissolution of the said late cathedral church, it was declared by Sr. Anthony Sentleger, then the King's deputy there, that the King, his Majesty's pleasure was, that the said church should be converted to a better use, viz.: a university, which much the rather provoked the dean and fellows there, to condescend to the surrender thereof; therefore if it might please the King's Majesty to grant the Union of the benefices late appending to the said church to the said University; the issues and profits whereof was wont to be paid in corn, and now demised for money to be paid to the King's Majesty's use. The Archbishop of Dublin under his chapter seal and the Mayor of Dublin under his common seal shall be bound to pay the King's highness yearly according the survey thereof taken, and this only because that the masters and students there shall have corn at a reasonable

price for their better maintenance, not meaning hereby that any of the present farmers of any parcel of the premises, other than such as will for that godly purpose depart with some commodity; shall be damnified [indemnified] thereby, but only to have the corn after the years of the now farmers shall be expired in the premise.

[Endorsed in Sr. W. Cecil's hand.]

B. of Dublin's device for a University.[1]

This draft by Browne contains many points of very great importance. It was a bold stroke to unite the two cathedrals by transferring the dean and canons to St. Patrick's, considering the opposition of the mayor and citizens to the previously attempted suppression of Christ Church. But the erection of a university would go a long way to appease their wrath. Browne's plan had also this advantage that it gave back to the King the £67 yearly which he was obliged to contribute for the maintenance of the extra canons and choristers in Christ Church, and other monies would come to the King out of that cathedral's temporalities. The lectureships would cost the King nothing as Browne had selected rectories that would pay for them. The dean and fellows (canons) would be paid a definite, and, no doubt, small salary. The maintenance of the fellows and students would be paid out of the revenues of the ancient petty canons and vicars choral of St. Patrick's. The King might, therefore, appropriate all the revenues of the dignitaries and prebendaries of St. Patrick's. Moreover, the Lords and Bishops of Ireland should be called upon to grant revenues in the shape of rectories and benefices to augment the university fund. Finally, the revenues of St. Patrick's, hitherto paid in corn, were now commuted to money which would be more advantageous to his Majesty.

A great defect in the present arrangement was that there were no archdeacons to help Browne in the administration of his diocese. Such a state of affairs being unparalleled in any diocese, Browne asks that the two archdeacons of Dublin and Glendaloch be restored.

In England the chantries and religious gilds[2] had been

[1] *S.P. Edw. VI*, vol. i., no. 10, P.R.O., London. See also Shirley, *Original Letters on the Church in Ireland*, pp. 5-14.

[2] Chantries were established by rich persons in certain churches to support a priest to say Mass and office daily for the intention of the founder and his family. Gilds were founded in certain churches "for a similar purpose for the

suppressed and their property in lands and houses taken into the King's hands. As yet no move in that direction was made anywhere in Ireland. Browne now recommends their suppression and that free schools be erected on these foundations. But his suggestion was never carried out as the gilds, with varying vicissitudes, continued for many years, until the property, to a very large extent, as far as we have any records to tell, passed into the hands of the members of the new religion. The leases in most cases were destroyed as incriminating documents.

The last point of note in Browne's plan was that a commission should be appointed for the purpose of arranging for the issue of faculties and dispensations. The want of a Vicegerent in Ireland was a serious handicap to the spread of the King's ecclesiastical power, and, in Browne's opinion, was the cause of so many applications to Rome. These faculties and dispensations were a source of considerable profit. It may be remembered that Browne had intimated that Rome was now granting them *gratis*. This concession was evidently due to the disturbed state of ecclesiastical affairs. It had been already decided by the King's Council in England that Bishop Staples of Meath and Richard Rede, a layman, were to have control of the faculties. But it was only in 1547, the year of Browne's plan, that the King issued his grant in the matter. It will be seen from it that the fees were high, and calculated to bring a good revenue into the royal coffers.

On 24 March was issued a " commission, during the King's pleasure, to Anthony Seyntleger, K.G., gentleman of the Privy Chamber, and deputy of Ireland, Richard Rede, Chancellor there, and Edward bishop of Meath, councillor, to grant in Ireland under the seal of the faculties all kinds of licences, dispensations, etc., mentioned in the annexed schedule (*not enrolled or now annexed*) as amply as the Archbishop of Canterbury grants them, receiving payment according to a certain book of taxation signed by two of the Privy Councillors in

brethren and sisters of the fraternity and were granted royal charters to hold property for the support of one or more chaplains. There were many gilds in Dublin, the principal ones being St. Anne's in St. Audoen's Church, St. Sythe's in St. Michan's, St. George's, and Corpus Christi. For further information on this important subject see Ronan, *Religious Customs of Dublin Medieval Gilds*, I.E.R., Sept. and Oct., 1925.

England and yearly at midsummer transmitting the profits to the Clerk of the Faculties in England according to the Statute (25 Henry VIII, c. 21) reserving the half share (*semi-parte*) to themselves and their deputies." [1]

Elsewhere, the schedule mentioned as *not enrolled or annexed* is given as follows: "Dispensation for solemnising marriage without banns, 6s. 8d.; dispensation at prohibited times, 10s.; dispensation without banns at prohibited times, 13s. 4d.; dispensation for marriage without the parish church, 5s." [2]

The object of Browne's whole plan of the university was, as he states, that in course of time the students having returned to their native places, might by their learning and example bring the people to a knowledge of the King and to obedience to his laws, and "call that barbarous nation from evil to good, and consequently from good to better, and so to be perfect and civil."

What might have been the result of this plan we shall not hazard a guess. But this much must be said for it that it was a well-thought-out scheme and a most important contribution to the "reform" movement. For some reason or other, which we do not know, the young King and his councillors thought otherwise, and so St. Patrick's Cathedral returned for the present to its primitive state of parish church, shorn of its ceremonial and pomp.

Dean Basnet Rewarded.

Though deprived of his deanery, Basnet did not go unrewarded. He had been an ardent worker for the "reform" even if in the beginning he had actually resisted Browne's order for the destruction of the images in his cathedral. Favours had been showered on him by the King and the Archbishop. The first favour dates from 21 March, 1540, when the King gave licence to the Archbishop to grant, for ever, to the Dean and his successors, seven acres of arable land adjoining his estate at Deansrath, Clondalkin, for which

[1] *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1 *Edw. VI*, vol. i., Part IV, p. 136. *Mem.* 28d.

[2] *Cal. P. and C. Rolls, Hen. VIII, Edw. VI, Mary, Ireland*, 1 *Edw. VI* no. 105. *Mem.* 9. The date for this entry is given 4 March.

the Dean agreed to pay to the Archbishop two fat capons yearly at Christmas.[1]

In the same year when Lord Deputy Gray attacked O'Neil at the celebrated battle of Bellahoe, the Dean, who had laid aside his priestly dress, particularly signalised himself, and, for his prowess and good service, was made one of his Majesty's privy council.[2]

From the year 1544 onwards there is a succession of favours granted to him. Upon a report made to the King, by the Lord Deputy, of the Dean's singular merit and services, his Majesty was pleased to grant to him and his heirs for ever the castle, town, lands, and rectory of Kiltiernan, to be held of the King, *in capite*, by military service, as twentieth part of a knight's fee, and yearly rent three shillings Irish. The land is described in the roll as lying in the extreme parts of the English Pale.[3] It had been part of the estate of St. Mary's Abbey, lately dissolved. This grant was in reversion, after the expiration of a lease for twenty-one years from 20 July, 1543, which had been granted to Walter Pypparde, the farmer of the Abbey. The grant to Basnet was dated, Westminster, 5 July, 1544, but curiously the patent roll for the same was not issued until 7 February, *a.r.* 36 Hen. VIII (1545).

That he was a trusted member of the Council is shown by the fact that the Lord Deputy sent him to explain to the Earl of Ormond why he (Sentleger) had opened certain letters from the Earl to the Privy Council which complained of the Lord Deputy.[4] This refers to the quarrel between Sentleger and Ormond. Though special grants had been made to the dignitaries and prebendaries of St. Patrick's to enable them to give more of their time to the services of St. Patrick's, yet Basnet did not take the latter too seriously. He had a castle at Deansrath, Clondalkin, and another at Kiltiernan, and evidently found time to reside there. In a pardon (28 Aug., 1545) for the death of William Fowler or ffowle, his residence is

[1] *Pat. Roll*, 32 *Hen. VIII. Dign. Dec.*, pp. 210-1.

[2] Hollingshed, *Chronicles*, vi. 312.

[3] Kiltiernan, near Glencullen, South Co. Dublin, on the borders of the O'Toole's country.

[4] Hollingshed, *Chronicles*, vi. 317.

given as "of Deanrath, Co. Dublin." [1] Fowler may have been a trespasser on his land.

When St. Patrick's was suppressed, Basnet did not leave his deanery without ample provision having been made for him. Besides the grants already mentioned of a yearly pension of 200 marks (£133 6s. 8d., or about £2000 *1914 value*), of the castle and lands of Kiltiernan, and of Deansrath, he had a lease (35 Hen. VIII) of all the castles, forts, lands, etc., in the Birnes country in the Marches of Dublin.

He had likewise a lease (36 Hen. VIII) of fifty-five acres in Ballydowde (at Hermitage near Lucan), parcel of the lands of St. Mary's Abbey. Another lease of twenty-one years granted him the town and lands of Newcastle McKynegan (near Wicklow town) which had been surrendered to the King by the O'Byrnes. Even in the Co. Meath he was provided with land, as a Pipe Roll of a late year of Henry VIII shows him paying a chief rent to the King of 45s. for a messuage and sixty acres in Blackhall, parish of Ballymaglessan, in that county, to hold for twenty-one years.

Edward VI did not forget the loyal Dean. Under that monarch he obtained a lease (24 Sept., 1 Edw. VI) for twenty-one years of a capital messuage within the precincts of St. Patrick's, at the rent of 6s. 8d. yearly. In the same year (12 July) he had a lease of the rectories of Rathcoole, Esker, Clondalkin, Taulaght, and of various lands within those parishes at a yearly rent of £200.[2]

Mason asserts, without giving any authority: "These he received, probably, as a recompense for his act of perfidy; besides these grants to himself he found means to appropriate to members of his own family, a great portion of the possessions of the deanery. Before the actual surrender of the church [St. Patrick's], on the 9th of November, which was the day

[1] *P. and Cl. R. Hen. VIII, ad an.* A grant to the Dean and Chapter was made, 20 Aug., 1544: "for the glory and honour of God, the Blessed Virgin, and St. Patrick, dispensing with the necessity of residence upon any benefices they had in other dioceses, whilst they are commorant in the Cathedral Church, or within its precincts or limits, but requiring them to provide fit curates, having cure of souls, to administer the sacraments in their parishes and churches, and to reside so that they might serve God better and exercise hospitality better within the precincts of St. Patrick's." (*Pat. and Cl. R. Hen. VIII, ad an. Dign. Dec.*, p. 213.)

[2] *Pipe Roll, Edw VI.*

after the patent had passed the great seal, he procured the Chapter's consent to a grant of Deansrath, the chief estate belonging to the Dean, whereby it was demised to his brother, Ffinian Bassenet of the Nangre." [1]

Basnet was also employed by the Council to bring letters of State to England. A letter (May, 1547) from the Lords of the Council in England to the Lord Deputy and Council in Ireland referred to the former letters of the latter body, which letters were brought by the late Dean of St. Patrick's who had been sent to England by that body. The purpose of the letters and of the Dean's visit is shown in that letter, in which the English Council signify " that shortly they would send over a convenient aid for the reduction of the rebels who attempted to innovate things there, and that they would presently send this gentleman, Master Bellyngham of the King's Privy Chamber, and with him such a convenient number of sorted men for the relief of the Lord Deputy," etc. Bellyngham, afterwards Lord Deputy, was recommended as being " a gentleman in whom, for his wisdom, policy, and experience in the affairs of war, both his Majesty and the Council put great confidence." [2]

Basnet still remained one of the Privy Council even though he was no longer dean, as, on 11 November, 1551, his signature is amongst those annexed to the order for removing the state records from the Castle to St. Patrick's. He died, however, between the years 1551 and 1554, as appears in an inquisition of 31 January of the latter year. There also it appears that he had been married, and was, therefore, the first dean of that cathedral who entered the bonds of matrimony. The inquisition [3] states that—

[1] Mason, *St. Patrick's*, 150. " This lease was afterwards, in 1602, assigned by Richard Bassenet, of Eaton, in Denbighshire, to Walter Weldon, of Dublin, Gent., for £110 sterling. Dean Swift has, in the following words, expressed, on the back of this deed, an honest indignation against the perfidious act of this, his unworthy predecessor: ' this Bassenet was related to the scoundrel of the same name who surrendered the deanery to that beast, H. 8 ' " [Henry VIII]. Swift was evidently angry with Basnet only because of the consequent loss to himself when the possessions of the deanery fell into his own hands.

[2] *Pat. and Cl. R. Edw. VI, Ir., ad an.*

[3] *Chief Rememb. Office, apud* Mason's *St. Patrick's*, 151.

Edward Bassenet, late dean of St. Patrick's, died seised in fee of one castle, 20 messuages and cottages, 120 acres of land, called Glancullen and Mangan McTyry; also, 120 a. stony mountain in Kiltiernan and in the ould Grange of Kylcullyn, Betaghton, Ballycakan, parcel of the townland or hamlet of Kyltiernan; value 140s. per annum; and, likewise, of the church, rectory or chapel of the same, value, per annum, 20s.; which he held of the king, *in capite*, by military service, as the 20th part of a knight's fee; and being so seised, by deed dated 29 January, 37 Hen. VIII he granted to Richard Walsh, son and heir of William Walsh, of Carrickmayne and others, the aforesaid premises, and likewise the church, belfry (*campanile*) of Kiltiernan to the same Richard for ever, to the use of Edward Bassenet and his assigns for life; then to the use of Richard Bassenet and his heirs male, and in failure of such, to the purposes of his last will; the same Edward, afterwards made his will, whereby he demised the above-mentioned possessions, after the decease of himself and Richard without issue male, to William Bassenet and his heirs male, and in default of such, to his own son John Bassenet and his heirs male, and in default of such, to his son George Bassenet and his heirs male; and in default of such, to the male heir of Ffynian, Richard and Michael his brothers, in succession, and in default of all such, to Katherine Bassenet,[1] and in default of issue male of Katherine, then to the right heirs of the testator.

If the Dean died in or about 1553, and had four sons and a daughter he had been married, probably, about six or seven years. And if Richard Bassenet mentioned in the inquisition was his son, then he must have been married at least early in 1545, as the date of the deed in which Richard is mentioned is 29 January, 37 Hen. VIII, viz., 1546. It may be that after the birth of Richard he made this will. The other children were

[1] Mason says he saw a note of Dr. John Lyon, quoted from a book of heraldry among the MSS., T.C.D., that Dean Bassenet had a daughter Katherine, married to Patrick Dillon. The editors of *Biogr. Brittan.* confirm this. It seems confirmed also by the above will. Mason takes it that Richard, William, John, and George Bassenet were his sons. The inquisition only mentions two sons. But it seems probable that all four were his sons. After the Dean's death the family appear to have gone to the ancient family residence at Eaton in Denbigh. The Richard Bassenet who signed the lease of Deansrath in 1602 mentioned before, was probably the Dean's eldest son, whose name occurs in the inquisition, and who had succeeded to the property. Whether it was at Deansrath or Kiltiernan that Basnet kept the lady of his choice we have no means of knowing.

evidently born after that date, as a new will was made afterwards to include them. The date of the new will is not given, but it is quite probable that it was made a short time before his death. The marriage of Basnet seems an extraordinary affair, considering that only a few years before (8 Oct., 1542) an Act had been passed for the " continency of priests." We shall see later how Browne, the Archbishop, followed the example of Basnet, or, perhaps, set it. It would be extremely interesting to know when Browne and Basnet considered themselves free to marry. In the unsettled state of religion, after Henry had assumed the title, Head of the Church, these ecclesiastics probably assumed that they were no longer bound by their ordination oath since they were no longer bound by the Pope's laws. It will be remembered that, at the passing of the Act of Six Articles, Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, was a married man and was compelled by Henry to put away his wife. Browne and Basnet evidently considered themselves as free as Cranmer to marry, but their marriage was evidently kept quiet as we hear of no order to them to put away their wives.

Leinster again Disturbed.

In the first years of Edward's reign Ireland became once more unsettled. " The O'Birnes took advantage of the change of government, and hoping that the infancy of the King would occasion disturbances in the state, they began to be very unruly and troublesome; insomuch that the Lord Deputy [Sentleger] was necessitated to invade their country; he pursued them so close, that he slew their captain, and drove themselves into the woods and fastnesses; he also took two of the Fitz Geralds, who had formerly been proscribed; and now joined with O'Toole, and he brought them and other prisoners to Dublin, where they were executed. . . . But as the reformation proceeded in England, so the popish zeal and superstition increased in Ireland and the Pale itself began to be disturbed with it, for Richard Fitz-Eustace and Alexander his brother, sons of the Viscount Baltinglass were busy forming a rebellion in the County of Kildare; but the presence of the Lord Deputy (without blows) brought them to a

submission, and stifled this infant conspiracy in the cradle." [1] Leix and Offaly, Delvin, Connacht, etc., also gave considerable trouble.

Sir Edward Bellingham, who had been sent into England, with an account of the submission of the County of Kildare, was now sent back as Lord Deputy. He landed at Dalkey on Whitsunday-Eve, 1547, and two days later he received the sword of state at Christ Church, according to custom. "He was a zealous Protestant and a brave soldier." [2]

A few letters will show how energetic he was for the "reform" and how he was praised by prelates for his work.

Edmund Butler was prior of the Abbey of Athassel, and Archbishop of Cashel, 1527-50. It has been doubted whether he was attached to the Reformation. His letter to the Duke of Somerset, 25 February, 1548, in which he praises Bellingham and Walter Cowley (General Surveyor of Abbey lands in Ireland) for their work in the "reform," shows that he was a decided partisan of the "reformed" faith. He says that he never saw anything achieved in such a short time as the "reformation" by Bellingham, "who hath opened the very gate of the right reformation, whose nature as I judge will not trifle with any unfruitful circumstance." [3]

Christopher (Bodkin), Archbishop of Tuam,[4] in a letter (25 July, 1548) to Sir Edward Bellingham, Lord Deputy, excuses himself for not being in attendance on him, the way being dangerous, and promises to serve his lordship to the utmost of his power. He tells him that the whole country round about needs reformation more than ever, on account of the want of order and justice.[5]

[1] Cox, *Hib. Angl.*, i. 283-4.

[2] *Ib.*, 284. That the O'Tooles again accepted the King's peace is evident from the following entry: "Commission to Sir Richard Rede, Chancellor of Ireland, to make out a new patent to Brian Otoole of the lands which Tyrlaghe Otooll, his father, had; to hold to him 'and his heirs males of his body lawfully begotten,' by service of the 20th part of a knight's fee *in capite*, rendering such rents as were reserved in Henry VIII's patents to Tyrlaghe.

"To Lucas Otooll, of the lands which Arthure Otooll, his father had, etc., rendering such rents as were reserved in Henry VIII's patents to Arthure" (*Cal. Pat. R. Edw. I.*, vol. i., p. 133. *Circa* 1547).

[3] Shirley, *Original Letters*, no. 3. *Mant.*, i. 185.

[4] Abp. from 1536 to 1572: transferred from Kilmacduagh to Tuam by Henry VIII in 1536: held also the See of Kilmacduagh by dispensation.

[5] Shirley, *Original Letters*, no. 4.

Browne's Neglect of Preaching.

Browne was back again in Dublin after his abortive attempt to found a university in St. Patrick's. But he seems to have fallen back into his old ways of shirking the preaching in Christ Church. He probably saw that his preaching of the "word of God" was not producing much fruit. At all events, the information as to his neglect is given in a letter which for its general importance may be given here in full. The letter[1] was written by Plunket and Thomas Alen (18 Aug., 1548) to the new Lord Deputy, Sir Edward Bellingham, in response to an enquiry from the latter :—

After our most humble and bounden duty premised to your honourable good lordship. These shall be to advertise the same, that having enquired the price of the beer of Dublin lately appointed to be made,[2] and now ready, and good, as the makers say, the price of every hogshead is fifteen shillings, the price of the corn altereth the matter. For they might by reason thereof at your lordship's first coming [to Ireland] as well to serve at 12 shillings the hogshead as now at the price desired. Now the beer is good and best to be carried, the longer it lieth the worse to be carried, therefore we think good that either your lordship determine shortly to send for it, or to advertise your pleasure otherwise so as the owners may know whereunto to trust and willingly to do their duty in the like. And to be plain with your good lordship unless the casks for beer, as they be voided [emptied], be sent, there is none to be had here to serve your lordship, which we have often declared to those that should remember the same. Whereof it may like your lordship to charge Peter Smythe and the rest. Here in Dublin is reported the Dublin soldiers are like to perish for lack of food. We sent to Athy[3] 18 beds which being returned, we trust your lordship's gents. and servants shall be furnished to our bests, and lacking them there shall be done what may be.

This day my lord of Dublin coming not to preach (as is now said) in Christ's Church, Mr. Water [*sic*] virtuously supplied the room with good audience.

We will according our bounden duty see your lordship's instructions performed. That knoweth God to whom justly bounden

[1] *S.P. Edw. VI*, no. 65. [2] Evidently for Bellingham's army.

[3] This refers to the invasion of Leix and Offaly by Bellingham in midsummer, 1547, and the subsequent submission of O'More and O'Connor.

we daily pray to preserve your most honourable lordship in long healthful life. At Kilmaynan the 18 of August, 1548.

Your lordship's unfeigned servants and bound beadsmen,

JOHN PLUNKET, THOMAS ALEN.

This was not the only complaint made against Browne for his neglect of preaching. Amongst the charges made against him, probably by John Alen a few months afterwards (Nov., 1548), is one that insinuates that he had not preached from November, 1547, until September, 1548. In fact, according to the preceding letter, he had ceased to preach. Mr. Water, who was evidently the "Scot" referred to in Alen's charges (given below) had taken Browne's place in the pulpit on 18 August of that year. This sermon did not please Browne, and so, having announced to the people and some notable persons that he intended to preach, he delivered his first sermon for that year. As the document containing the charges is so important we do not hesitate to give it at length :—

Interrogatories apparently against George [*Browne*], *Archbishop of Dublin, for neglect of duty in the Government of the Church* [probably in November, 1548].

Whether my Lord Protector's grace and most honorable council of England wrote unto George Archbishop of Dublin before Christmas last; that he should not alienate any part or parcel of his bishoprick before he had advertised their honors what he had done before that. Nevertheless the said Archbishop made alienations and leases in reversion and otherwise of the most of his bishoprick to his children, Robert Bathe, and other in January following and dated them in June before that.

Whether the said Archbishop at several times before master Seintleger was last sent for, said he had sufficient matters of treason and other abuses to lay to the said Saintleger's charge, if he, upon the king's precise commandment upon his allegiance, to declare in his book all the said Seintleger's abuses, signify them.

Whether the said Archbishop at any time did set out or cause to be set out the King's Majesty's (that now is) injunctions or homilies.

Whether he preached at any time from November last till September, 1548, which day he long before premonished to the people, and whether he procured or sent to Justice Luttrell, the

vicar of Drogheda, or to any other, to be at that indecent sermon wherein he willed the audience to do all their former ceremonies, affirming that like as Luther condemned the Bishop of Rome's traditions and ceremonies, so doth this Scot that last preached here, condemn the Mass and other our ceremonies, therefore what so ever he is, that either maintain, succour or credit this Scot in his preaching, is not the King's true subject.

Whether the said Archbishop since 1547 hath received any letters from the Earl of Desmond or Irishmen, how many they were, or of what effect, and what answer he made to them.

Whether the said preacher preaching in Kilmaynan before the Lord Deputy, the council, and the said bishop, setting forth the gospel, the prince's authority and condemning the abuse of the Bishop of Rome's Masses and ceremonies, upon that his, and the Dean of Christ Church request to the said Lord deputy to license the said preacher to preach among them in Christ Church, which he did impeaching against the former abuses as he began, and the said bishop and dean suffered the same without any complaint to the King's deputy ; but openly in the former appointed sermon overreverently inveighed against the said preacher and his maintainers, alleging in one point that he spake against good works which in all his sermons he showed vehemently the contrary.[1]

It will be well to take the several charges in order. That Browne had in a wholesale manner alienated See lands we have already seen, but it is new information that he had made over some of them to his children, in or about January, 1548, and had made the leases to read as from June, 1547. It would seem then that Browne had entered the bonds of matrimony before 1545, and possibly many years before that.

As to Browne's charges against Sentleger, the former Deputy, of treason and other abuses, we have nothing to say now, as we have no information about them, but it is useful to observe the antipathy between these two men which, a few years afterwards, was to reach a climax. Indeed, Alen now suggests that Browne himself was not carrying out the King's commands. These chiefly referred to the preaching of the " word of God."

[1] *S.P. Edw. VI*, vol. i., no. 141, P.R.O., London. See also Shirley, *Original Letters*, pp. 18-20. The author of these injurious articles against Browne has not been discovered. It was probably John Alen as the handwriting is the same as in a similar list of accusations by Alen against Sentleger in July, 1550 (vol. ii., no. 53).

The question of Browne's famous but "indecent sermon" after a year's silence is an important one. The facts may be stated thus. A certain Scot (probably the Mr. Water already referred to) had preached in Kilmainham before the Lord Deputy, Council, and Browne, and had condemned the Mass. Browne, with the consent of the Dean of Christ Church, obtained permission from the Deputy to have the Scot preach in that cathedral. The preacher again condemned the Mass, but Browne made no complaint to the Deputy about the sermon. The next month (September) Browne, having notified the people and some notables that he himself was about to preach, inveighed against the Scot and his condemnation of the "Mass and other our ceremonies." And he does not hesitate to call him another Luther, and exhorts the people to continue those ceremonies. He likewise charged the Scot with speaking against good works. Browne evidently was not a Lutheran at this time, but he changed his position so often that it is difficult to know what form of religion he followed. That he believed in the Mass as a Sacrifice, at this time or previously, is extremely doubtful. He was content to number it among "other our ceremonies." His position in this matter is clearer a few years later. At all events, we have in Water's sermon the first condemnation of the Mass, which was clearly meant to prepare the way for the New Liturgy. Browne was evidently piqued because Water had been employed to preach in Dublin.

"Book of Reformation."

In the interrogatories, given in the preceding section, mention was made of Browne's charges against Sentleger. The Lord Deputy was, in Browne's opinion, too partial to the papists and followed in Leonard Gray's footsteps. As Browne sent adverse reports to Cromwell about Gray, so now he makes similar charges against Sentleger. Whether these had anything to say to the latter's recall does not appear. But Sentleger was recalled from the government of Ireland in April, 1548, and Bellingham appointed to succeed him.[1]

[1] Bellingham had been sent over to Ireland in the summer of 1547 with reinforcements and showed considerable ability as a military leader. Having returned to England he must have succeeded in impressing his views on Somerset,

Bellingham was a more virile " reformer." His appointment, coinciding with the new movement for the " reform " of the Mass, leads one to suspect the motive behind Sentleger's recall and the probable effect of Browne's charges, though the latter shirked proceeding further. Later, we shall find a repetition of this episode between Browne and Sentleger.

So far practically nothing had been done in the matter of changing the liturgical books and the services in Ireland, if we except Browne's early attempt to erase the Pope's name from them. In the year 1548 we find the first direct intimation of the coming upheaval. This is given in a letter [1] from Walter Palatyne to Lord Deputy Bellingham, 23 November, 1548 :—

Grace and peace unto your lordship from God the Father of our Lorde Jhesus Chryste I trust that your lordship doth remember the matter I desired, that your lordship should help this bearer to a service in the church to which he did appear unto me to be able both for his life and learning, and yet appeareth. The matter was then deferred, because the Bishop of Ferns came not to see your lordship. Now I hear that the dean and the rest of the chapter contendeth with the Bishop so that the Bishop may not give this office, which thing your lordship may understand by Mr. Stephen's narration. As for him I say no more, but I beseech your lordship to help him in this office for the common wealth of God's church. As to our consultation with the Bishop of Dublin, your lordship will for our diligence by the " Boke of Reformacion " which is made and the suffragans hath received it.

Before dealing with this " Book of the Reformation," it will be important to take a brief glance at the efforts made during the later years of Henry's life towards the translation of the Bible into English and the revision of the old service books.

Though in 1525 appeared the first printed translation of the New Testament in English, made by William Tyndall, it was not until 1539 that the first version was issued by

to whose religious party he belonged, and was appointed as Deputy in place of Sentleger (see *Bagwell*, i. 327). It must, however, be said that, like every other Deputy, Sentleger grew heartily sick of Ireland. In 1543 he wrote to the King beseeching him to call him back to England as he had been " three years in hell." He had been Deputy since 1540.

[1] *S.P. Edw. VI*, vol. i., no. 133, P.R.O., London.

authority. This was the Great Bible, called Cranmer's Bible, because Archbishop Cranmer wrote the Preface. It has a frontispiece, in which Henry VIII is represented handing Bibles to the bishops, who are distributing them to the people. Cromwell, as the King's Vicegerent, ordered a copy of the Bible to be set up in every church, and instructed the clergy to admonish their parishioners to read it: about the same time he got from Henry a commission which forbade the printing or sale of any Bible not approved by Cromwell himself—the pretext for this was the avoidance of diversity in translations: the real reason was the putting of money into Cromwell's own pocket. He had invested money in the printing of the Bibles, and by securing a monopoly he thought to get it back, with profit. Nor was the placing of the Bibles in the churches out of any regard for the people. Cromwell's object was purely political.[1]

In 1541 all parishes were ordered by royal proclamation "to buy and provide Bibles of the larger volume to be set and fixed in the parish church." They were set up on desks and attached to them by chains. A few of these old parish Bibles, and the chains by which they were fastened, may still be seen in some of the old parish churches in England.

In 1543 Cranmer declared it to be the royal will that the old service books[2] should be revised, and he proposed the

[1] Merriman, *Life and Letters of Thomas Cromwell.*

[2] The principal service books in use in England up to this time were:—

(*a*) *The Legenda* ("things to read"), containing lessons from Matins, from Holy Scripture, Homilies of the Fathers, or Lives of the Saints.

(*b*) *The Psalterium*, Book of Psalms, arranged for every day of the week.

(*c*) *The Troperium*, containing the sequences or "tropi" verses said in the Mass.

(*d*) *The Ordinale*, or Order showing the Proper Office for every Holy Day in the year.

(*e*) *The Missal*, in four parts (1) *Antiphoner*, *Gradual*, or *Grail*, containing portions of the Mass to be sung by the choir at High Mass; (2) *Lectionary*, or Book of the Epistles; (3) *Evangelistarium*, or Book of the Gospels; (4) *Sacramentary*, containing the portions of the Mass as distinct from the Lessons and parts sung by the choir.

(*f*) *The Manual*, or Book for Baptisms, Marriages, Burials, etc.

(*g*) *The Processional*, containing the forms to be used in solemn processions on station days, etc.

(*h*) *The Breviary*, *Portifory*, or *Portuis*, containing the offices to be recited at the seven canonical hours. *Breviary* from Latin *brevis*, short, so called after its revision and shortening by Pope Gregory VII, 1073-86. *Portifory*, from

appointment of a committee for this purpose. They were to " castigate them from all manner of mention of the Bishop of Rome's name, from all apochryphas, feigned legends, superstitious orations [prayers], collects, versicles, and responses ; " also the " names and memories of all Saints not contained in the Scripture, or authentic doctors," were to be removed, and the Services were to be re-made " out of the Scriptures and other authentic doctors." The committee was not formed, the Lower House declining to appoint ; but the scheme of a new Breviary, drawn up by Cranmer, of which a MS. copy still exists, may probably be assigned to this period. In 1544 a new English Litany was published, omitting the long lists of saints invoked in most of the Litanies contained in the old English Prymers. On 30 November, 1547, after the death of Henry, the Prolocutor submitted to Convocation the " Form " of a certain " Ordinance " (delivered to him, as he asserted, by the Archbishop of Canterbury), " for the taking of the Body of our Lord under both kinds, of bread and also of wine." This was in direct opposition to one of the Six Articles of Henry. The proposal received the assent of Convocation in their next session, in December, and was ratified by Parliament in the same month, a Bill being passed entitled " for the most Holy Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ." Early in 1548 an " Order of the Communion " in English to be appended to the Latin Mass was framed by a committee of Divines, and copies of it were sent on 13 March to all the bishops, accompanied by a letter from the Privy Council, directing them to see that the new Order was used in all churches on Easter Day, 1 April.

This " Order " is evidently the " Book of Reformation " to which Walter Palatyne refers as having been received by Browne and his suffragans and which was being sent to Bellingham, Lord Deputy. It does not appear that it was received in Dublin in time to have it used on Easter Sunday. Palatyne's letter of 23 November seems to indicate that Browne had only recently received it.

portare foras, to carry abroad ; English-French *porthors* or *porthose*. The priest was able to carry the abbreviated office-book abroad with him.

(*i*) *The Pontifical*, used by a bishop at Confirmation, Ordination, consecration of churches, etc. See Stephen's *Helps to the Study of the Book of Common Prayer*.

The People Declare against "Heresy."

In religious as well as in political matters there was evidence of much anxiety among the people. Events were marching quickly, and the promoters of the "reform" were boldly showing the extremes to which they intended to go. Nothing gives us a better view of the state of affairs than a letter from Edward Staples, Bishop of Meath, to the Secretary of Sir Edward Bellingham, Lord Deputy, in 1548.[1]

Ye have not heard such rumour as is here all the country over against me as my friends doth show me. One gentlewoman to whom I did christen a man child which beareth my name, came in great council to a friend of mine desiring how she might find means to change her child's name, and he asked her why? And she said because I would not have him bear the name of an heretic. A gentleman dwelling nigh unto me forbad his wife which would have sent her child to be conformed [confirmed] by me, so to do, saying his child should not be conformed by him that denied the Sacrament of the Altar. A friend of mine rehearsing at the marks [markets] that I would preach this next Sunday at the Novam (*nova habitatio*, i.e. Navan),[2] divers answered they would not come there at lest they should learn to be hereticks. One of our lawyers declared to a multitude that it was great pity that I was not burned for I preached heresy so was I worthy therefor, and if I preached right yet was I worthy to be burned that kept the truth from knowledge. . . .

A benefised man of mine own promotion came unto me weeping and desired me that he might declare his mind unto me without my displeasure. I said I was well content. My Lord, said he, before ye went last to Dublin ye were the best beloved man in your diocese that ever came in it, and now ye are the worst beloved that ever came here. I asked why? Why, saith he, for ye have taken open part with the State, that false heretick, and preached against the Sacrament of the Altar and deny saints and will make us worst than Jews. Where if the country wist how, they would eat you, and besought me to take heed of myself for he feared more than he durst tell me. He said ye have more curses than ye have hairs of your head. And I advise you for Christ's sake not to preach at the Novam as I hear ye will doo.

[1] Shirley, *Original Letters*, no. 7.

[2] Shirley is wrong in deriving *Novam* or *Navan* from *Nova*. It is from *Eo* (brooch) and *Muin* (neck), *an n-Eamhain*; the dun being marked with Macha's brooch of gold from her neck.

I said it was my charge to preach, and because there was most resort (God willing) I would not fail but preach there. Hereby ye may preceive what case I am in, but put all to God, and now as my especial friend . . . I beseech you your advice, as God shall judge me I am afraid of my life divers ways.

Whether there is any exaggeration or not in this recital we cannot say, but there is sufficient evidence of the temper of the people against innovations, and particularly in reference to the Blessed Eucharist on which Staples had preached according to the new meaning to be attached to it as set out in the " Book of Reformation " or " Order of 1548." Staples had been to Dublin, preached against the Mass there, and probably brought back with him a copy of this book, which was the means of turning him from the best beloved into the best hated man in the diocese.

In Dublin we have one case in which opposition was shown to the new activity on the part of Browne. Bellingham, Lord Deputy, wrote (about 1548) to Fitzwilliams, Treasurer of the late church of St. Patrick's, that notwithstanding the King's instructions and the fact that the Archbishop of Dublin was " minister " of that church, " you have gone about to infringe the same." He warns him to desist from such proceedings and not to presume on friendship, but he shall be made a spectacle before all men and his punishment shall be a warning to others.[1]

Unfortunately, there is nothing to show what was the nature of the opposition made by Fitzwilliams. It could scarcely refer to the suppression of the Dean and Chapter, and, most probably, refers to some action on the part of Browne who evidently regarded the parish church of St. Patrick's as under his own personal jurisdiction, and ordered the services accordingly. Fitzwilliams, as late Treasurer, could scarcely have laid any claim to be pastor of St. Patrick's as a parish church. It is not too bold an inference to say that Fitzwilliams, who was still in that locality, had found fault with Browne's services and had endeavoured to create opposition among the people to them. It is quite possible that the new " Order of the Communion " may have been then introduced into

[1] Shirley, *Original Letters*, no. 10.

St. Patrick's and that this was the occasion of dissension fostered by Fitzwilliams.

"Order of the Communion," 1548.

This "Order" which marked the transition from the Latin Liturgy to the First Book of Common Prayer, existed side by side with the Catholic Liturgy in Dublin for three years. It will be seen from it that some changes were abruptly made, notably, Communion under both kinds, but others, such as General Confession before Communion, were adroitly insinuated. Its phraseology is so ingeniously constructed that doctrinal points are exposed to different interpretations. To create doubt and dissension seems to have been its principal object, and as a preparation for the further "reform" to which the King openly alluded. That such a document gave rise to a great deal of discussion amongst the clergy and lawyers of Dublin there can be no doubt, for the "Order" shows that its framers had ceased to regard the Mass as a Sacrifice. The following is the "Order" with its Proclamation :—

The Proclamation.

Edward by the grace of God king of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, and of the Church of England and Ireland in earth the supreme head : to all and singular our loving subjects, greeting. For so much as in our High Court of Parliament lately holden at Westminster, it was by us, with the consent of the lords spiritual and temporal and Commons there assembled, most godly and agreeable to Christ's holy institution enacted that the most blessed Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ should from henceforth be commonly delivered and ministered unto all persons within our Realm of England and Ireland, and other our dominions, under both kinds, that is to say, of Bread and Wine (except necessity other ways require) lest every man phantasyng and devising a sundry way by himself, in the use of this most blessed Sacrament of unity, there might thereby arise any unseemly and ungodly diversity : Our pleasure is, by the advice of our most dear uncle the duke of Somerset, governor of our person, and Protector of all our Realms, dominions, and subjects, and other of our Privy Council, that the said blessed Sacrament be ministered unto our people only after such form and manner as hereafter, by our authority, with the advice before mentioned,

is set forth and declared: willing every man, with due reverence and Christian behaviour to come to this holy Sacrament and most blessed Communion, lest that by the unworthy receiving of so high mysteries they become guilty of the Body and Blood of the Lord, and so eat and drink their own damnation: but rather diligently trying themselves, that they may so come to this holy Table of Christ, and so be partakers of this holy Communion, that they may dwell in Christ, and have Christ dwelling in them. And also with such obedience and conformity to receive this our ordinance, and most godly direction, that we may be encouraged from time to time further to travail for the reformation, and setting forth of such godly orders, as may be most to God's glory, the edifying of our subjects, and for the advancement of true religion. Which thing we (by the help of God) most earnestly entend to bring to effect, willing all our loving subjects in the meantime to stay and quiet themselves with this our direction, as men content to follow authority (according to the bounden duty of subjects) and not enterprising to run afore, and so by their rashness become the greatest hinderers of such things as they more arrogantly than godly would seem (by their own private authority) most hotly to set forward. We would not have our subjects so much to mislike our judgment, so much to mistrust our zeal, as though we either could not discern what were to be done, or would not do all things in due time. God be praised, we know both what by his word is meet to be redressed, and have an earnest mind, by the advice of our most dear uncle, and other of our Privy Council, with all diligence and convenient speed so to set forth the same as it may stand with God's glory, and edifying and quietness of our people: which we doubt not but all our obedient and loving subjects will quietly and reverently tarry for.

The Order of the Communion.

First the Parson, Vicar, or Curate, the next Sunday or Holyday, or at the least one day before he shall minister the Communion, shall give warning to his parishioners, or those which be present, that they prepare themselves thereto, saying to them openly and plainly as hereafter followeth, or such like:

Dear friends, and you especially upon whose souls I have cure and charge, upon . . . day next I do entend, by God's grace, to offer to all such as shall be thereto godly disposed, the most comfortable Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ: to be taken of them in the remembrance of his most fruitful and glorious Passion: by the which Passion we have obtained remission of our

sins, and be made partakers of the kingdom of heaven, whereof we be assured and ascertained, if we come to the said Sacrament with hearty repentance of our offences, stedfast faith in God's mercy, and earnest mind to obey God's will, and to offend no more: wherefore our duty is, to come to these holy Mysteries with most hearty thanks to be given to Almighty God for his infinite mercy and benefits given and bestowed upon us, his unworthy servants, for whom he hath not only given his Body to death, and shed his Blood, but also doth vouchsafe, in a Sacrament and Mystery, to give us his said Body and Blood spiritually to feed and drink upon. The which Sacrament being so divine and holy a thing, and so comfortable to them which receive it worthily, and so dangerous to them that will presume to take the same unworthily: my duty is to exhort you in the mean season to consider the greatness of the thing, and to search and examine your own consciences, and that not lightly nor after the manner of dissimulers with God: but as they which should come to a most godly and heavenly banquet: not to come but in the marriage garment required of God in Scripture that you may, so much as lieth in you, be found worthy to come to such a Table. The ways and mean thereto is,

First, That you be truly repentant of your former evil life, and that you confess with an unfeigned heart to Almighty God your sins and unkindness towards his Majesty, committed either by will, word, or deed, infirmity or ignorance; and that with inward sorrow and tears you bewail your offences, and require of Almighty God mercy and pardon, promising to him, from the bottom of your hearts, the amendment of your former life. And amongest all others, I am commanded of God especially to move and exhort you to reconcile yourselves to your neighbours whom you have offended, or who hath offended you, putting out of your hearts all hatred and malice against them, and to be in love and charity with all the world, and to forgive other, as you would that God should forgive you.

And if there be any of you whose conscience is troubled and grieved in any thing, lacking comfort or counsel, let him come to me, or to some other discreet and learned Priest taught in the law of God, and confess and open his sin and grief secretly: that he may receive such ghostly counsel, advice, and comfort, that his conscience may be relieved, and that of us, as a Minister of God, and of the Church, he may receive comfort and Absolution, to the satisfaction of his mind, and avoiding of all scruple and doubtfulness; requiring such as shall be satisfied with a general Confession not to be offended with them that doth use, to their further

satisfying, the auricular and secret Confession to the Priest; nor those also, which think needful or convenient, for the quietness of their own consciences, particularly to open their sins to the Priest, to be offended with them which are satisfied with their humble confession to God, and the general Confession to the Church; but in all these things to follow and keep the rule of charity; and every man to be satisfied with his own conscience, not judging other men's minds or acts, where as he hath no warrant of God's word for the same.

The time of the Communion shall be immediately after that the Priest himself hath received the Sacrament, without the varying of any other rite or ceremony in the Mass (until other order shall be provided) but as heretofore usually the Priest hath done with the Sacrament of the Body, to prepare, bless, and consecrate so much as will serve the people; so it shall yet continue still after the same manner and form, save that he shall bless and consecrate the biggest Chalice or some fair and convenient Cup or Cups full of Wine, with some Water put unto it. And that day not drink it up all himself, but taking one only sup or draught, leave the rest upon the Altar covered, and turn to them that are disposed to be partakers of the Communion, and shall thus exhort them as followeth:

Dearly beloved in the Lord, ye, coming to this holy Communion, must consider what S. Paul writeth to the Corinthians, how he exhorteth all persons diligently to try and examine themselves, or ever they presume to eat of this Bread and drink of this Cup. For as the benefit is great, if with a truly penitent heart and lively faith we receive this holy Sacrament (for then we spiritually eat the Flesh of Christ, and drink his Blood; then we dwell in Christ, and Christ in us; we be made one with Christ, and Christ with us): so is the danger great, if we receive the same unworthily; for then we become guilty of the Body and Blood of Christ our Saviour: we eat and drink our own damnation, because we make no difference of the Lord's Body: we kindle God's wrath over us, etc. . . .

And to the end that we alway should remember the exceeding love of our Master and only Saviour Jesus Christ, thus doing for us, and the innumerable benefits which by his precious blood-shedding he hath obtained to us: he hath left in these holy mysteries, as a pledge of his love, and a continual remembrance of the same, his own blessed Body and precious Blood, for us spiritually to feed upon, to our endless comfort and consolation, etc.

Having exhorted the people, the Priest pauses a while to see if any man will withdraw from taking the Sacrament, and says:

Draw near, and take this holy Sacrament to your comfort, make your humble confession to Almighty God and to his holy Church, here gathered togethered in his Name, meekly kneeling upon your knees.

Then shall a general Confession be made, in the name of all those that are minded to receive the Holy Communion, either by one of them, or else by one of the Ministers, or by the Priest himself, etc. (Confession, etc.)

Then shall the Priest stand up, and turning him to the people, say thus:

Our blessed Lord, who hath left power to his Church to absolve penitent sinners from their sins, and to restore to the grace of the heavenly Father such as truly believe in Christ: Have mercy upon you; pardon and deliver you from all sins; confirm and strength you in all goodness; and bring you to everlasting life.

Then shall the priest stand up, and turning him to the people, say thus:

Hear what comfortable words our Saviour Christ said to all that truly turn to him. Come unto me all that travail and be heavy loaden, and I shall refresh you. So God loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten Son, to the end that all that believe in him should not perish, but have life everlasting. Hear also what S. Paul saith. This is a true saying, and worthy of all men to be embraced and received, that Jesus Christ came into this world to save sinners.

Hear also what S. John saith:

If any man sin, we have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous: he it is that obtained grace for our sins.

Then shall the Priest kneel down and say, in the name of all them that shall receive the Communion, this prayer following:

We do not presume to come to this thy Table (O merciful Lord) trusting in our own righteousness, but in thy manifold and great mercies. We be not worthy so much as to gather up the crumbs under thy Table. But thou art the same Lord, whose property is always to have mercy; Grant us, therefore, gracious Lord, so to eat the Flesh of thy dear Son Jesus Christ, and to drink his blood, in these holy Mysteries, that we may continually dwell in him, and he in us, that our sinful bodies may be made clean by his Body, and our souls washed through his most precious Blood. Amen.

Then shall the Priest rise, the people still reverently kneeling, and the Priest shall deliver the Communion first to the ministers, if any be there present, that they may be ready to help the Priest, and after to the other. And when he doth deliver the Sacrament of the Body of Christ, he shall say to every one these words following:

The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given for thee, preserve thy body unto everlasting life.

And the Priest, delivering the Sacrament of the Blood, and giving every one to drink once and no more, shall say:

The Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ which was shed for thee, preserve thy soul unto everlasting life.

Note, that the Bread that shall be consecrated shall be such as heretofore hath been accustomed. And every of the said consecrated Breads shall be broken in two pieces, at the least, or more, by the discretion of the Minister, and so distributed. And men must not think less to be received in part than in the whole, but in each of them the whole Body of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

Note, that if it doth so chance that the wine hallowed and consecrated doth not suffice or be enough for them that do take the Communion, the Priest, after the first Cup or Chalice be emptied, may go again to the Altar, and reverently and devoutly prepare and consecrate another, and so the third, or more likewise, beginning at these words, *simili modo postquam coenatum est*, and ending at these words, *Qui pro vobis et pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum*, and without any levation or lifting up.

This "Order of Communion" calls for little comment. Some things are clear, but others are so ingenuously worded that it is difficult to extract the real meaning. The Mass as a Sacrifice was clearly discarded. This is evident from the rubric that orders the priest to repeat the consecration of the bread as distinct from the wine. The mystic death of Christ as represented by the double consecration of bread and wine receives no place in such a rubric. As to absolution of sins before Communion, the power is represented as given to the Church and not to the individual priest, and the minister, in the name of the Church, pronounces the general absolution. Auricular confession is optional, and is really permitted for the sake of satisfying one's mind and of dispelling doubt and

scruples. But the Sacrament of Penance seems clearly ruled out. Everyone is to act according to his conscience, and no one is to murmur at another, whether he or she seeks individual or merely general absolution.

The Blessed Sacrament is called a high mystery, and Christ is in every particle, and in partaking of it we eat the flesh and drink the blood of Christ. And he that eats and drinks unworthily is guilty of the Body and Blood of Christ, eating and drinking damnation. But in all, we are said to feed upon Christ "spiritually," and the Sacrament is taken merely as a remembrance of the Passion. All other effects of the partaking of the Body and Blood of Christ, according to Catholic theology, seem to be purposely omitted. The Mass up to the Communion is to be the same as usual until further order, and, for the "advancement of true religion," the King will effect other reforms in due time encouraged by the reception of this "Order." People are not to murmur at it, but to remain quiet and peaceful. And though the King and Archbishop Cranmer, along with the other framers, may use private judgment and authority in interpreting the doctrines of the Church, the people are not permitted to assume such authority, but must receive all directions obediently as coming from the King lest by their divers opinions "any unseemly and ungodly diversity" might ensue. They are to trust to the judgment, zeal, and discernment of the King. Such was the beginning of the "reform" in regard to the Mass and the Sacraments of the Church. The framers of it knew whither they were tending, but the people, as became "loving subjects," should peacefully await the promulgation of the new gospel in its entirety, the result of the concerted wisdom and zeal of Cranmer and his foreign theologians.

The Service to be Translated into Latin.

It seems an extraordinary thing that the very men who had condemned the Mass because it was said in Latin, "the Roman tongue," and who had had the Scriptures translated into English, should now return to Latin and have their newly-made Service translated into that language. But such is the case. The idea of this translation seems to have emanated from the English Council. This appears from a rough note

in the State Paper Office entitled " Remembrances for Iylande " (Ireland) :—

Mr. Smyth to translate the Service into Latin, £20 reward [about £300 *1914 value*].

Item : the printer for printing to be there—your pleasure what he shall have for his help.

There is no date to this entry, but it was evidently written before 19 January, 1550, on which day Sentleger wrote as follows to Mr. Secretary Cecil :—[1]

And now as touching religion. Although it be hard to plant in men's minds herein, yet I trust I am not slack to do what I can to advance the same. I have caused the whole service of the Communion to be drawn into Latin, which shall be shortly set forth in print. I have caused books to be sent to the city of Limerick who most gladly have condescended to embrace the same with all effect, although the bishop [2] there who is both old and blind, be most against it.

The " Service of the Communion " here referred to would seem to be the " Order of Communion." It could scarcely be the First Book of Common Prayer. The purpose seems to have been to set before the priests in Ireland who knew no English the new Order in a language that they understood, namely, Latin, and thus open the minds of the clergy to the new doctrines contained therein.

In all this Sentleger seems to have been in good faith. As has been already shown, this Order apparently retained the doctrine of the Real Presence and of the Sacrament of Penance, although to a theologian the Sacrifice was thereby abrogated and the Sacrament of Penance made optional. Sentleger does not appear to have observed these points at the time, and indeed, as will appear later, he did not at all relish the idea of having to interfere in matters of religion.

We do not know the nature of the books he sent to the

[1] Shirley, *Original Letters*, no. 20.

[2] This bishop was Quoyne or Quinn, appointed to the See by the Pope in 1522. He was a Dominican, and remained in his See until 9 April, 1551, on which day, being blind and disabled by infirmities, he resigned it (Harris, *Ware's Bishops*, 510). His attitude towards the " reform " has been the subject of much speculation. But according to Sentleger's words there can no longer be any doubt that he opposed this latest innovation, even though he had accepted the Supremacy.

Bishop of Limerick, but it is not improbable that they were copies of Cranmer's *Catechism*, which contained an exposition of the Ten Commandments, arranged after the Roman usage, and of three Sacraments, Baptism, the Eucharist, and Penance.

Advance of the "Reform"; Abolition of the "Mass Sacrament."

It has been doubted [1] if the Irish Government were doing their share in the "reform." Bellingham certainly did what he could to spread the "reformed" doctrines, but this was, perhaps, not much. He knew all that was going on. Staples had written his account of his own position to Bellingham's secretary, and Bellingham had administered a stinging rebuke to Fitzwilliam. He also knew what was going on in England, and had private as well as official information. John Issam,[2] a strong Protestant, who was afterwards made seneschal of Wexford, wrote to him from London (22 Dec., 1548) an account of the variations of opinion upon the all-important question of the Blessed Sacrament. "There is great sticking," he said, "about the blessed body and bloode of Jesus Christ, howbeit, I trust that they will conclude well in it, by the help of the Holy Spirit, without which such matters cannot well be tried; but part of our bishops that have been most stiff in opinions of the reality of His body there, as He was here in earth, should be in the bread, they now confess and say that they were never of that opinion, but by His mighty power in spirit, and leaveth His body sitting on the right hand of His Father, as our common creed testifieth; but yet there is hard hold with some to the contrary, who shall relent when it pleaseth God."

Thus, the English bishops were giving way on the doctrine of the Real Presence, and Issam declares the "Common Creed" which held that Christ was not in the Blessed Sacrament except in spirit. This clearly dispels any possible doubt as to the real meaning of the wording of the "Order of 1548." To "eat of the Flesh and drink of the Blood of Christ spiritually" had simply meant in the minds of the "reformers" to partake of Christ in "spirit." And their phraseology about

[1] Mant, *Ch. Hist. of Ir.*, i. 188.

[2] John Issam seems to have been a secretary to Lord Protector Somerset.

the presence of Christ in every particle was simply using the words of the Catholic theology and giving it an entirely different interpretation which they were skilful enough to hide for the time being.

Bellingham was cognisant of all this change of doctrine, and was acting on his information in endeavouring to have the new interpretation adhered to in Ireland. But he met with opposition from Dowdall, who, although he had been appointed to Armagh by the King, and acknowledged his Supremacy, yet he was inflexible on the question of the Blessed Sacrament. This was the first note of real opposition on the part of the hierarchy. Now onwards Catholicism in Ireland asserts itself, whatever may be said on the question of the acceptance of the King's Supremacy and the renunciation of the Pope. In December, 1548, Bellingham, writing to Dowdall, says:[1] "My Lord Primate, I pray you lovingly and charitably to be circumspect in your doings, and consider how God hath liberally given you divers gifts, and namely, of reputation among the people. . . . Let all these in part be with the gratuity of setting forth the plain, simple, and naked truth recompensed, and the way to do the same is to know that which, with a mild and humble spirit wished, sought, and prayed for, will most certainly be given, which I pray God grant us both."

Dowdall is to hearken for Bellingham's return to Dublin, and to repair thither to the intent, consultation be had for the better setting forth the truth and obedience among the King's loving subjects. Bellingham could do nothing with Dowdall, and, in a letter to Issam, he asks him to declare to his master the great want of "good shepherds here to illuminate the hearts of the flock of Christ with his most true and infallible word," and that he desires that no bishoprics be granted but on the recommendation of the Deputy. In a letter of November, 1548, from Somerset to Bellingham, as a reply to this, the Lord Protector states that it is his Majesty's wish that the Deputy take the resignations of such bishops as will voluntarily resign, and the names of those he would recommend in their places.[2]

[1] *S.P. Hen. VIII*, Dec., 1548.
[2] Shirley, *Original Letters*, 1548, no. 11.

The Mayor and Council of Kilkenny were anxious to get the right sort of men to carry on the "reform." In their letter to Bellingham they state that they have warned all priests that have been specially named by Anthony Colclough (of Tintern Abbey, Co. Wexford), except the dean (who is sick), along with the priests of the college and the parish churches of the town of Kilkenny, to appear before the Deputy and Council wheresoever they shall be, on next Sunday. They say these priests are ready to go.[1] And in a letter (25 June, 1549) to Bellingham, Walter Cowley states: "Where amongst other things as I perceive your lordship and the rest of the Council will have Mr. Attorney and me to put in execution as we shall pass ecclesiastical jurisdictions, and abolish idolatry, papistry, the Mass Sacrament, and the like, all that we shall do must be within my lord of Cashel's province, and it is very expedient he shall be with Mr. Attorney and me to serve the king therein, for his being with us, shall do more good than his continuance there in Dublin."[2] Here we have a clear declaration of the effect of the "Order of the Communion" of 1548. Thus not only the name but the substance of the Mass was being abolished. Cowley and "Mr. Attorney" were to be the angels of the "reform" passing through the various dioceses, beginning in Cashel with the assistance of the Archbishop.

Bellingham's government of Ireland was a personal one, one of absolutism over lawyers, chiefs, and the rest, but it had no permanent effect. When the power of the Protector Somerset was taken away, Bellingham left Ireland without effecting the "reforms" that he had at heart. Alen, who criticised his official conduct so sharply, could not but allow that he was "the best man of war that ever he had seen in Ireland." And Auditor Brasier had told Somerset that "there was never Deputy in the realm that went the right way, as he doth, both for the setting forth of God's Word to His honour, and to the wealth of the King's Highness' subjects." But the opposition to his "reforms" was too strong and widespread.

Sentleger, who succeeded him as Lord Deputy, in a letter[3] to the Lord Treasurer (27 Sept., 1550) says that he never

[1] Shirley, *Original Letters*, no. 12. *Circa* 1549.
[2] *Ib.*, no. 14.
[3] *Ib.*, no. 17.

saw the country so much in disorder " for in the forths [1] are as many harlots as soldiers, and there these three years no kind of divine service, neither communion, nor yet other service, having but one sermon made in that space, which the Bishop of Meath made, who had [received] so little reverence at that time as he had no great haste since to preach there."

It is clear that even before the new " Order of Communion " the people had abstained from frequenting the churches where the " Word of God," as preached by Staples and the rest, was set forth. But it is not to be presumed that they had not their Mass as in former times. From this it would follow that the priests and people had thus early begun to hold their services in secret places, in order to preserve their Mass intact. It is illuminating to see the reception given to Staples and his sermon. He had evidently started a crusade against the Mass.

Rome and Ireland; Primate Wauchop.

In 1550 and the two following years, bishops were appointed by the King to vacancies in Kildare, Leighlin, Limerick, Waterford and Lismore, Elphin, and Ossory, as well as to Armagh. Five at least of these seven bishops figured prominently afterwards as supporters of the " reform." Unfortunately, we have no documents, at least none has been brought to light, to show that the Pope appointed to these vacancies bishops in communion with him. But there is evidence that Rome was keeping in touch with the affairs of Ireland.

The north was at this time in a disturbed state as a most " dangerous " visitor had landed in Tyrconnel. This was Robert Wauchop, the Papal Primate. Dowdall, who had acknowledged the royal Supremacy, without accepting any of the new doctrines, had not been acknowledged at Rome. When the General Council of Trent was prorogued on 17 September, 1549, Wauchop proceeded to Scotland to seek aid there for the Irish chieftains. Dowdall kept himself well informed as to the movements of his rival. The following letter to Chancellor Alen and the Council written by him on 22 March, 1550, is of special interest :—

[1] I.e. in Wexford : Barony Forth.

JHESUS.

Mine humble duty always premised it may please your honours to be advertised that I have received your letter the 21 March dated 15 March and before the receipt of the same I have been 3 or 4 days in the earl's conversation at Armagh whom I found very gentle and kind myself and specially concerning the obedience of the clergy who doth now exhibit me the same as humble as ever they did and I suppose more for his fair than for any goodness in themselves which came nothing of my request but always was busy with him concerning the French King's letter and other news from the late Ambassador. In O'Donnell's country and although part of his Council thought it not meet to disclose or send such a noble prince's letter to your honours or any others, I have persuaded so far with him bringing him to the remembrance of his allegiance and that the sending of that letter should be more thankful than his horses and grey hounds that he sent late(ly) to the King's Majesty and all the horses and goods in his country and that all service and good that ever he did should be nothing regarded if he had not sent that letter which the earl did highly regard. Although the ignorant people was of the contrary opinion, and so delivered me the said letter with another letter sent him by George Parys, but he desired me to keep them till I had myself presented them to the council and pursuing as well your honour's pleasure concerning the same in your said letter as also the necessary expedition of the King's affairs in that behalf I have sent you both the said letters here enclosed, other news the earl telleth me and so is the common bruit here that there is an army of Frenchmen in Scotland ready to come to Ireland. 36 ships with as many Scots and Scotch ships as they may send in the beginning of the next summer, and the French men hath manned and stuffed with ordnance two castles in O'Dogherty's country, and the blind bishop lies in Derry in O'Donnell's country, and [I] think not [will] depart till that army come. He is a very shrewd spy, as I hear say, and a great brewer of war and sedition, my lord of Tyrone and my lady the Countess confessed me the same by his behaviour in their own behalf, but in good faith if my lord [O'Neill] continued in the mind that he is now of I think him very faithful and true to his prince [the King] and did now swear to me before my dean and others of the prelates of my church to continue the same. I will do my best that I can concerning your motion to O'Donnell; other news I have not as yet to certify your honours and thus I bid you right heartily well to fare, from Armagh, 22 March.

G. ARMACHAN.

Postscriptum.—Where it should seem by the French king's letter that the earl have sent some words by George Parys to the French king, the earl swore to me that never saw the said George Parys nor know in the world where he is, and that he never send no words, or business, to the French king by him or any other man.[1]

The Council thanked O'Neill for his speedy information to Dowdall, and assured him that the said emissaries only seek an occasion to invade the northern parts, and although they may pretend that they will only offend Englishmen, still their scope is to subject all Ireland to their control. John Alen, in his instructions to his brother Thomas for the Council of England, has a similar story, and states that great hope of comfort and aid of Scots were promised to the rebels by the blind Bishop, Wauchop, who " came from Scotland out of Rome." Whatever may have been O'Neill's feelings in the matter, he swore before the Dean and Chapter of Armagh that he had sent no answers to the letters brought him from Scotland, and that he would remain faithful to the King. He did not acknowledge Wauchop's claims, but merely reported that he called himself Primate. Manus O'Donnell likewise proclaimed his loyalty and, in a letter to the Deputy and Council, states that " the blind Scottish Bishop [Wauchop] that is come to Ireland was in other places and countries afore he came to my country," and that he will permit him to remain only so long as the Council wills.

Thus these two great northern chiefs recognised the King as head of the Church in Ireland, recognised Dowdall, the schismatic, as the Primate, and refused to recognise Wauchop the Papal Primate. It is said that " these chieftains were ready enough to receive aid in men, money, and ammunition, but they do not seem to have at all relished the scheme proposed by Dr. Wauchop, that Ireland should be made an independent kingdom, with one of the French royal family as king." [2] It was evidently in reference to this that the Council, in their letter to O'Neill, pointed out how miserably the French had ruled in Italy and Sicily, whence " on account of their innumerable oppressions and unspeakable wickedness they were justly expelled," and they were so " fierce, proud, and rapacious, so that it were better to live under the Turk

[1] *S.P. Edw. VI*, P.R.O., London. [2] Moran, *Spic. Ossor.*, i. 14.

than under them." It is scarcely to be supposed that the northern chieftains were deceived by such a comparison between a possible French Government and the present regime of confiscation and religious "reformation." But it just suited their present position to refuse to recognise the Papal Primate and his advances.

In a Vatican Index an entry states: "Pro D. Roberto Armachano, Legato Hiberniae, facultates, lib. 8. Bullarii Secreti Julii Tertii, an. 1551, fol. 278, anno primo Pontificatus." This shows that Wauchop was appointed Papal Legate to Ireland on 3 July, 1551. He had been in the north of Ireland in March of the same year, but evidently did not remain there many months as he died in Paris on 10 November, 1551, and was interred in the Jesuit church there.[1] Thus ended an important chapter in the history of religion in Ireland; the Papal Primate, evidently feeling the pulse of the Irish Catholics, in favour of a French overlord, repulsed by the northern chieftains. O'Neill and O'Donnell, now faithful subjects of the English King, as head of the Irish Church, had no welcome for Wauchop either as Papal Primate or French ambassador. And in this they were supported by Dowdall, the King's Primate of Armagh.

First Book of Common Prayer.

The "Order of the Communion" was only a temporary expedient; a bigger scheme of "reform" was in preparation. In 1548, the same year as that in which the "Order" was issued, the young King Edward VI, by the advice of Lord Protector Somerset, and others of his Council, "appointed the Archbishop of Canterbury and certain of the most learned and discreet Bishops and other learned men of the Realm . . ." to "make one convenient and meet Order . . . of Common and open Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments" for use in the realm, "having as well eye and respect to the most sincere and pure Christian religion taught by the Scripture as to the usages in the primitive Church." This body

[1] *Spic. Ossor.*, i. 14. Cardinal Moran says that Wauchop was "awaiting a favourable opportunity for entering the kingdom" [Ireland]. But he had already rightly said that he had been in Derry. It is scarcely probable that he was about to enter the kingdom a second time.

met at Windsor and Chertsey from time to time during the months of September and October. Cranmer's scheme for a new Breviary probably formed the basis upon which they worked. The product of their labours was the First Book of Common Prayer. In January, 1549, the Act of Uniformity directed that this book should be used, throughout the realm, on and after the ensuing Whitsunday, 9 June. More than two years passed before it was introduced into Ireland.

Meanwhile, however, on 25 January, 1550, a decree was issued according to which the old Latin missals, breviaries, etc., were to be delivered up for destruction, the pictures in the churches being likewise destroyed, except in so far as they represented princes and other dignitaries who could not during their lives have been suspected of sanctity.[1]

Other decrees of January, 1550, aimed at the framing of new Church laws, and a new formula for the consecration of bishops and other ministers of religion. Many valuable MSS. shared the fate of the ecclesiastical books, whole waggon loads of manuscripts from the Oxford Library being destroyed, of which many had nothing more in common with " Mass-books " than the red capitals of the title-page and at the headings of the chapters. Very many of these were thrown away on hucksters, while shiploads of manuscripts crossed the sea for the use of bookbinders.[2]

Somerset, the Lord Protector, and uncle of Edward VI, had taken great pains, on the death of Henry VIII, to bring the influence of Protestant ideas to bear on the almost completely Catholic state of religion at that time. The introduction of communion under both kinds, the permission for priests to marry, and the use of the vernacular in the services of the church, did not of themselves form an essential ground for a break with Catholic doctrine. A general confession of sin before communion was, it is true, declared to be sufficient in the Order of Communion of 1548 and in the Book of Common Prayer of 1549, but confession to a priest was also allowed. Alterations, pregnant with fateful results, were now introduced in respect to the Holy Sacrament of the Altar, which, amid a flood of vulgar publications, now became the central

[1] Pastor, *Lives of the Popes*, xiii. 237.
[2] Gairdner, *The English Church*, pp. 276-7, 290-1.

point of the most violent attack and insult. Under Somerset, however, some care was still exercised, the liturgy of the Mass in the first Book of Common Prayer having included many of the outward ceremonies in order that the uneducated might still believe that nothing essential had been altered, while the educated could still infer, from many expressions which still remained, the doctrines of the Catholic faith.[1]

It is to be noted that the King did not order a new liturgy but "the liturgy and prayers of the Church to be translated." This means a translation of the old liturgy that had been in use for centuries, "probably," says Mant, "for the purpose of refraining, as much as possible, from doing violence to the prejudices and feelings of those for whose use the liturgy was intended." [2] And yet it cannot be said that the new liturgy was a mere translation of the old into English, for, though many of the prayers are the same in both, yet in numerous instances they have been added to and amended, thus taking a different form and structure. "But," admits Mant, "advantage seems to have been taken of the identity, so far as it existed, in the hope of avoiding alarm or offence in the people of Ireland, and of conciliating their good will." [3] Particular instructions were given by Bishop Ridley of London in his visitation of 5 May, 1550, that the altars were to be thrown down in the churches, as the conception of the Mass as a sacrifice was strongly bound up with the idea of an altar. "So long as there is an altar," preached Hooper, "the ignorant people will always dream of a sacrifice." [4]

By a royal decree of 24 November all the bishops were instructed to throw down the altars. The work of destruction was completed by the end of 1550, without consideration for the artistic value or the venerable age of the altars. The people lost all respect for the desecrated churches, in which dealers bought and sold, bringing in their horses and mules, while bloody conflicts and mortal combats not infrequently took place there. "People are turning the churches," says a royal decree of 1552, "into common inns, or rather into dens and sinks of iniquity." [5]

[1] Pastor, xiii. 238.
[2] *Ch. Hist. Ir.*, i. 193.
[3] *Ib.*, 194.
[4] Constant, *ap.* Pastor, p. 267.
[5] *Ib.*, 249. Pocock, *Eng. Hist. Review*, 1895, p. 417.

Sentleger was ordered to set forth the Church service in English, according to the royal ordinances, in all places where it was possible to muster a congregation who understood the language. Elsewhere the words were to be translated truly into Irish, until such time as the people should be brought to a knowledge of English. But small pains were taken to carry out the latter design, and the Venetian agent reports, with practical accuracy, that the Form of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments was not enforced in Ireland or other islands subject to England where English was not understood.[1]

The New Liturgy Published in Christ Church.

Before the proclamation of the New Liturgy was made to the people, it appears that Sentleger called together the archbishops, bishops, and clergy, on 1 March, 1551, to acquaint them of the King's Order as well as of the opinions of the bishops and clergy of England who had given consent to it. Dowdall refused to accept it, and, with some of his suffragan bishops, left the assembly; then, it is said, Sentleger handed the Order to Browne who, standing up, received it, and submitted to it.[2] Some weeks afterwards, the proclamation of the Order was made to the people by Sentleger, and service celebrated in English according to the new liturgy on Easter Sunday (29 March) in Christ Church in the presence of the Lord Deputy, the Archbishop, and the mayor and bailiffs of Dublin, Browne preaching the sermon.

It was probably in connection with this proclamation and celebration that the Lord Chancellor, and the Archbishop, and others of the King's Council, asked the mayor, sheriffs, etc., of the city to grant them a loan of £400 (about £6000 *1914 value*) for the King's use. This was passed on 16 April, a few weeks after the celebration. The reason of the loan is given at the end of the grant: "This four hundred pounds to be bestowed in beer and biscuit, and the rest to be delivered in money, and account to be made thereof unto the king's

[1] Instrs. to Sentleger; Barbaro's "Report on England" in 1551, in the *Venetian Calendar*. See Bagwell, i. 350.

[2] Harris, *Ware's Bishops*, p. 350. It is difficult to know how much is historical and how much fiction in the accounts given by Harris and Rob. Ware.

majesty's Council for the same by the said Mayor and Sheriffs." The Bill was signed by Browne, Aylmer, Cusak, Brabazon, Travers, Houth, Lutterell, and Bathe, members of the Council.[1] It was not unusual at such festivities to regale the citizens with a plentiful supply of beer in order to win over their sympathy to the particular cause.

Browne Accuses Sentleger of Papistical Practices; Sentleger Recalled.

On this last occasion Sentleger had been Lord Deputy since July, 1550, but exactly a month after he had had the liturgy published in Christ Church he was recalled to England, the King declaring by his letters that he intended "to make use of him and to employ him nearer home."[2] Ware and Mant are content with merely saying that he was recalled, but Cox[3] goes further and says: "But whether the Lord Deputy were not zealous in propagating the Reformation, or what other differences there were between him and the Archbishop [Browne] I cannot find; but it is certain the Archbishop sent complaints against him into England, and, thereupon, he was recalled."

Cox was on the right track, but a letter of Browne,[4] since discovered, to the Lord Protector Warwick, 6 August, 1551, shows plainly the reason of the recall. The letter reads thus:—

George [Browne], Archbishop of Dublin, to the Earl of Warwick, accusing Sir Anthony St. Leger, late Lord Deputy, and the Archbishop of Armagh [Dowdall], who had fled the realm, of Papistal practices. 6th August, 1551.

Due and most hearty commendations; may it please your honour, lest my other letter should not be in aredynes[5] [*sic*] with your good lordship, written heretofore about the books delivered me by Mr. Sentleger then Deputy (the copies whereof I sent your honour) I thought good at this present to certify the same par-

[1] *Cal. Anc. Rec. Dub.*, i. 425.

[2] Strype, *Mem. Eccles.*, vol. ii. Book II, c. 3, p. 264.

[3] *Hib. Angl.*, i. 290.

[4] *S.P. Edw. VI*, vol. iii., no. 45, P.R.O., London. See also Shirley, *Original Letters*.

[5] Readiness, i.e. to hand.

ticularly according [to] truth: The same Sir Anthony Sentleger then deputy, upon his last arrival in that authority, went to the chief church of this realm, Christ's Church of Dublin, and there after the old sort, offered to the altar then of stone; to the comfort of his too many like papists, and the discouragement of the professors of God's word: Soon thereupon the primate of Armagh, the next father in word and deed of popery, repaired to him, which primate persisting in his naughty sort to maintain the old rights of the bishop of Rome's Service, and refusing to embrace and set forth the King's Majesty's most godly proceeding, was advised as it were to the contrary, and departed to his rule: whereupon the same Lord Deputy to content the outward appearance of the world, made proclamations for the setting forth of the said King's proceeding / the same notwithstanding, the massing, holy water, candlemas candles, and such like, continued under the primate and elsewhere: whereof the same deputy having knowledge, neither sent for any of the offendors, nor yet caused punishment nor redress to be executed in this behalf, whereat though I said to his lordship, the thing could not be taken in good part to be totally proclaimed and the deeds so apparent contrary unpunished, at times hereupon the said deputy said to me and other: go to / go to / your matters of religion will mar all. About candlemas last he called me to him alone: and said, my lord of Dublin, I have five books for your lordship; which after ye have considered send them to me accordingly; and so taking the books with me I took my leave of him; and at my coming home perusing these books, I found them so poisoned to maintain the mass with Transubstantiation and other naughtines (as at no time I have seen such a summary of scriptors [writers] collected to establish that idolatry),clean contrary the sincere meaning of the word of God, and the king's most godly proceedings: which with the rest of the said deputy's proceedings wered.[1] I could gather no goodness he meant in this behalf, according [to] my most bounden duty to the king's majesty, I copied the books, and speedily sent them to your honor, that might be a means of redress. This matter came to the said Sentleger's knowledge: Whereupon he is much gravailede [2] with me, speaking behind me (than truth will bear him) saying that it shall cost him an thousand pound (he hath plenty in store of gold and silver had too homlie [3] here) but he will work me displeasure: if I have done herein otherwise than became a subject of my vocation, I beseech your honour and the rest to judge, and so let me by the same be protected against his malice: who

[1] Wearied ? [2] Annoyed. [3] Too easily.

before God is a man of such nature that after displeasure conceived, he forestudieth by all possible means to execute his malice: To whom I take my Saviour to witness, though I do wish no harm of body nor of goods, yet I would beseech your honour to stay credit to his words and persuasions: lest thereby he should hinder me and many an honest man; that worthily and painfully have, and do, ensue [1] the king here. Which he never did as his proceedings here declareth, to the great charge of the king, to the let of the public weal of the realm, and the undoing of many honest men: whereby he is wondrous rich: This massing, with like being spoken in open council against, by the lieutenant Sir Ralphe Bagnall and me: that it was too much against duty to suffer the primate so to contemn the king's proceedings, and required he might be called before him and the rest, who came and disputed plainly the Massing and other things contrary the King's proceedings; and that he would not embrace them: whereat the Deputy said nothing; the same Sir Ralphe Bagnall called him arrant traitor, Sir Thomas Cusack the Chancellor the said primate's cousin, answered Mr. Bagnall no traitor / so the primate departed, and continued as he did, till the same Mr. Sentleger was discharged of the deputation,[2] who coming hither, sent in message to the earl of Tyrone by his servant, have me most heartily commended to my lord your master, and pray him in any wise to follow the counsel and advise of that good father, sage senator and godly bishop, my lord primate in every thing, and so he shall do well: howsoever the matter was, the primate like a traitor soon upon fled: writing to the said Chancellor (I pray God to send in that trusty vocation an English man) that he would never be bishop: where the holy mass (as he called it) was abolished /. It may please your honor to be [a] means that the most honorable council, seeing there hath been contention between the said primate and his predecessors, and the Archbishop of Dublin and his predecessors, for the primacy and title of the whole realm: the primate claiming by the bishop of Rome's bulls, and I by the king's majesty and his most noble progenitors, grants and gifts; seeing also I am, and must be, at great charges to maintain house, entertain gentlemen coming thence hither, and their captains and other serving the king's highness here; the poorness of my living for my vocation, and the disloyalty of the said primate; that I may have given and granted to me and my successors archbishops (who since the Conquest hath been chief stays under the king in these parts of the realm and ever

[1] Follow. [2] Lord Deputyship.

true to the Crown) of Dublin, all and every the ecclesiastical spiritual jurisdiction, preeminence, title, and dignity, together with all and every the spiritual profits, living, commodities, and emoluments, belonging, or appertaining, to the see or church of Armagh, assuring your honour that if it had chanced that this governor [1] had been sent hither at the first coming of Mr. Sentleger hither in authority (since which time the king's excellency and the realm hath spent no small sum of treasure; and for his proceedings the realm rather worse than better): it had been far otherwise, both in obedience and reverence (but Mr. Sentleger played a worldly wise man's part: for howsoever lost, he won) [2] as undoubtedly this man continuing three years having maintenance, shall bring this realm to such obedience and reverence in every part, as it was not since the conquest; but the matter consisteth in this, that the thing begun so godly, and so groundly [3] may go forthwards: and thereby shall appear what good-will, travail, and pain, is in this man, and what lack in the other: / he hath taken such pains and charges since his authority as no governor did, nor might have done more, he hath been at Ballagheynty-more where there was no Governor heretofor; there came to Cork, MacCarty More who never submitted himself to the king, nor to any other his most noble progenitors before, that may be remembered, at this time [he, MacCarthy More] hath renounced the bishop of Rome and his wicked sorts, by oath, and by that oath humbly sworn to be the king's true subject. In all his journey and travail the same now lord deputy, saw the king's majesty's most godly proceedings put in execution, and the other naughty abolished in deed: and his charges is, and must be, far above any other governor's. Finally I commend him not so much for his sobriety, affable sort; but the man is in virtuous doings, the man he professeth by words; This leaving of further to trouble your honor, the lord grant to the same, long healthful life with increase of honor; from Dublin the vith of August.

Your honor to command,
G. Dublin.

To the right honorable the Earl of Warwick
and lord great Mr. of England give this,
[endorsed]
6 of August, 1551. The b. of Dublin to the Council.

[1] Crofts, the successor of Sentleger in the vice-royalty.

[2] He won: namely, though Sentleger had been deposed he had accumulated great wealth (according to Browne).

[3] Well-established.

In this letter Browne refers to a previous one which he had sent to Warwick complaining of Sentleger. There is now no trace of it. It was evidently written soon after Candlemas Day (2 Feb.), at which time Sentleger brought the five books to Browne. These were a summary of writers whose main burden was to uphold the doctrine of Transubstantiation. Browne says he had them copied and sent them to Warwick. Our contention is that these books were partly the cause of Sentleger's recall.

An entry (*Cal. S.P. Ir.*, 1509-73) at the end of the documents of Queen Mary's reign, reads :—

78. A MS. tract indorsed, "Booke oute of Ireland : in Latten." Intituled, "Fides priscorum de veritate carnis et sanguinis Christi in sacramento Altaris, quam ab ipsa Assensione dominica semper tenuit universalis Christi ecclesia a vetustissimis auctoribus in suis scriptis nobis relicta." [1]

This MS. is composed of two parts, called "books." The first part is a collection or summary of extracts from the fathers and mediæval theologians proving the doctrine of Transubstantiation, and the second consists of a series of answers to objections. The books exactly correspond to Browne's description of the five books brought to him by Sentleger, which were "poisoned to maintain the Mass with Transubstantiation and other naughtinesse . . . A summary of scriptors collected to establish that idolatry." Besides all this, the fact that this "Booke out of Ireland" made its way into the Public Record Office, and was included in the State Papers of this very period (although placed at the end of Mary's reign as it was not an historical document), when Warwick was the Lord Protector of Edward, seems to make it as morally certain as anything can be that this MS. is Browne's copy [2] of two of the books sent him by Sentleger in support of Transubstantiation, and that it was part cause of

[1] "The Faith of the Primitive Church in the truth of the flesh and blood of Christ in the Sacrament of the Altar, which from the time of the Lord's Ascension the universal church of Christ has always held, and left to us by the most ancient authors in their writings."

[2] Of course the MS. is not in Browne's writing. For that matter, none of his letters is in his own hand. He employed two writers on the MS., evidently with a view to expediting matters. (See Ronan, *Irish Eccles. Record*, May and June, 1925.)

Sentleger's recall from the Lord Deputyship of Ireland in 1551.

The reference of the compiler of the MS. to his patron for whom he compiled the books, calling him *vir illustrissime* and speaking of his *dominationem*, confirms our belief that Sentleger had asked the compiler to put together these extracts so that he might show Browne some proofs of the doctrine and justify his own friendly action towards Dowdall. It will be remembered that Sentleger instead of rebuking Dowdall for his obstinacy in adhering to the Mass, etc., merely requested him to return home lest some harm should come to him. In Browne's eyes this was another proof that Sentleger was a papist. And though Dowdall after his return continued to say Mass, use holy water and candles, yet Sentleger neither rebuked nor punished him. Moreover, Sentleger had gone to the stone altar and made his Mass offerings as of old before the congregation to the delight of the " papists " and the consternation of the " professors of God's word." Indeed, according to Browne, Sentleger's proclamation of the liturgy was merely a sham, simply to carry out the King's instructions and observe an outward formality. Nay more, Browne accuses Sentleger of trying to influence him in his attitude towards the Mass by bringing him those " naughty " books on the Mass.

Browne likewise tells how Dowdall, on being called before the Council, maintained his adherence to the Mass, whereupon Sentleger said nothing. This is a different version from that given by Robert Ware as to the alleged dispute on the Mass between Sentleger and Dowdall. Ware knew there was some dispute, but made Sentleger fill the rôle of disputant with Dowdall, whereas, according to Browne, an eye-witness, he was silent. And when Sentleger was recalled to England, he sent by his servant a message to the Earl of Tyrone to continue in his friendship with Dowdall and to obey his counsels.

And now, Browne, having given the adverse report on Sentleger for the " public weal of the realm," asks a favour for himself. He wishes to have the title of " primate of all Ireland " which Dowdall had had until then. It will be remembered that Bellingham had threatened to deprive the

latter of it because of his obstinacy. Browne pleads his own poverty, and the hospitality he has to show to the King's officials. He also pleads that he and his predecessors in the See were always loyal to the Crown, the chief support to the King's dominion, and the very guardians of the Pale in their various manors in the Marches. But not only does Browne ask for the title but for all the spiritual possessions and revenues belonging to the See of Armagh. By an Act of 20 October, 1551, the King and Council of England deprived Dowdall of the title, and by letters patent conferred it on Browne and his successors for ever. But the archbishopric and its emoluments were conferred on Goodacre. Harris [1] says: "I do not find that he [Dowdall] was stripped of his bishoprick: but his high stomach could not digest this affront. He went into voluntary banishment," etc. Dowdall, according to Browne's letter of 6 August, 1551, had already fled the realm, soon after Sentleger's recall. So that Harris is wrong in stating his flight was occasioned by the slight to his dignity by the transference of the title. Robert Ware is likewise wrong in stating that Dowdall was banished. He had already withdrawn from his See, because, as Browne says, he would not be bishop where the Holy Mass was abolished.

Browne is wrong in saying that the MacCarthy More had never before submitted to any King but only to Edward through Crofts, the new Viceroy. John de Saundford, Archbishop of Dublin (1284-94), had brought him to peace when he was Justiciar of Ireland, and MacCarthy's fines for the peace are entered in the Pipe Rolls of the period. Of course Browne is singing the praises of Crofts, the new Viceroy; he usually played this part when he wanted a favour—in the present instance he wanted the title and emoluments of the Primacy of all Ireland.

Altogether this is a remarkable and most important letter as it clears up many historical matters that had hitherto been wrongly interpreted by famous historians.

[1] *Ware's Bishops*, p. 92.

Alen Explains Sentleger's Remarks; Browne Contradicted.

The recall of Sentleger did not end this episode. In consequence of the report sent by Browne, the Archbishop was apparently called to England to substantiate his charges. Whilst there he interviewed Alen and endeavoured to win him over to his side and corroborate the charges. The question turned on a phrase.

Alen was asked to state whether Sentleger made use of the words: *Go to, go to, religion will mar all*, attributed to him by Browne in his letter to Warwick (6 Aug., 1551), and said to have been spoken at Kilmainham. Alen, on oath, before Lord Deputy Crofts, Brabazon, and Travers, declares that neither did Sentleger make use of those words in his presence nor did he (Alen) make such a statement to Browne. But he explains what actually did happen.[1]

In order to understand the early portion of the letter it is necessary to state a few facts. Boulogne having been restored to the French on 25 April, 1550, King Edward was thereby enabled to send £8000 received there, and 400 men of that garrison, into Ireland. But the French King, hearing that the English marched an army into Scotland, looked upon that assault of his ally as a breach of the peace with him, and therefore sent 160 small vessels with ammunition and corn, to assist the Scots. It happened that sixteen of them were shipwrecked on the coast of Ireland. Edward VI, to frustrate any design that the French might have on his dominions, sent a fleet of twenty ships and pinnaces, under Lord Cobham, which guarded two harbours in the south, and one in the north towards Scotland.

Alen's deposition is endorsed 19 May, 1551 (*recte* 1552), and he tells that about twelve months previously, in Lent, he received letters from Woode and Brooks, and the lords of the Council, acquainting him that Lord Cobham was coming to Ireland with an army, and requesting him to make all arrangements for provisioning it. He went to Kilmainham

[1] *S.P. Edw. VI*, P.R.O., London (May, 1552). (See Shirley, *Original Letters*.)

to see Sentleger and met him in St. John's Chamber there with others of the Council. He spoke privately with Sentleger and asked for the commission to obtain the provisions. They then spoke about the coming of the French, and Sentleger asked him, what would the French do here in Ireland? Alen replied that last year they went about persuading the Irish to have Ireland joined to the Crown of France. Sentleger then remarked that that would be futile, as the Irish would be subject to France only as long as it suited them. Alen gave his opinion that the French, seeing that they could not hold Scotland unless they landed in Ireland, would take some of the Irish ports, and then it would not be long until the rest of the country fell into their hands. And, having made peace with them, and given them Boulogne, it would be a great act of treachery if they (the French) did such a thing. Sentleger replied that the French King, young, ardent, and powerful, would make himself Emperor of Christendom when the present Emperor died. And as England and her King were the only obstacle to this design, the French King would merely occupy himself with Scotland and Ireland so that he might not be impeded elsewhere. Sentleger remarked that the Emperor had seized in Flanders forty or fifty thousand pounds of bullion belonging to their King. Alen then said that when he was in England he never heard any reason why the Emperor should be unfriendly to their King, except, as some said, he was displeased with the English religion, which was indeed a small cause for unfriendliness. To this Sentleger replied that he did not wonder at the Emperor's being displeased with the religion in England, as here at home in Ireland it was a matter of everyday occurrence that one man is offended with another over this question of religion. And he, and anyone who knew Ireland must know, that, if the French come to Ireland, they will receive more friendship from the Irish because of their common religion than from any other reason. He then continued: "God help me, for my own part, knowing the manner and ignorance of this people, when my Lords of the Council willed me to set forth the matters of religion here, which to my power I have done, I had rather they had sent me into Spain, or any other place where the King should have cause to make war there,

than burdened me to set forth the matters of religion here, and I told my lords no less before my coming away."

When Alen got his commissions for the provisions signed, he left and afterwards went to Christ Church to sup with the dean. There he found also Browne and Basnet, and spoke of the coming of the French, not omitting, however, to talk of " Sentleger's faults." Browne attributed many to Sentleger in religious matters, especially his offering at the altar on the occasion of his landing in Dublin, and his forbearance with Dowdall and the Mass, and called him a deceiver in religion and that he was never willing to promote it. " By our Lady," said Alen, " you are not far wrong there, for this day he confessed not much less to myself."

Long after this, continues Alen, Browne was heard to say that Sentleger had remarked that if the lords of the Council had left things alone just as Henry VIII had ordered, and not interfered by altering religion, neither the rebellion in England nor the hurly-burly here in Ireland would have taken place. Browne then wanted to bring Alen as a witness to this alleged statement of Sentleger. But Alen replied, that although Sentleger had wronged him by taking from him his honour and his living,[1] and deserved no consideration from him, yet " I will not lie to hurt him."

Long after this, at the end of harvest time (about Sept., 1551), Browne's servant returned from England bringing him letters from the lords of the Council commanding him to repair to England. (Browne had written in August, 1551, against Sentleger, and evidently sent the letter and the five books, brought to him by Sentleger on Transubstantiation, by this servant.) Browne, who had crossed to England, then sent for Alen, who was in England, to come to him, showed him the letters, and the accusations he (Browne) made against Sentleger. He asked his advice (as Alen was a tenant of the Archbishop's), and what exactly Sentleger had said on that occasion at Kilmainham. He (Browne) repeated the phrase " that if my lords had let all things in the order the King's

[1] He had been deprived of the office of Lord Chancellor by Sentleger and was granted a pension of 200 marks (£2000 *1914 value*) from Michaelmas, 1550. Sentleger came over in July, 1550; thus he lost little time in deposing Alen, who was granted leave of absence out of Ireland on 6 Aug., 1551 (*Cal. S.P. Ir., ad an.*, p. 115).

father left them, etc." But Alen said he remembered Sentleger to have used no such words, and never heard until now such words as "Go to, go to, etc.," contained in the interrogatory sent him. Browne begged him to remember better, and assured him that he related these words the day he returned from Kilmainham in the presence of the Dean of Christ Church and Basnet. Whereupon Alen asked him to inquire of these two men what he actually did say. Sometime afterwards Alen met them both and asked if he had ever used the words that Browne attributed to him. They replied that Browne had already spoken to them about the matter and they told him that they never heard Alen use the alleged words.

Before Browne had repaired to England, and when Alen had refused to testify to his statement, the Bishop of Kildare came, at Browne's request, to beg Alen to put in writing what Sentleger said to him at Kilmainham. Alen replied that although he loved Browne's little (finger) better than Sentleger's whole body, he would do nothing against truth, or anything to disgrace the position he once held. Finally, Alen, in his answer to the interrogatory, proposes that if the lords of the Council desire to examine him upon his oath he will truthfully declare what Sentleger said to him at Kilmainham.

The outcome of this episode was that Sentleger remained a free man, and Browne had not enhanced his reputation. Browne had made a determined effort to have Sentleger disgraced, and thereby gain favour at court. Even Basnet and the Dean of Christ Church would not support him in his lying charges. Sentleger himself admits that he had told the Council in England that he wished to have nothing to do with matters of religion when he was being sent as Lord Deputy. He was a soldier and a statesman, and confessed, "I had rather they had sent me into Spain, or any other place where the King should have cause to make war." He had promulgated the First Book of Common Prayer in Christ Church, which was a rearrangement of the Latin Missal. As Deputy he considered it his duty to his King. But as to its interpretation that was a matter which even its framers left an open question. Browne and Staples were theologians and under-

stood the mind of these framers, but Sentleger, a layman, considered he was justified in still holding to his ancient practice of adoring at the altar and of presenting his gifts at the Sacrifice, even though the Missal was revised. Sentleger represents a man who was endeavouring to be true to his King, whom he considered also the head of the national Church, but he was also determined to be true to his ancient doctrinal belief, especially as regards the Mass. He did not see eye to eye with Browne and a few others who were imbued with Calvinistic doctrines, and he was content to carry out the actual commands of the King without anticipating further royal schemes.

Conference at St. Mary's Abbey.

Returning now to Dowdall, it would seem that, after the occasion on which he refused to accept the New Liturgy (1 March, 1551), he had returned to Armagh. But for some reason he is said to have taken up residence in St. Mary's Abbey shortly afterwards. Probably, he wished to see how the " reform " was to proceed under the new Lord Deputy, Sir James Crofts, who was sworn in on 23 May, and it is said that Crofts had written to him to meet him in Dublin, also to have sent him another letter through Staples which is given as follows :—[1]

Reverend Sir,

We understand you are a reverend father of the Church, and do know full well that you are not ignorant of the obedience due unto kings and princes ; for the chief of bishops, namely, Christ, the bishop of our souls, showed you the way by his tribute given unto Cæsar, the same being formerly confessed and acknowledged to be so due by the bishops of Rome themselves ; therefore if your Lordship will appoint a place where I may conveniently have the happiness of appeasing wrath between the fathers of the

[1] *Harris MSS.*, R.D.S. Library, vol. iv., p. 472. *Add. MSS. B.M.* 4784, f. 2. King's *Collectanea*, vol. iv., p. 472. Though we give these letters there is extreme doubt about their authenticity, as in the case of Ware's other letters (see Foreword). The date is given as 6 June, 1552, but, according to Browne's letter, Dowdall had already fled the realm by August, 1551. That any such conferences took place between Crofts, Staples, and Dowdall is extremely improbable.

Church and your grace, I shall think my labour well spent to make a brotherly love therein, as I profess myself to be a Christian. Yet as I am employed under my most gracious sovereign lord, within this his majesty's realm, I needed not have sought this request; but fearing we shall have an order ere long to alter church matters, as well in offices as in ceremonies, which I would prevent if possible, therefore out of my hearty affections unto your paternal gravity and dignity, I have written by the chief of the bishops under your jurisdiction (viz.), the Bishop of Meath, by whom we entreat your grace's answer. From his majesty's castle of Dublin, June 6th, 1552.

(Signed) JAMES CROFTS.

(*Superscribed*),

To the Reverend Father in God, George, Archbishop of Armagh, at St. Mary's Abbey, by Dublin.

Dowdall's reply to Crofts is as follows :—

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

Your kind and hearty overtures came unto me unexpected. I fear it is in vain for me to converse with an obstinate number of churchmen, and in vain for your lordship to suppose the difference between us can be so soon appeased, as our judgments, opinions, and consciences are different; yet do accept of your honour's friendly proffers. I shall rejoice to see your lordship, and would have waited on you in person; but having withdrawn myself for a long space during your predecessor's government, and for a while since, it is not so meet for me to appear at your lordship's palace. This, I hope, is a sufficient reason from

Your lordship's humble servant,

GEORGE ARMACHANUS.

To the Right Honourable Sir James Crofts, Knight, his Majesty's Viceroy of Ireland.

The proposed conference is said to have taken place the following day in the great hall of St. Mary's Abbey, the Deputy being accompanied by Staples, Bishop of Meath, and Lancaster, Bishop of Kildare.

THE OLD LITURGY STILL POPULAR; THE NEW SERVICE TO BE TRANSLATED INTO IRISH.

The new Lord Deputy, on his coming to Ireland, brought with him instructions to himself and the Council of Ireland

on many affairs of the country. Among these were " [1] to propagate the worship of God in the English tongue, and the service to be translated into Irish to those places which need it ; [2] to prevent the sale of bells, church goods, chantry-lands, etc., and to inventory them ; [3] above all, to reduce the Birns and Tools, and their country."

The second of these instructions was intended to prevent official and private acquisition of ecclesiastical possessions under the guise of promoting " reform " or through the confusion that attended it.[1]

The first of the instructions was to carry out the King's order already promulgated by Sentleger, for the introduction of the English liturgy (First Book of Common Prayer) into the churches of Ireland. It was at this time that the first book was printed in Dublin, and it happened to be an edition of the recently established liturgy. The title-page of the volume describes it as *The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church : after the use of the Church of England. Dubliniæ, in officina Humfredi Poweli. Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum. Anno Domini M.D.LI.*[2] It professes to be " printed at the commandment of the Right Worshipful Sir Anthony Sentleger, Knight of the Order, late Lord Deputy of Ireland, and Council of the same." At the end of the volume is a prayer for the new Lord Deputy, " Sir James Crofts, now governour over this realm, under our most dread and sovereign Lord, Edward the Sixth."

Browne, as we have seen, had already announced Crofts' activity and success throughout the south of Ireland. But Crofts has a different story to tell. In a letter to Sir William Cecil, 15 March, 1551 (*recte* 1552), he says :—[3]

[1] The celebrated church and abbey of Clonmacnoise were plundered about this time ; " they took away the bells, destroyed the images and altars, not sparing the church books nor the window-glass " (*Ann. of Donegal, ad an.* 1552). This was not calculated to increase the popularity of the King's religion.

[2] A handsome copy of this book is in Trinity College, Dublin, and another in Emmanuel College, Cambridge. (See *Procs. R.I.A.*, 1908.) Powell's imprint to the book is " In the Great Tower by the Crane." The City Crane was on the riverside at the bottom of Winetavern Street, east side, whilst the tower was on the west side of that street.

[3] Shirley, *Original Letters*, no. 25, *S.P. Edw. VI*, P.R.O., London.

Being a man not learned, neither seen in any other thing worthy of the charge committed to me, I am, beside mine other cares, burdened with the setting forth of religion, which to my skill I cause to be amended in every place where I travel: and nevertheless through the negligence of the bishops and other spiritual ministers, it is so barely looked into, as the old ceremonies yet remain in many places. The bishops, as I find, be negligent and few learned, and none of any good zeal as it seemeth, wherefore if it would please you to move the Council that for such bishopricks as be here void, some learned men might be sent over to take charge, and so to preach and set forth the king's proceeding, I would trust so to maintain them, as they might do good to many, and set forth this as it ought to be. And if this cannot be brought to pass, I pray you send me some learned man to remain with me, by whose counsel I may the better direct the blind and obstinate bishops, and what stipend soever you promise I will give it.

It was evidently useless to try to induce the bishops of Ireland in general, even though they had accepted the Supremacy, to take any interest in the "reform" or to allow themselves to be influenced by the new doctrinal ideas; as Crofts says, they were "negligent" and of no "good zeal." His only hope was that, when Sees became vacant, Englishmen who had already shown themselves "zealous" for "reform" should be sent over to change the religious face of the country. We shall see how Bale, one of those afterwards sent over, fared when he tried the "reform" in Kilkenny, that town where the mayor and Council had favoured it. Meanwhile, the only bishops who had shown any anxiety for the "reform" were Browne, Staples, Lancaster of Kildare, and Travers of Leighlin. The two last had been appointed in 1550, and they were both married men.

To the steadfastness of the bishops and priests of Ireland at this critical period may be attributed the utter failure of the new liturgy. Crofts' coming to Ireland coincided with a greater activity of the government in the "reform" movement, especially in the appointment to vacant Sees. In a letter to the Duke of Northumberland (11 Nov., 1551) he asks that persons may be nominated to the Sees of Armagh, Cashel, and Ossory. Dowdall had fled the realm, Butler of Cashel and Milo Baron of Ossory had died in 1550. There

was now a great opportunity of promoting sterling " reformers " to those Sees. The letter to Northumberland [1] states :—

It may please your grace to be advertised that where sundry bishopricks in this land be void, as Armagh, Cashel, and Ossory, to which charge I know of no men yet nominated, but do daily look the councillor's pleasures therein, and especially at Armagh,[2] at which place if some discreet man were appointed, and chiefly such a man as had living in England to maintain himself that thereby he might be able to take charge as a commissioner in those parts : without which order taken there and in other places, it is not possible that the variance and questions which daily rise, can be decided. . . . We have not here any for such a charge [Cashel or Ossory], saving one Leverous, that was school master to the Lord Garrett, who for learning, discretion, and (in outward appearance) for good living, is the meetest man in this realm, and best able to preach both in the English and the Irish tongue. Nevertheless forasmuch as he was thought an offender for conveying the said Lord Garrett (Fitzgerald) out of this realm, and notwithstanding since his pardon, I dare not become a suitor for him ; albeit as I have said I know no man so meet. I heard him preach such a sermon, as in my simple opinion, I heard not in many years.

Leverous was not then chosen, but he was afterwards appointed to the See of Kildare by Queen Mary. Cranmer had been consulted, and his choice for Ossory fell on Bale, who was already a married man. Goodacre was appointed to Armagh, and no one seems to have been appointed to Cashel between 1550 and 1553, until Roland Baron (one of the Fitzgeralds) was appointed by Queen Mary. Roland Burke, uncle of the Earl of Clanricard, and Bishop of Clonfert, who had successfully opposed Henry VIII's nominee Nangle in that See, went over to the " reform " and was granted the See of Elphin *in commendam* (Nov., 1551), and to serve as

[1] Shirley, *Original Letters*, xxiv., *S.P. Edw. VI*, P.R.O., London.

[2] Pending the appointment to Armagh by the King, Crofts proposed that Basnet, late Dean of St. Patrick's, should enjoy the first fruits of the vacant See along with the revenues of his old deanery. The Lord Deputy was moved to this by the curious practical consideration that Basnet was " experimented in the wars of the country." (Basnet, it will be remembered, had donned military armour to fight against O'Neill in the north.) Crofts suggested that the King should make it worth Basnet's while to live at Armagh, and he would be most useful to Bagenal and the Baron of Dungannon. But the young King had other plans. (See Bagwell, i. 368.)

one of the new Council to be established in Connacht.[1] He was granted a pardon by the King, 20 October, 1541, surrendered his papal Bulls, and was re-appointed to the See of Clonfert. Nangle, his former opponent, was presented to the rectory of Ardrayne, diocese of Kilmacduagh, 1 May, 1542. He died about February, 1543. Thomas O'Harnan, bachelor of theology, was presented to the vacant rectory. A note in Sentleger's hand at this entry in the *Fiants of Henry VIII* states: "My lord chancellor, this is given at instance of my lord of Dublyne [Browne] before our time."[2]

The "reform," therefore, as far as the bishops were concerned, depended mainly on Browne, Staples, and on the new bishops, married men. The new liturgy had the effect of stiffening the backs of the bishops who had already accepted the Supremacy. Whether they thereby renounced the Supremacy in their heart, we know not. As far as we know, they did not renounce it in the open, and were still unrecognised by the Holy See. The situation was an extraordinary one. Paucity of documents prevents any safe decision.[3]

Second Book of Common Prayer; New Rite of Consecration of Bishops.

The First Book of Common Prayer of 1549 had been arranged with the express object of not offending too glaringly Catholic sentiment. Quite another spirit, however, pervaded its revision which is known as the Second Book of Common Prayer of 1552. It was made in deference to the wishes of those who thought that the "First Prayer Book" savoured

[1] *Cal. S.P.I.*, 1509-1573, p. 120. [2] *Fiants, Hen. VIII*, no. 352.

[3] "Goodacre," says Bagwell (i. 380), "seems never to have seen his cathedral, to which access was barred by Shane O'Neill. Bale says he was a man of remarkable sincerity and integrity, and a zealous and eloquent preacher. He also informs us that he was poisoned by the procurement of certain priests of his diocese "for preaching God's verity, and rebuking common vices." This contemporary statement has been doubted, on account of Bale's prejudices, but it is repeated by Burnet on the authority of Goodacre's fourth lineal descendant. Burnet's informant received the story from his grandfather who was Goodacre's grandson. According to this tradition the actual murderer was a monk who pledged Goodacre in poisoned wine, and died himself of the effects. Bale says he was himself warned by letter to beware of the Archbishop's fate. Whether the joint authority of Ossory and Sarum is to be rejected or not will much depend upon the reader's opinion of two learned, and in some respects, not dissimilar divines.

too much of unreformed doctrines and ceremonies. If the doctrine of Luther had been the standard of the first changes in the liturgy of the Mass, in 1549,[1] the second book was made in the spirit of Zwingli and Calvin. The first book did away with everything that caused the Mass to appear as a sacrifice, but the second, on the other hand, removed everything that could form an acknowledgment of the Real Presence of Christ in the Sacrament.

The way to this change to the most extreme Protestantism had already been prepared under Somerset. Theologians of the most advanced tendencies found, at that time, a refuge in England, which was denied them everywhere else ; [2] Bucer came to England in April, 1549, from Strasbourg, flying before the Interim, and was at once made professor of Theology in Cambridge ; a little time before, the Italian, Peter Martyr Vermigli,[3] who had come to England at the invitation of Cranmer, in 1547, received a professor's chair at Oxford. A visitation of both universities in May, 1549, removed various Catholic professors. Countless abusive publications, introduced from the continent, and allowed to be freely printed in England, prepared public opinion for Calvinistic teaching, while the defenders of the old faith had to publish their answers abroad. " The press in England, too, was free—

[1] The " Order of Communion " cannot be classed with any of the old liturgies, but rather resembles the form drawn up by Luther in 1523 and 1526. Both agree in eliminating anything denoting offertory or sacrifice in the true sense of the words. " Even if it were not an ascertained fact that during the year when it was in preparation, Cranmer was under the influence of his Luthern friends, the testimony of the book itself would be sufficient to prove beyond doubt that it was conceived and drawn up after the Luthern pattern " (Gasquet and Bishop, *Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer*, p. 228).

[2] Gairdner, *Ch. of Engl.*, 263.

[3] " Whereas Nicholas Udall intends to print many good books for the edifying of the king's subjects ' according to our most godly procedinges ' and better instruction of youth in the grammar schools :

" Licence to the said Nicholas to print, reprint and sell the work of Peter Martyr intitled *Tractabo de Eucharistia* [Treatise on the Eucharist] and also the work of the same Peter Martyr intitled *Disputacio de Eucharistia* [Disputation on the Eucharist] translated into English by the said Nicholas : also to print and sell the Bible in English as well in the large volume for the use of churches as in any other convenient volume ; and prohibition of all others from printing the said works of Peter Martyr in English or any portion of them or any books which the said Nicholas may print for seven years after every printing or reprinting of them, upon pain of confiscation of books so printed contrary to this privilege, etc." (*C.P.R., Edw VI*, iii. 315, July, 1550.)

at least to the enemies of the old beliefs." [1] As far as Cranmer himself was concerned he was always receding in his writings further and further from both Catholic and Lutheran doctrines, and, as he himself confessed, had only allowed a few Catholic expressions still to appear in the first compilation of the Book of Common Prayer, in order not to arouse too great excitement among the people.[2]

The introduction of Calvinism into public worship was inaugurated by the destruction of the altars. Apart from this the First Book of Common Prayer of 1549 had really pleased nobody. The people stood aloof from the new services,[3] while Cranmer himself only regarded the liturgy of 1549 as a temporary measure. Excited by reforming preachers, the young King declared that if the bishops would not alter the Book of Common Prayer, he would do so himself.[4] Above all, however, the foreign theologians who had sought refuge in England urged more extreme measures. So it came about that a country which was desirous of throwing off the authority of the Pope, on the ground that he was a foreign bishop, actually made over to foreign influence the remodelling of its religion.[5]

As early as April, 1549, Cranmer, in a meeting with Bucer, Peter Martyr Vermigli, Fagius, Dryander and Tremellius, deliberated on the reform of the liturgy. Bucer had the greatest influence in bringing about the new development in public worship, and after his death (28 Feb., 1551) the still more advanced Peter Martyr took his place. On 9 March, 1552, the Second Book of Common Prayer was laid before the House of Lords, and was accepted by both Houses on 14 April.[6]

The introduction to the new Bill refers to the second edition of the Book of Common Prayer as if it were only an improved edition of the first, but in all essential points identical with it. This is, however, by no means the case. The liturgy of 1549 was an attempt at conciliation which endeavoured to satisfy Protestants as well as Catholics, as far as was possible; the liturgy of 1552, on the contrary, had the

[1] Gairdner, *Ch. of. Eng.*, 266.
[2] Constant, *Le transformation du culte anglicain sous Edouard VI*, p. 244.
[3] Gairdner, 268, 277.
[4] *Ib.*, 304.
[5] *Ib.*, 291.
[6] Constant, 244, 478.

fullest intention of avoiding every expression and every ceremony which the followers of the old religion could construe in accordance with their own views.

Nothing of the Catholic Mass remains in this new Order of Communion. Besides this, the Second Book of Common Prayer abolishes private Confession and Extreme Unction. As far as the Sacrament of Holy Orders was concerned, it still retained the grades of deacons, priests, and bishops, at least in name. One result of the totally altered conception of Holy Communion was the fact that the ordination of priests possessing the real power of consecration was no longer proposed, indeed the very idea of ordaining priests in this Catholic sense was completely excluded. The new Prayer Book could, therefore, receive the unqualified approbation of the most advanced Protestants. Peter Martyr wrote on 14 June, 1552, to Bullinger that all the traces which might have still nourished superstition were expurgated from it. Bullinger and Calvin, who were begged to give their opinion of it by English refugees in 1554, considered that fault could only be found with it in points of no great importance.[1]

According to the second book, there were only two sacraments, namely, Baptism and Holy Communion. Confirmation, Orders, Penance, Matrimony, and Extreme Unction were considered *quasi sacraments* or ceremonies. As to Orders; although the Latin Ordinal was revised and simplified by Cranmer and other bishops as early as 1548, it was not included in the first Book of Common Prayer of 1549, but was issued as a separate office in 1550. It was thoroughly revised for inclusion in the second book of 1552. In the case of priesthood, the delivery of paten and chalice was omitted. The form adjoined to the imposition of hands was merely this: " Receive the Holy Ghost. Whose sins thou dost forgive they are forgiven: and whose sins thou dost retain they are retained: and be thou a faithful dispenser of the Word of God and of His Holy Sacraments." And in the delivery of the Bible the form is: " Take thou authority to preach

[1] Constant, 474-80. In recent years attempts have been made to reform the Prayer Book in two opposite directions. The Evangelicals have considered it as still containing too much of the old " popery "; while the High Church party have endeavoured to get back the portions omitted or altered since 1549.

the Word of God and to minister the Holy Sacraments in this congregation, where thou shalt be so appointed." In all this there is no reference to the conferring on the priest of the power to consecrate and to offer sacrifice. That was completely discarded.

In the consecration of a bishop the new Ordinal discarded the delivery of the pastoral staff, and the form of consecration was: "Take the Holy Ghost, and remember that thou stir up the grace of God which is in thee by imposition of hands, for God hath not given us the spirit of fear, but of power, and love, and of soberness." And for the delivery of the Bible: "Give heed unto reading, exhortation, and doctrine. Think upon these things contained in this book. . . . Be to the flock of Christ a shepherd not a wolf; feed them, devour them not; hold up the weak, heal the sick, bind together the broken, bring again the outcast, seek the lost."

In the Ordinal of 1550 it was directed that the bishop "have upon him surplice and cope," and the bishops presenting him were to have the same robes, and to hold their pastoral staves in their hands. In 1552, all mention of robes was omitted. On the sufficiency of this Ordinal of 1552, which lasted until the death of Edward VI (for two years) by which bishops were consecrated and priests ordained, the validity of Anglican Orders depends.[1]

Bale Demands the New Rite; His Consecration in Christ Church.

The Archbishopric of Armagh having been considered vacant by the flight of Dowdall, steps were taken to appoint a successor. It was considered that English divines, well

[1] After the death of Edward, and on the accession of Mary, in 1553, the Ordinal of 1552 was discarded, but on the accession of Elizabeth in 1558 it was restored. Additions were made in 1662 to the ordination and consecration rites. After the words "Take the Holy Ghost" were inserted "for the office and work of a priest (or bishop) in the Church of God now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands." But they were too late. The Ordinal of 1552 had continued until 1662 and the Anglican clergy are the creation of that Ordinal. The additions of 1662 could not alter what had taken place during those 110 years. Hence the Holy See, on consideration of the Edwardine rite of 1552, decreed in 1896 that the apostolic succession had ceased in Anglican orders. The essence of the priesthood, "the office and work of a priest," had been cut out by the Ordinal of 1552 for 110 years and could not be resuscitated.

educated in the new liturgy and ardent advocates of the " reform," would be the most suitable for vacant bishoprics, so that, by their influence and preaching, " the Gospel might be better propagated in that dark region." [1] Archbishop Cranmer, having been consulted, sent four names to the King for the Sees of Armagh and Ossory, but " he knew many others in England, that would be meet persons for those places, but very few that would be gladly persuaded to go thither." " For," says Strype, " it seems the English were never very fond of living in Ireland."

The end of all the negotiations as to the fittest persons for the vacancies was that Goodacre, " a wise and learned man," was appointed to Armagh, and Bale [2] to Ossory. Goodacre was well known to the Lady Elizabeth, and Bale, educated by the Carmelites and then at Oxford, " shook off the yoke of his former superstitious profession, and, as he expresses it, ' to throw off all marks of the beast, and according to the divine precept,' he married a faithful wife." [3]

The bishops-elect were to be consecrated in Christ Church, Dublin, on 2 February, 1553, by Archbishop Browne, assisted by the Bishop of Kildare, and of Down and Connor. But the consecration did not take place " without opposition from the popishly-inclined clergy." The opposition, it seems, took the form of an objection to the new form of consecration attached to the Second Book of Common Prayer which Bale insisted on. Although this book was the only authorised one

[1] Strype, i. 112, note.

[2] " John Bale was born 21 Nov., 1495, at Cove, a small village in Suffolk, near Dunwich. His parents being encumbered with a large family, young Bale was entered, at twelve years of age, in the monastery of Carmelites at Norwich; and thence was sent to Jesus College, Oxford. He was educated in the Romish religion, but afterwards, at the instigation of Lord Wentworth, turned Protestant. Of this conversion he has given us an account himself, in *Script. Brit. Cent., VIII, c. ult.* It exposed him to the persecution of the Romish clergy, against whom he was protected by Lord Cromwell, the favourite of Henry VIII. But that lord being dead, Bale was forced to retire into the Low Countries, where he resided eight years: during which time he wrote several pieces in the English tongue. He was recalled into England by Edward VI and obtained the living of Bishop's Stocke, in the county of Southampton. On 15 August, 1552, he was nominated by King Edward to the See of Ossory," of which advancement he gives an account, as well as of the " persecutions which induced him to withdraw " (*Voc. J. Bale, Harl. Misc.*, vi. 437, note. *Vide Biog. Brit.*).

[3] Mant, i. 217.

in England, and annexed to an Act of Parliament, yet it had not come into use in Ireland, nor was it sanctioned by the Irish Parliament. Moreover, it was not ordered by the King to be used in Ireland. In fact, it was not authorised by the Irish Parliament until the second year of Queen Elizabeth.

On the consecration morning, it is said that, at the instance of Lockwood, Dean of Christ's Church, Browne intended to use the Roman Pontifical for this occasion. In this, Lord Chancellor Cusack, a Protestant, concurred, and Goodacre also agreed.[1] Lockwood alleged "that it [use of new ordinal] would be an occasion of tumult, as well as that it wanted authority by the Irish laws." To this Bale, the elect of Ossory, objected that "if England and Ireland be under one King, they are both bound to the obedience of one law under him." He absolutely refused to be consecrated according to the old Pontifical. The Lord Chancellor was won over by Bale's pleading, and Browne yielded. And so the consecration was performed, "there being no tumult among the people, and every man, saving the priests, being well contented." [2]

Bale thus describes the incidents of his consecration day:—[3]

Upon the Purificacion daye of our Ladye, the lorde chancellour of Irelande, Sir Thomas Cusacke, our special good lorde and earnest ayder in all our proceedinges, appoynted us to be invested or consecrated (as they call it) by George, the archebishop of Dublyne, Thomas, the bishop of Kyldare, and Urbane, the bishop of Duno [Down], assistinge him. I will not here describe at large the subtyle conveyaunce of that greate epicure the archebishop, how he went about to diffarre the daye of our consecracion, that he might by that meanes have prevented me, in takinge up the proxyes [procurations] of my bishoprick to his owne glottonouse use, and in so deprivinge me of more than halfe my lyvinge for that yeare. As we were comminge fourth, to have receyved the imposicion of handes, accordynge to the ceremonye, Thomas Lockwode (*Blockheade* he myght wel be called) the deane of the cathedrall

[1] Mant, i. 219. Burnet, *Hist. of Reform*, Part II, Book I, p. 379. Ware's *Bishops*, 417. It did not occur to Browne or any of the other prelates that by the use of the new Ordinal they were breaking off the succession. To Bale belongs the credit or discredit, as the case may be, of being the first prelate in Ireland to break this succession, according to the papal decree of 1896.

[2] *Voc. John Bale.* [3] *Ib.*, 447.

church there, desired the lord-chancellour very instauntly, that he woulde in no wise permyt that observacion [observance, or ceremony] to be done after that boke of consecratinge bishoppes, which was last set fourth in England by acte of parlement; aleginge that it wolde be both an occasion of tumulte, and also that it was not as yet consented to by acte of their parlement in Irelande. For whie he muche feared the newe changed ordre of the communion therin, to hindre his kychin and bellye. The Lord Chancellour proponed this matter unto us. The archebishop consented thereunto, so ded the other 2 bishoppes. Maistre Goodaker wolde gladly it might have bene otherwise, but he wolde not at that time contende there with them.

When I see non other waye, I stepped fourth, and sayde, " If Englande and Irelande be undre one kinge, they are both bounde to the obedience of one lawe undre him. And as for us, we came hyther as true subjectes of his, sworne to obeye that ordinaunce. It was but a bishopprick (I sayde) that I came thydre to receive that daye; which I coulde be better contented to treade undre my fote there, than to breake from that promyse or othe [oath] that I had made. I bad them, in the ende, sett all their heartes at rest; for, came I ones [once] to the churche of Ossorie, I wolde execute nothinge for my part there, but according to the rules of that lattre boke." With that the lorde chancellour right honourably commaunded the ceremonie to be done after the boke. Then went the asseheaded deane awaie, more than halfe confused; neyther folowed there any tumulte amonge the people, but every man, savinge the prestes, was wele contented. Than [then] went the archebishop about that observacion, very unsauerly [unsavourly] and as one not muche exercised in that kinde of doynge, specially in the administracion of the Lorde's holy supper. In the ende, the lorde chancellour made to us and to our frendes a most frendly diner, to save us from exceedinge charges, which otherwise we had bene at that day.

It is very interesting to note Bale's remark that Browne seemed to be quite a stranger to the new ceremony of Communion. If we can trust Bale, it may be inferred that Browne had ceased to trouble himself about Communion in any shape or form. And again, if we are to believe Bale, Browne's love of money was the cause of his seeking to postpone the consecration or installation ceremony. The procurations or episcopal taxes, on occasion of episcopal visitation, from the clergy of the diocese of Ossory were then due, and Browne,

as metropolitan of the province of Leinster, was entitled to them during vacancy of the See. According to Bale, the right of the elect to such procurations began with the ceremony of consecration.

Bale's description of the ceremony is in his usual contemptuous, vituperative style. He was not particular in the nature or in the manner of his statements.

Another contention arose, evidently in the middle of the ceremony, when the Sacrament or Lord's Supper was about to be administered. Bale refused to "communicate in the wafer or printed bread, but caused a white manchet to be set on the altar." In the First Book of Common Prayer of 1549, which came into use in Ireland in 1551, a rubric for Holy Communion says: "For avoiding of all matters and occasions of dissension, it is meet that the bread prepared for the Communion be made through all this realm after one sort and fashion; that is to say, unleavened and round, as it was before, but without all manner of print, and something more large and thicker than it was, so that it may be aptly divided in divers pieces; and everyone shall be divided into two pieces at the least, or more, by the discretion of the minister, and so distributed." With these differences the host for Mass or Communion was the same as formerly. But the Second Book of Common Prayer of 1552, which Bale had evidently taken the oath in England to observe, decreed: "It shall suffice that the bread is such as is usual to be eaten at the table with other meats, but the best and purest wheat-bread that conveniently may be gotten." The "white manchet" was thus a white loaf of leavened bread, and evidently provided by Bale for the occasion.

Bale's appeal for the new Ordinal and the new form of bread must have come as a shock to Browne and the others who wished to use the Roman Pontifical. But how Browne could consistently use that book, with his own "reform" ideas of the Mass, and considering the many ceremonies laid down in it with which he had ceased to agree, is a matter that must baffle many historians.

As to the vestments used on the occasion: Browne and his assistants were vested in white albs and copes, with their pastoral staves in their hands, according to the Ordinal of

1550, but Bale simply wore a rochet, according to the regulations of the Second Book of 1552, which discarded albs, copes, and staves.

Clergy and People Despise the New Liturgy.

To the priests who may have kept silent as to the innovations of the First Prayer Book, whilst in reality they continued the old Roman usage, it must have come as a shock when Bale insisted on the Second Prayer Book (Bale said that they were not content). It may be useful to remark here that this book is a combination of four of the old liturgical books, viz. Breviary, Missal, Pontifical, and Ritual.

The priests had evidently ceased altogether to preach to their people in church, as they refused to preach the " reform." A complaint on this lack of preaching is made in a letter of Lord Chancellor Cusack, 8 May, 1552. He laments the state of the poor people and their inability to know their duty " to God and to the King, when they shall not hear teaching or preaching through all the year." But if they had preachers appointed amongst them, " it is like they would be good subjects." [1]

Bale, however, took his office very seriously, and, with all his force, sought to impose the " reform." In his cathedral at Kilkenny he preached the new gospel, but met with great opposition from his prebendaries and people.[2] Even Mant [3] admits that " the principles, indeed, and practices of the Reformation appear to have taken very faint hold of the minds of the people at this period." Mant continues: " Even where the provisions of the English liturgy were avowedly adopted, they were corrupted by an intermixture of Romish superstitions." According to Bale the Holy Communion of the Lord's Supper was " used like a Popish Mass, with the old apish toys of anti-Christ, in bowings and beckings, kneelings and knockings; the Lord's death, after St. Paul's doctrine,

[1] *MSS. T.C.D.* F. 3, 16, p. 70.

[2] Even in England the imposition of the Second Book met with strenuous opposition.

[3] *Ch. Hist. of Ir.*, i. 223. Bale " afterwards preached twelve strong Protestant sermons in Dublin, insisting particularly on the marriage of priests; and he flattered himself that he had established the people ' in the doctrines of repentance, and necessary belief in the gospel ' " (Bagwell, i. 380).

neither preached, nor yet spoken of." So that even where the bishop of a diocese had adopted the Book of Common Prayer, the priests said their Mass as of old and the people continued to hear it, and those priests who used the Common Prayer introduced into it some of the Roman Mass.

Unfortunately, we have practically no positive information as to what clergy in the Dublin diocese, no more than in any other diocese, adopted the Common Prayer. But if we are to trust Bale, we find, according to his own words, that when he came to Dublin, shortly after his appearance in Kilkenny, he was, with Goodacre, welcomed, and "much of the people did greatly rejoice of our coming thither, thinking by our preachings the Pope's superstitions would diminish, and the true Christian religion increase." [1] What "much" represents we do not know. But we may take Bale's statements with a grain of salt.

Bale's admissions throw light on the state of the Church at the time in Ireland, and, indirectly on the Church in Dublin, as there is no reason to believe that Dublin was much different from Kilkenny in this matter. They are, therefore, useful to our present consideration. He states that he preached that the people were to trust in no man's prayers, or merits, but only in Christ's,[2] "the right invocation of God,"

and helpers I found none among my prebendaries and clergy, but adversaries a great number. . . . But when once I sought to destroy the idolatries, and dissolve the hypocrites' yokes, then followed angers, slanders, conspiracies, and, in the end, the slaughter

[1] *Harl. Misc.*, vi. 411-12. At Waterford, Bale was shocked at the people's wailings over the dead, "as if the redemption by Christ's passion were not sufficient to procure quiet for the souls of the deceased, and to deliver them out of hell without these 'sorrowful sorceries'" (Mant, i. 223).

[2] As in the case of the Book of Common Prayer, the other confession of the faith of the Anglican Church, the Thirty-nine Articles, can also be traced to Cranmer. As early as 1549 he had drawn up a list of tenets which every preacher had to sign before receiving licence to preach. There were originally forty-five of these, then forty-two, and finally thirty-nine. King Edward VI signed forty-two Articles on 12 June, 1553. They formed a mixture of Lutheran, Zwinglian, and Calvinistic doctrinal propositions, with a trace of Catholicism running through them, the chief point being the Protestant principle that the Bible is the sole rule of faith. The doctrine of justification was presented in the Lutheran sense, that of communion in the Calvinistic sense. The royal supremacy over the Church was enjoined in the widest sense of the word (Müller, *Die Bekenntnisschriften der reformierten Kirche*, 505 seqq., Leipsic, 1903).

of men. Much ado I had with the priests: for that I had said among other, that the white gods [the Sacred Host] of their making, such as they offered to the people to be worshipped, were no gods, but idols; and that their prayers for the dead procured no redemption to the souls departed, redemption of souls being only in Christ, of Christ, and by Christ. I added that their office, by Christ's straight commandment, was chiefly to preach and instruct the people in the doctrine and ways of God, and not to occupy so much of the time in chaunting, piping, and singing.

The people had been instructed " in the doctrine of God," but Bale's interpretation of it differed from that of the priests and people. It did not, presumably, occur to Bale that the priests were as competent to know what was the doctrine of God as he was. His reference to the " chanting " of the priests would receive little support from present-day worshippers, say, in Westminster Abbey. Bale then speaks of the marriage of the clergy :—

Much were the priests offended also, for that I had in my preachings willed them to have wives of their own, and to leave the unshamefaced occupying of other men's wives, daughters, and servants. But hear what answer they made me always, yea, the most vicious among them: " What! should we marry," said they, " for half a year, and so lose our livings? " . . . Well, the truth is, I could never yet, by any godly or honest persuasion, bring any of them to marriage; neither yet cause them [1] . . . to leave that filthy and abominable occupying, what though I most earnestly laboured it. But since that time, I have considered, by the judgment of the Scriptures, that the impenitent idolator must therewith be also a filthy adulterer or most detestable Sodomite.

Death of Edward VI—People's Rejoicings.

Bale had scarcely been six months in office when Edward VI died, 6 July, 1553. The news had evidently not reached Kilkenny until more than a fortnight afterwards, namely, on 25 July. The people at once took it for granted that this event marked the end of the " reform " movement, as they expected Mary to be Queen and knew her to be an ardent

[1] We prefer to omit here a sample of Bale's obscene language: it does not affect the subject under consideration.

Catholic. Bale describes the scene, on the arrival of the news at Kilkenny, in his own scurrilous fashion. Prescinding from his phraseology, his facts are interesting and reveal the conditions of the time. Had we such a document written by Browne about Dublin we should be in a better position to get an intimate view of religion in Dublin at this period.[1] Here is what Bale says of 25 July at Kilkenny :—[2]

The priests were as pleasantly disposed as might be, and went by heapes from tavern to tavern, to seek the best *rob davye* and *aqua vitae*, which are their special drinks there. They caused all their cups to be filled in, with *gaudeamus in dolio ;* the mystery thereof only known to them, and, at that time, to none other else. Which was, that King Edward was dead, and that they were in hope to have up their masking masses again. . . . The next day following, a very wicked justice called Thomas Hothe [Howth], with the Lord Mountgarret, resorted to the cathedral church, requiring to have a communion, in the honour of S. Anne.[3] Mark the blasphemous blindness and wilful obstinacy of this beastly papist. The priests made him answer, "That I had forbidden them that celebration, saving only upon the Sundays;" as I had, indeed; for the abominable idolatries that I had seen therein. "I discharge you (saith he) of obedience to your bishop in this point, and command you to do as ye have done heretofore;" which was to make of Christ's holy communion an idolatrous mass, and to suffer it to serve for the dead, clean contrary to the Christian use of the same.

Thus was the wicked justice not only a idolator of Christ's institution, but also a contemner of his prince's earnest commandment, and a provoker of the people, by his ungracious example, to do the like. . . . The priests thus rejoicing that the king was dead, and that they had been that day confirmed in their super-

[1] The following notice of the O'Byrnes at this time is worth recording. It is contained in a letter from Sir Thomas Cusack, Chancellor, to the Duke of Northumberland, the Lord Protector, on 8 May, 1553 :—

"The Byrnes and such other of Irish sort dwelling in the rest of Leinster and next to the Kevenaghs be of honest conformity, and payeth no rent to the King's Majesty, but beareth six score galloglasse one quarter yearly, yielding to every of them 4d. sterling by the day, and beeth able to make 80 horsemen with many footmen within their country, being men alway ready to stand to good order at the appointment of my Lord Deputy and Council, so as they be men of honest conformity" (*Car. Cal.*). Thus, up to the end of Edward's reign, the O'Tooles and the O'Byrnes still remained loyal to the English King.

[2] *Harl. Misc.*, vi. 449.

[3] St. Anne's feast day was next day, 26 July.

stitious obstinacy, resorted to the aforesaid false justice the same night at supper, to gratify him with *rob davye* and *aqua vitae;* for that he had been so friendly unto them, and that he might still continue in the same.

What truth there is in Bale's charges against the clergy of Ossory, we have no means of knowing. Isolated examples, if there were indeed any, may have induced him, in his temper of the time, to fashion them into a general accusation. But the action of Justice Howth and the revival of the Mass, on this occasion, in public, are worthy of note. The opposition to the English liturgy caused Bale further lamentations :—

Another thing was there, that much had displeased the prebendaries and other priests. I had earnestly, ever since my first coming, required them to observe and follow that only Book of Common Prayer, which the King and his council had that year put forth by Act of Parliament. But that would they at no hand obey; alleging, for their vain and idle excuse, the lewd example of the Archbishop of Dublin, which was always slack in things pertaining to God's glory: alleging also, the want of books, and that their own justices and lawyers had not consented thereunto; as though it had been lawful for their justices to have denied the same, or as though they had rather have hanged upon them, than upon the king's authority, and commandment of his council.

Even Mant[1] admits that Bale, "with an uncommon warmth of temperament, allowed himself in the use of an unbecoming coarseness, and even grossness, of expression, in speaking of those who had incurred his displeasure." As to his accusation against Browne for not using the Second Book of Common Prayer, it must be said that he is unfair to him. Browne, like the other bishops who favoured the "reform," had received the First Book of Common Prayer, for use in the King's realms, but he had not received the Second Book, which was neither ordered by the King for Ireland, nor had the Irish Parliament adopted it. Cusack, one of the Lords Justices of the kingdom of Ireland, had sanctioned its use at Bale's consecration, though he at first was not in favour of it, but it was not an official act. His partner in the government of Ireland, Aylmer, had not

[1] *Ch. Hist. of Ir.*, i. 226.

sanctioned it. So that Browne was standing on his legal right, and was evidently still using the First Book of Common Prayer.

As to Browne's "lewd" or ignorant example having any effect on the clergy, no doubt the priests of Ossory put it up to Bale as an *argumentum ad hominem*, not that they cared one way or another what Browne did. They were loyal to the Mass as they had always celebrated it. Browne had married, but that did not induce them to marry. What effect his marriage had on the Dublin clergy, we have no information to judge. Basnet, former Dean of St. Patrick's, and Rawson, are the only ones about whom we have definite facts. Some of the Dublin clergy were afterwards deposed by Mary, but the reason was not given. However, it seems quite probable that it was because they had married.

The following statement of Harpsfield regarding the marriages of clergy and bishops at this time may be true or false, but it shows what could be said by a contemporary. It should be remembered that Harpsfield was Archdeacon of Canterbury. "Against these kind of marriages, and maintenance of the same, King Henry, in his latter days, made very stern laws, whereupon many so married put over their women to their servants and other friends, who kept them at bed and board as their own wives. And after the death of King Henry they received them again (as love money) with usury; that is, the children in the mean season begotten by the said friends, whom they took, called and brought up as their own, as it was well known, as well in other as in Browne, Archbishop of Dublin. It would not pity a man at the heart to hear of the naughty and dissolute life of those yoked [married] priests." [1] Browne is thus specially mentioned in connection with this practice. Whatever truth is in the latter part of the statement, at all events the former portion bears out our view that Browne married during Henry's reign, probably following Cranmer's example.

Not much had been achieved in Ireland by the English Government in the way of "reform" during Edward's reign of six years. The intractable temper of the people probably

[1] See Bagwell, i. 383.

induced them to act with prudence. The sum total of the " reform " was, therefore, the maintenance of the King's Supremacy, the appointment of the King's nominees, some of them married men, to Irish Sees, and the introduction of the liturgy in English, with a move towards having it translated into Irish. The suppression of religious houses cannot be looked upon as a real step in the " reform," for it was undertaken for the patent purpose of supplying the King with funds for his wars and his amours. Moreover, the Second Prayer Book cannot be said to have influenced the people of the Pale to any appreciable extent. In other words, as is admitted by Protestant historians, the " reform " was a decided failure in this country. Mary's accession defeated, for the time being, any hope of success that was expected from the issue of the Second Book of Common Prayer.

PART IV.

COUNTER "REFORM."

Queen Mary's Difficulties.

The history of the "reform" movement in Dublin is not complete unless is shown the reaction during the reign of Mary. This reaction helps to show in their true light the mind and the spirit of the people during the period of change. Moreover, it is useful to follow the fortunes of the "reformers" under the new regime, and, above all, to see what happened to the bishops who had temporarily accepted the Supremacy, even though they may have resisted other doctrinal innovations.

When, on 6 July, 1553, Edward VI died, the carefully-planned work of ecclesiastical revolution seemed as if it would again fall to pieces, for Mary, the Catholic, succeeded in ousting her rival, Lady Jane Grey, and was proclaimed Queen in London on 19th of the same month amid the joyful acclamations of her people.[1]

The first acts of Mary's reign bore the stamp of that mildness which she everywhere displayed when she acted according to her own judgment, and followed the dictates of her own heart.[2]

Only seven of the conspirators against her were brought before the courts, and only three were executed. She would willingly have pardoned even Northumberland, if her Council had not opposed her, and Lady Jane Grey found a defender in her.[3] Northumberland on the scaffold declared himself a Catholic, and attributed all the troubles of recent years to the breach with the Church.[4]

[1] Brosch, *Geschichte Englands*, vi. 415.
[2] Pastor, *Hist. of the Popes*, xiii. 246.
[3] Lingard, *Hist. of Eng.*, vii. 126-8.
[4] See *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, xvii. 110.

On 13 August a decree declared that the Queen did not wish to force anyone's conscience, but to convert the people by the preaching of learned men. "That this was Mary's sincere intention at the outset of her reign, there is no reason to doubt." [1] The Queen desired that everyone should be of her religion, but no force would be used until a final decision was arrived at. She was satisfied in the meantime by repealing various measures of the time of Edward VI, the legality of which she had never acknowledged.

Although the Latin Mass was celebrated in several London churches, at the wish of the congregations, it was not regularly celebrated until the decision of Parliament was promulgated on 21 December.[2]

She had two "Masses" offered for the deceased King, one according to the Book of Common Prayer and the other according to the Latin Rite.[3]

[1] Gairdner, p. 318. Many Protestant historians cannot understand why Mary should have taken up a different attitude towards religion from that of her brother Edward. They deny to Mary the freedom they grant to Edward. They write as if Acts of Parliament were so sacrosanct that they could not be repealed. They forget that what Edward did was an innovation in the history of religion in those countries. And because Mary, with a perfect right to do so, with the consent of Parliament, thought well to restore the faith of the ancients, they consider no words too harsh to throw at her. A sample of such an historian is Robert Ware. In his "Life of Browne" (p. 16, *Harl. Misc.*, v. 602), he says, "that Mary was voted Queen, upon the proposals and promises which she made to the council, to confirm all that had been perfected by her father King Henry the Eighth, and her brother King Edward, and his honoured council. After she had been crowned and inthroned, she, for the space of three or four months, seemed moderate to the Protestant reformers, yet all that while combined with Rome and her emissaries; but having accomplished her designs, she revoked her fair promises (which with Papists is a rule) esteeming it no sin to break contracts or covenants with hereticks and Protestants, numbered with such sort of people, especially with Papists, these promises vanished; and then began the Romish Church not only to undo what king Henry, and his son king Edward had reformed, but to prosecute the reformers and reformed with fir and faggot. But to our purpose." . . . Edward's father, Henry, had burned a Protestant on Monday and a Papist on Tuesday, not to speak of the officials who had differed from him and who went to the block. As to Mary's combining with Rome during the first months of her reign, we shall see in our text what really occurred.

[2] Gairdner, pp. 319-20.

[3] "fece celebrar due Messe, l'una al modo inglese e l'altra al modo romano" (*ap.* Pastor, xiii. 247, note). The Siennese ambassador in France, Bishop Claudio Tolomei, who wrote this, 31 Aug., 1553, recognised in these acts of Mary the first sign that she wished to put an end to the schism. Charles V considered the Mass said for Edward VI to have been a mistake on the part of the Queen. At all events, it showed absence of bigotry on her part.

The foreign Protestants left the country provided with passports, as did Vermigli and the French Protestants in London to whom a special permission to leave was given.[1] Cranmer remained confined to his palace till insulting letters from his pen against the Holy Mass were publicly read in the streets. Until the opening of Parliament in December, nothing had so far been said of the reconciliation of England with the Holy See. When Pope Julius III learned on 5 August, 1553, of Mary's victory and accession to the throne, he wept for joy. Pole, who received the news in the Benedictine Abbey of Maguzzano, on Lake Garda, a day later than the Pope, sent a congratulation to Julius, informing him that everything good was to be hoped for from the new Queen, and that a more remarkable dispensation of Providence had not been experienced for many centuries.[2] He believed that Mary would easily be persuaded to return to allegiance to Rome. For many others, however, the restoration of the Church property which had been seized, would prove a stumbling block; in his opinion, the whole difficulty lay precisely in this point. He advised the Pope, through his legates, to cause the other sovereigns to take steps to approach Mary. If she agreed to the sending of a papal legate, then everything was gained. Julius, anticipating the proposals of the English Cardinal, and before the latter's messenger arrived in Rome, sent a papal envoy to him with a brief appointing him papal legate to the new Queen.[3]

Pole was urged on all sides not to start for England for some time, and he applied to Dandino, nuncio in Brussels, for information as to religious conditions in England. Dandino, anticipating this request, had sent Commendone to England who obtained an audience with the Queen. He found her filled with the best will to restore her country to the Church, but she was prevented from doing so by the feeling of the people, who, for the most part, cherished a deadly hatred for the Holy See, by the self-interest of the many who had taken possession of the property of the Church and who sat among her councillors, and by the influence of her "heretical and

[1] Gairdner, p. 321.
[2] Letter to Duchess of Mantua, 12 Sept., 1553 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).
[3] MS. Corsini Library, Rome.

schismatical" sister, Elizabeth, whom her father had preferred to the rightful Queen, and "whose name was in the heart and mouth of everybody." For all these reasons Mary wished that proceedings should be conducted with the greatest caution; no one was to know that there was any understanding between her and the Holy See.[1]

The question of Church property was a matter of great importance also from the point of view of the lower classes. Since Church property fell into the hands of laymen the people in England had been freed from the duty of paying tithes. It seemed natural then that they would oppose a reversion to the old order.

Mary considered the presence of a legate in England impossible for the present. She declared that she would give the half of her kingdom to have a legate in the country, but that the "heretics" were capable of anything when irritated, and that drastic measures were out of the question. She then repeated a previous request that permission should be given to hold regular Church services in England, even before the interdict and censures against the country were removed. She especially wished to have a High Mass celebrated as of old at her approaching coronation, which could not be deferred. Pole contented himself by absolving Mary herself, and repeated his request that he might be allowed to return to his own country before the opening of the first Parliament.[2]

Mary was crowned on 1 October, 1553, and on the 5th Parliament began its sittings. Before its opening she, with all the members of both Houses, had, in accordance with the ancient custom, been present at the Mass of the Holy Ghost. There were two questions, above all others, which she wished to have settled by her first Parliament; the validity of her mother's (Catherine of Aragon) marriage, and the ecclesiastical problem. As far as the latter was concerned the repudiation of the little-loved liturgy of the Book of Common Prayer, and the return to the old form of service, offered little difficulty, but the submission to the Papal See was another matter. For thirty years preachers had been inveighing against the Pope, and the return to his authority seemed inextricably bound up with the restitution of Church property.[3]

[1] Pastor, xiii. 252. [2] *Ib.*, 253. [3] *Ib.*, 254.

In the Upper House there was no opposition to the Bills laid before it, but in the Lower House every attempt to establish the papal authority was viewed with suspicion and violently opposed. The Lower House, wrote the Queen on 28 October to Pole, could never be reconciled to the idea that the Crown should renounce the title of Head of the Church. She herself resolved that she would never, on any conditions, make use of such a title. After careful manœuvring, the Bill to abolish all the religious laws issued under Edward VI was finally accepted on 8 November. By this, it is true, the Catholic Church was not re-established, but Calvinism was abolished.

After this came the question of Mary's marriage, the intrigue of the Emperor Charles V, and his proposal of his son Philip of Spain as a bridegroom, the unrest of the people for fear of foreign mastery, the wise precautions of Bishop Gardiner, the Chancellor, against foreigners, Mary's choice of Philip as a husband, but likewise her royal word to remain single if her choice did not meet with the approval of Parliament, the rebellion of Sir Thomas Wyatt, his march on London, the courageous stand of the Queen, and the failure of Wyatt. Wyatt's insurrection "was in truth an heretical conspiracy with a political pretext." [1] In Kent, Wyatt said to an adherent, who expressed the hope that he would establish religion: "Hush! the word religion must not be mentioned, for that would turn the hearts of many away from us. You must only complain of the inundation of foreigners. But, in confidence, I shall tell you as a friend, we mean in reality only the establishment of God's word."

The rising of Wyatt forms a landmark in the reign of Mary. Recent events, and especially the rising of the Duke of Suffolk, came as a clear proof of ingratitude. Mary resolved henceforth to take stern measures. And she did. Fifty of her soldiers who deserted were hanged, as well as six of the rebels in Kent. Four of the ringleaders were sent to the scaffold. These punishments could scarcely be quoted as a proof of undue severity, but it must be regretted that Mary allowed herself to be persuaded into abandoning her former

[1] Gairdner, p. 330.

attitude of clemency towards Lady Jane Grey and her husband.[1]

Such was the state of affairs in England in the early days of Mary's reign. A glance at Ireland is now due.

The Mass Restored.

Sir Thomas Cusack, Lord Chancellor, and Gerald Aylmer, Lord Chief Justice, being Lords Justices of Ireland, the Council of England (20 July) sent them an account of the succession of Queen Mary, together with a proclamation wherein she was styled "Supreme Head of the Churches of England and Ireland." This proclamation was read in Dublin and in other cities and towns of Ireland according to the usual custom. Liberty to attend Mass was thereby granted to all who wished to do so, without compelling any who were unwilling.

It is not drawing too much on one's imagination to picture the joyful reception that this proclamation must have received throughout Ireland from the clergy and people who had refused to adopt the English liturgy. It was a natural consequence, which one would fully expect. Though there is little information available on the subject, the description given by Bale, when shorn of personal opinions and abuse, is a specimen of what presumably occurred in many places. He says :—[2]

On the 20th day of August, was the Lady Mary with us at Kilkenny proclaimed queen of England, France, and Ireland, with the greatest solemnity that could be devised, of processions, musters, and disguisings,[3] all the noble captains and gentlemen thereabout being present. What ado I had that day with the prebendaries and priests, about wearing the cope, crosier, and mitre, in procession, it were too much to write.[4] . . . I told them earnestly, when they would have compelled me thereto, that I was not Moses' minister, but Christ's. I desired them not to compel me to his denial, which is, St. Paul saith, in the repeating of

[1] Gairdner, p. 330. *Cf.* Pole in Brown, V, no. 854, p. 461, and the suggestions in Lingard, 153-8. *Ap.* Pastor, xiii. 265.

[2] *Harl. Misc.*, vi. 450. *Vocacyon of Johan Bale to the Bishoprick.* (Printed in Rome, before the Castell of St. Angell, at the Signe of St. Peter, in Dec., 1553.)

[3] Evidently he means pageants.

[4] The priests evidently wished Bale to come out and join in the procession dressed in full pontificals.

Moses' sacraments and ceremonial shadows (Gal. v.). With that I took Christ's testament in my hand, and went to the market cross, the people in great number following. There took I the 13th chapter of St. Paul to the Romans, declaring to them briefly what the authority was of the worldly powers and magistrates, what reverence and obedience were due to the same. In the meantime had the prelates [i.e. dignitaries] gotten two disguised priests, one to bear the mitre afore me, and another the crosier, making three procession pageants of one.

The young men in the forenoon played a tragedy of God's promises in the old law,[1] at the market cross. On the Thursday next following, which was St. Bartholomew's day, I preached again among them; because the prebendaries and other priests there had made their boasts, that I should be compelled to recant all that I had preached afore; and, as I was entered into the pulpit, I took this saying of S. Paul for my theme . . . "I am not ashamed of the Gospel," etc. (Rom. i.). [He then mentions the Protestant doctrines that he preached, and continues]:

The same day, I dined with the mayor of the town, whom they name their suffren [sovereign], called Robert Shea, a man sober, wise, and godly; which is a rare thing in that land. In the end of our dinner certain priests resorted, and began very hotly to dispute with me concerning their purgatory and suffrages for the dead; and as I had alleged the Scriptures proving Christ's sufficiency for the soul's discharge afore God, without their dirty deservings; they brought forth, as seemed to them, contrary allegations, that there should appear no truth in those scriptures . . .

The next day I departed from thence, and went home with my company to Holmes Court again. Where as I had knowledge the next day following, that the priests of my diocese, specially one Sir Richard Routhe, treasurer, with organ, plainges, and songs, very aptly. In the afternoon again they played a comedy of St. John the Baptist's preachings, of Christ's baptising, and of his temptations in the wilderness,[2] to the small contentation of the priests and other papists there.

On Thursday, the last day of August, I being absent, the clergy of Kilkenny blasphemously resumed again the whole Papism, or heap of superstitions of the Bishop of Rome: to the utter contempt of Christ, and his holy word, of the king and council of England, and of all ecclesiastical and politick order, without either statute or yet proclamation.[3] They rang all the bells in

[1] One of the mystery plays. [2] Mystery plays.

[3] Bale conveniently ignores the proclamation at Dublin by the Lords Justices at the command of the English Council granting freedom of religion.

that cathedral, minster, and parish churches; they flung up their caps to the battlements of the great temple, with smilings and laughings most dissolutely; they brought forth their copes, candlesticks, holy water stocks, crosses, and censers; they mustered forth in general procession most gorgeously all the town over, with "Sancta Maria, Ora pro nobis," and the rest of the Latin Litany. They chattered it, they chaunted it with great noise and devotion; they banquetted all the day after, for that they were delivered from the grace of God into a warm sun.

He relates how his servants were murdered, and how he was liberated by the mayor from the hands of the "murderers." He remained in the town of Kilkenny for some days, and—

chanced to hear of many secret mutterings, that the priests would not so leave me, but were still conspiring my death. It was also noised abroad, by the Bishop of Galway, and others; that the Antichrist of Rome should be taken again for the supreme head of the church of Ireland. And, to declare a contemptuous change from religion to superstition again, the priests had suddenly set up all the altars and images in the cathedral church of the church of Kilkenny; and one Sir James Joys, a familiar chaplain of mine; by the help of one Barnaby Bolgar, my next neighbour and my tenant, at the said Holmes Court, had hired certain kearns of the Lord Mountgarret, and of the Baron of Upper Ossory, whom they knew to be most desperate thieves and murderers, to slay me. And I am in full belief, that this was not all without their knowledge also; for so much as they were so desirous of my lands in diverse quarters, and could neither obtain them by their own importunate suits, nor yet by the friendship of others.

Beholding therefore so many inconveniences to ensue, and so many dangers towards, having also (which was worst of all) no English deputy or governor within the land to complain to for remedy, I shook the dust off my feet against those wicked *colligyners* and priests, according to Christ's commandment, *Math.* 10, that it might stand against them as a witness at the day of judgment. The next day, early in the morning, by help of friends, I conveyed myself away to the castle of Lechlin, and so forth to the city of Dublin, where as I, for a certain time, among friends remained.

Bale's Bitter Satire on Browne.

Having fled from Kilkenny, Bale reached Dublin and evidently expected Browne to give him hospitality and protect him from the jeers and perhaps threats of the people.

But Browne, as usual, obeyed the powers that be, thinking only of currying favour and of retaining his post. Accordingly, he did not welcome Bale's visit, and probably refused him permission to preach in his cathedral. This treatment drew from Bale a scurrilous satire on Browne. He declares :—[1]

As the epicurous archbishop had knowledge of my being there, he made boast upon his ale bench, with the cup in his hand (as I heard the tale told) that I should, for no man's pleasure, preach in that city of his. But this needed not: for I thought nothing less at that time, than to pour out the precious pearls of the Gospel afore so brokish a swine as he was; becoming then, of a dissembling proselyte, a very pernicious papist. And as touching learning, whereof he much boasted among his cups, I know none that he hath so perfectly exercised as he hath the known practices of Sardinapalus; [2] for his preachings twice in the year, of the ploughman in winter, by *exit qui seminat;* and of the shepherd in summer, by *ego sum pastor bonus;* are now so well known by rot [rote] of every gossip in Dublin, that afore he cometh up into the pulpit, they can tell his sermon. And as for his wife, if the marriage of priests endureth not, he hath already provided his old shift of conveyance, by one of his servants. But I wold wish, that, among other studies, he remembered old Debethes at London, for surgery's, for the wise there is yet some money to be paid, and an Irish hobby [3] also by promise.

About three years ago, he made interpellation to the king, in his Lent sermon, for his daughter Ireland; but now he commandeth her to go a whoring again, and to follow the same devil she followed afore; for that he did then, was but only to serve the time.

He needed little than to have accused Sir Anthony Sellenger [St. Leger] of treason, if ye mark him well now; but that he thought

[1] *Harl. Misc.*, vi. 454.

[2] Sardanapalus, or Ashurbanipal, King of Assyria from 668 to 626 B.C. He united Babylonia to Assyria, and was one of the last Kings of Assyria, Nineveh falling in 607 B.C. He is said to have set fire to his own palace and perished in the flames. His renown in the modern world rests upon his patronage of literature rather than upon his victories, which, however, made his name under the form of Sardanapalus. He founded in his palace at Nineveh a library of cuneiform tablets, which contained copies of all the Babylonian literary productions and old inscriptions which his emissaries were able to discover during a prolonged search through the ancient cities and temples of the land. We owe to the remains of this great library, which have now been recovered and are preserved in the British Museum, almost all our knowledge of Babylonian literature and of many valuable documents of which the originals are lost.

[3] A small falcon, with very long wings, formerly flown at small game.

by such conveyance to win estimation, and to obtain the high primacy of Ireland, from the archbishopric of Armagh, as he did indeed. Full well bestowed. Such dissembling gluttons, and swinish papists, are a sore plague to that land, which, for their wicked bellies, make the people believe, that sour is sweet, and darkness light; with their altars, masses, and images.

Comparing himself to St. Paul, Bale says :—

I, in the cytie of Dubline, being assaulted of Papistes, was convayed awaye in the nyght in mariner's apparell, and so escaped that daunger by God's helpe.[1]

A few points in Bale's denunciation of Browne need our attention. He calls Browne another Sardanapalus. The latter had ransacked the libraries of the East and acquired great renown for the library he set up in Niniveh. Bale evidently means that Browne had undertaken similar expeditions in his diocese and had probably gathered together a great number of the ancient books of the diocese and was posing as a learned man. It is a matter of extreme regret that so many of our ancient MSS. of the diocese have disappeared. Archbishop Alen had done noble work in collecting many and in transcribing them into his register. It would be interesting to know if Browne, when he was deposed, carried off any of them. The reference to Browne as Sardanapalus gives us new light on his activities.

Browne as a biannual preacher confirms the truth of the accusation made against him on more than one occasion by Henry VIII and others. The picture of Browne preaching the same two sermons year after year, which everyone knew by heart, is quaint. We know, however, that occasionally he chose other topics.

Bale's statement about Browne's treatment of his wife is more serious, if it be true. But it is only what we should expect of Browne, in his anxiety to please the powers that be. It appears that Browne, expecting that Mary would not

[1] *Harl. Misc.*, vi. 437. He spent some years on the Continent, and, on the accession of Queen Elizabeth, he returned to England, but not to his bishopric in Ireland, contenting himself with a prebend in the cathedral church of Canterbury, to which he was promoted, 15 Jan., 1560. He died in Nov., 1563, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, at Canterbury, and was buried in the cathedral (*Biog. Brit.*, i. 533).

recognise married priests and would almost certainly depose them, drew up a document by which his wife might be dismissed, which document he evidently sent to the lady by one of his servants.[1]

Bale attributes Browne's accusations against Sentleger to his desire of gaining esteem and of obtaining the title and emoluments of Primacy of All Ireland. That charge is justified. Although Bale besmears his account with gross language, he gives us a unique picture of the turn of the tide in religious affairs in Ireland on the accession of Mary, and a delineation of Browne's character which is in keeping with the references to him by other men of the period.

Reconciliation with Rome.

Since her victory over the rebels, and the increased respect shown for the Crown, Mary had been encouraged to take further steps towards a Catholic restoration. In 1549, eleven-twelfths of England was Catholic at heart. The country people still clung firmly to the old religion in 1553, and it was only the people of London who were hardened in their "heresy." [2] It was especially from two classes of the population that Mary feared resistance; first, from the lowest orders, who had been the most influenced by the foreign preachers and who gave vent to their hatred in the most crude manner; and secondly, from the wealthy and noble class who wished to hear of no restoration because they feared that they would be forced to restore the Church property. From these, however, there was less opposition to a Catholic restoration on the ground of any religious conviction.[3] In the confusion of constantly-changing doctrines and confessions of faith, they had for the most part lost all hold on religion, and were ready at the word of the Government to accept almost any doctrine.[4]

Though the Mass had been re-established by Act of Parliament in December, 1553, several measures of 1554 related to

[1] It may be asked: did Browne repudiate his wife in the same fashion as he did in the latter part of Henry's reign, according to the suggestion of Harpsfield?

[2] Lingard, *Hist. of Eng. ad an.* Pastor, xiii. 270.

[3] *Ib.*, 271.

[4] Lingard, p. 175.

the restoration of the old form of worship.[1] On 21 March, 1554, an ordinance of the Council ordered the nobility of the country districts to erect altars in their village churches within fourteen days.[2]

Mary's principal care was directed to bringing about a thorough reform of the clergy, and on 1 March, 1554, measures were taken against married clergy. As the ecclesiastical edicts of Edward VI had already been repealed by Mary's first Parliament, the old law of the Church, which allows of no married priesthood, again came into force, and the Government considered that it was, therefore, justified in expelling them.[3]

It was another matter when it came to a question of appointing new bishops in the place of those who had been removed, as, for this, it was necessary to have the sanction of the Pope. In a letter of 24 February, 1554, Mary laid the matter before Pole, and thus, for the first time after his long period of waiting, Pole was called upon to act in his official capacity as papal legate.[4] Pole received Mary's letter in France. He was unable to satisfy the Queen's wishes until there was a reconciliation of the kingdom with the Holy See. At Pole's request, Julius III sent him a brief, 8 March, giving him the full authority required for the consecration of the bishops. A few days after the opening of Parliament, Mary wrote a letter with her own hand (7 April) begging the Pope to give his explicit confirmation, thereby acknowledging for the first time, publicly and solemnly, the Papal Supremacy. Julius read the royal letter with tears of joy.

Among the Bills laid before Parliament in April, 1554, there was one that expressly forbade all bishops, and especially the Bishop of Rome, to demand the restitution of Church property.[5] This was the great obstacle to the return of the country to the Church. In the brief appointing him legate for England, Pole had only received authority to forego the restoration of the revenues drawn by the wrongful possessors

[1] Lingard, p. 247.
[2] *Acts of Privy Council*, 1552-54, p. 411. Lee, *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, p. 344.
[3] Gairdner, p. 336. Lee, p. 344.
[4] Browne, *Cal. S.P. Foreign*, v. 849-59.
[5] Ancel, *Reconciliation de l'Angleterre avec le Saint-Siège sous Marie Tudor*, p. 778.

of the sequestrated Church property. There had been no mention of the restoration of the real estate, which as a rule was insisted on by the Church previous to the restitution of the revenues.[1] The legate's authority was clearly not sufficiently comprehensive. Mary pressed for a speedy reply from Rome. Her own opinion was that the Pope should show himself as generous as possible, and absolutely forego the return of the Church property. Pole, on the other hand, would not consent to such a solution, as it would appear like bargaining about the return of the country to the Church. England should, he maintained, first come back to the Church, and leave everything else to the Pope's generosity. The Pope thought this view too severe. In a brief of 28 July, Julius III gave his legate the fullest authority to leave all Church property, moveable and real, in the hands of the present possessors.[2] Unfortunately, however, the terms of the brief [3] did not exclude all doubt as to the Pope's intentions, and later on aroused distrust in the hearts of suspicious persons.

After some months' delay in Brussels owing to a misunderstanding between himself and the Emperor Charles V, Pole arrived in London on 24 November and was fittingly and enthusiastically received as papal legate. The reason of the delay was Pole's reluctance to show the Emperor a papal document promising that Julius would always confirm and consider valid anything which his legate might do. The Emperor, afraid that Pole might, after the return of England to the Church, insist on the restoration of Church property had refused to allow him to set out for England. All was amicably settled when Pole showed the papal document to the Emperor.

On 30 November, Parliament again assembled in the great hall of the palace, and Gardiner announced the decision of the previous day of reunion with the Church, and begged their Majesties to act as mediators between the representatives of the people and the legate. A petition to this effect was read

[1] Pastor, xiii. 275. [2] Wilkin's *Concilia*, iv. 102-3.

[3] Pole received authority to deal with the question of Church lands; "arbitrio tuo auctoritate nostra tractandi, concordandi, transigendi, componendi, et cum eis, ut praefata sine ullo scrupulo in posterum retinere possint, dispensandi."

aloud, and the Queen and King handed it to the legate and begged absolution from schism and all censures. Pole then caused the Bull concerning his powers and authority to be read, and gave thanks to God in a short speech for England's reconciliation. Then all, the Queen and King not excepted, fell upon their knees and received absolution. Solemn "Te Deum" in the royal chapel closed the proceedings.[1]

Pole issued a decree on 24 December, by which all the charitable institutions and schools founded during the schism were to remain in being, and all the marriages and episcopal "acta" concluded during this period without the necessary papal dispensation were declared valid, while the possessors of Church property were not to be disturbed, either now or in the future, on ecclesiastical grounds. A comprehensive Bill of January, 1555, then declared that all the statutes promulgated since the twentieth year of Henry VIII against the papal authority were invalid, and confirmed the legate's decree.

Julius III received from King Philip, on 14 December, the first news of the events of St. Andrew's day. He caused the royal letter to be read to the Cardinals and prelates, etc., in the Hall of Consistory, and then proceeded to St. Peter's to assist at a Mass of thanksgiving in St. Andrew's Chapel. Afterwards, prayers of thanksgiving for fourteen days were prescribed and a jubilee indulgence proclaimed.[2] The joyful events were celebrated in other parts of Italy, as well as in Rome, by solemn thanksgivings and bonfires, while pamphlets announced the great triumph in the most distant lands.[3] Mary was presented with the Golden Rose, whilst her consort received a consecrated sword and hat of State.[4]

Council of Ireland Continued in Office.

Sentleger was again appointed Lord Deputy, and, on 11 November, 1553, arrived at Dalkey. Eight days later he took the usual oath, and received the sword of State in Christ Church, Dublin. As orders had been sent to continue

[1] Lingard, p. 179. Ancel, pp. 794-5.
[2] Raynaldus, *Acta Consist.*, 1554, no. 16.
[3] Pastor, xiii. 289. [4] Raynaldus, 1555, no. 2.

all officers in their places, Lord Chancellor Cusack, the ardent Protestant, and Lutrell, Aylmer, and Bathe, had their patents renewed and took the customary oath. Sentleger and the other members of the Council of Ireland received instructions from Mary to restore the old religion. Besides all this, on 20 November—

A commission[1] was issued to Sir Thomas Cusake, Chancellor, George [Dowdall],[2] Archbishop of Armagh, George [Browne], Archbishop of Dublin, Richard de St. Laurence, otherwise Howth, Lord of Howth, Aylmer, Wyse, Luttrell, Bathe, Parker, Master of the Rolls, Travers, Thomas de St. Laurence, second Justice, Thomas Lockwood, Dean of St. Patrick's, Walter Herdyffe, second Justice of the Common Bench, Sir Patrick White, second Baron of the Exchequer, John Bath, Serjeant-at-law, Robert Dillon, Attorney-General, Richard Fynglass, Solicitor, Sir Thomas Talbote, of Malahyd, John Plunket, of Donsaghly, Thomas Fitz-Simon, Recorder of Dublin, and Richard Talbote, of Tymolege, to be Justices of the Peace in the Co. Dublin, and in the crosses and marches thereof; and to enquire, by the oaths of good and lawful men of the county, as well within the liberties as without, of all treasons, conspiracies, coining, rape, arson, murder, adhesion to the Irish enemies, oppressions, robberies, extortions and other crimes; to deliver to gaol: to examine, discuss, and determine, all pleas, petitions, accounts, covenants, and contracts, as well by bill as by writ, and to do justice according to the laws and customs of the kingdom; to enquire of all manors, castles, lordships, and lands, as well spiritual as temporal, which should have come to the hands of the Crown, their value, and their late proprietors.

New Bishops Appointed to Irish Sees.

Even the bishops who had favoured the "reform" were continued in their Sees for a while, and others, such as Browne and Staples, were appointed by the Queen to consecrate some of the new bishops. Mary seems to have taken it for granted that such men would be as obedient to her in religious matters as they were to Edward. In this she was not mistaken. We do not hear of Browne or Staples quitting the realm to carry out the Book of Common Prayer according to their former

[1] *Cal. Pat. and Cl. R.*, 1 Mary.
[2] Hugh Goodacre had died 1 May, 1553.

profession. On the contrary, they remained in their Sees and continued their ministrations as if the Mass had never been abolished. Thus, we find, four months after Mary succeeded to the throne, letters patent issued (26 Nov., 1553) to George, Archbishop of Armagh, George, Archbishop of Dublin, Edward, Bishop of Meath, Thomas, Bishop of Kildare, Robert, Bishop of Leighlen, Dominick, Bishop of Cork and Ross, and John, Bishop of Annaghdown, commanding them to invest and consecrate Roland Baron, otherwise Fitzgerald, Archbishop of Cashel, to which he had been promoted by the Dean and Chapter.

We are not told by whom Baron was consecrated, but we can safely take it that the principal consecrator was Browne and that the ceremony took place in Christ Church. Browne was not the man to disobey an order from the Crown. Who the other consecrators were we do not know. Lancaster of Kildare and Travers of Leighlin would very probably be among the number. It would be interesting to know if Staples was present. It will appear strange to Catholics to learn that married bishops of Irish Sees consecrated one of the first (if not the first) bishops under the Catholic Restoration. Four of the bishops mentioned were married men. Whether Mary was aware of this fact or not we do not know, but she undoubtedly used some of the foremost of the " reform " bishops to perform a Catholic consecration. She simply took the occupants of the Sees as she found them. Afterwards she took a more rigorous view of the situation.

Again (14 Oct., 1553), Mary nominated and appointed to the See of Ossory, John Thonory (elected by the Chapter), and gave order for the " consecration and installation according to the order of our realm of Ireland heretofore accustomed."[1] Bale had fled beyond the seas, he who had demanded the Edwardian Ordinal, and it would seem a direct hit that Mary, in ordering the consecration of his successor, commanded the Roman Pontifical to be used, even though no application had been made to the Holy See for confirmation of the election or of the appointment.

Goodacre of Armagh, who had died nearly three months

[1] *Pat. and Cl. R.*, 1 Mary.

before Mary's accession, was succeeded, as we have seen, by Dowdall, who had been recalled from exile shortly after the arrival of Sentleger as Lord Deputy. Dowdall's title of Primate of All Ireland was also restored to him by a letter [1] from the Queen to the Deputy, 12 March, 1554 :—

> And where also the Archbishop of Armagh was of late time, without any good ground or cause, and contrary to the order of justice, unjustly deprived of the dignity and office of the Primate of all Ireland, which heretofore he and his predecessors have enjoyed time out of mind, and thereupon the said Primacy was conferred on the Archbishop of Dublin, contrary to all good order and equity, our further pleasure is, that ye shall cause the said Archbishop of Armagh to be again restored to the office of Primate of all Ireland, in as ample sort as he heretofore enjoyed the same, causing such writings or patents to be devised and delivered to him for that purpose, under the great seal, as shall be by our learned Council in the law thought most fit and convenient.
>
> And where also the said Archbishop [of Armagh] was of late unjustly expulsed and forced for his refuge to fly the realm; for as much as during the time of his absence divers of his goods and chattels have been embezzled, spoiled, and conveyed away, our pleasure is, that as soon as you conveniently may ye shall cause inquiry to be made how and to whom his goods have been bestowed, using the best means ye can for the recovery thereof again to his use, so as there be no part of the same wrongfully detained from him; and for his better maintenance and entertainment in his degree, we are pleased that in consideration of the spoil that hath been made of his archbishoprick during his absence, he shall have the priory of Ardie, being of the yearly value of four score marks, for the term of his life, without paying rent.

In April, 1554, Dowdall, Walsh, Bishop-elect of Meath, Leverous, Bishop-elect of Kildare, and other delegates, received a commission empowering them to restore the ancient religion, and especially the celibacy of the clergy, and to deprive of their benefice and office those who had married. Staples, Bishop of Meath, was at once (29 June) deprived of his See. But Browne of Dublin, Lancaster of Kildare, and Travers of Leighlin, did not receive their punishments until towards the end of the year. Casey of Limerick and Bale of

[1] *Loc. cit.*

Ossory had fled beyond the seas. Walsh was appointed (by the Queen) to Meath, Leverous (by the Queen) to Kildare, Field (by papal provision) to Leighlin, Lacy (by Paul IV) to Limerick. The oath to the Queen taken by the new bishops simply confined itself to the question of the restoration of temporalities, as in ancient times: "I . . . bishop of . . ., elected and consecrated, do acknowledge, that I have and hold all the temporal possessions of the said bishopric, from your hands, and from your successors, Kings of England, as in right of the crown of your kingdom of Ireland, and to you and your successors, Kings of England, faith will bear. So help me God, and His Holy Gospels." [1]

The Queen (18 Oct., 1554) ordered the temporalities of the bishopric of Meath to be given to "our loving subject, Doctor Walshe, Bishop of Meath elect from the time of the deprivation of the late incumbent." Walshe had asked for the grant from the feast of St. Peter and Paul last past, i.e. 1554. He stated that he was elected bishop by the chapter and clergy of Meath, and had for his consecration the royal letters patent; but not having his lawful confirmation from the universal Catholic Church like other bishops, he could not with good conscience be consecrated; and stated that he was sent into Ireland at his own cost, by commission, to deprive certain married bishops and priests, and was so occupied in execution of this office, that he could not attend to his consecration.[2] Walshe thus waited for the coming of Cardinal Pole to have his lawful confirmation from the papal legate. Dowdall, likewise, who now recognised his position as uncanonical and unlawful, had recourse to the Holy See to have his appointment to Armagh regularised. Through Walshe and Dowdall Pole dealt with the Irish episcopate and delegated to them the power to absolve from all error those bishops who though Catholic in sentiment had been appointed by the King during the schism. Having abjured their errors they were to be confirmed in their Sees.

According to Loftus (MSS.):—

George Abp. of Dublin, Edward Staples, Bishop of Meath, John Bale, Bishop of Ossory, Robert Travers, Bishop of Leighlin,

[1] Harris, *Ware's Bishops*, p. 511. [2] *Pat. and Cl. R.*, 1 and 2 Mary.

Thomas Darcy, and other prelates who had benefices were deposed by George Dowdall, Primate of Ardmagh, Thomas, Bishop of Killaloe, and the Bishop of Kildare and the principal commissioners, and their colleagues and spiritual custodies. The same year sat the Primate with certain commissioners upon all priests that were married and deprived them of their benefices as the Bp. of Dublin and the Bp. of Meath with divers other great sons.

The Pope Grants Ireland to Philip and Mary.

We have seen that Mary continued to use the title of Queen of Ireland as in right of succession from her father. It cannot be said that she had the slightest intention of yielding any part of the temporal dignity which had belonged to her predecessors, notwithstanding the ancient papal claim to suzerainty over Ireland. The Holy See found it necessary to respect accomplished facts. Paul IV, therefore, ignored all that Henry had done, and, as if of his own mere notion, erected Ireland into a kingdom. The following account given by Fra Paolo Sarpi [1] deserves notice here :—

Out of the History of the Council of Trent, that the Pope gave to Philip and Queen Mary the title of King and Queen of Ireland.[2]

[1] *Council of Trent*, trans. by Courayer, lib. v., cap. 15. Lingard (vol. v., end of chap. v) objects to the sarcastic Venetian's account, but, in reality, his own differs little from it. Lingard says (*ib.*, pp. 226-7) : "On the very day of the coronation of this pontiff [Paul IV], the English ambassadors reached Rome. Pole had foreseen that the new title of king and queen of Ireland, assumed by Philip and Mary, in imitation of Henry and Edward, might create some difficulty, and had therefore requested that Ireland might be declared a kingdom before the arrival of the ambassadors . . . and the first act of the new Pope, after the coronation, was to publish a bull, by which, at the petition of Philip and Mary, he raised the lordship of Ireland to the dignity of a kingdom. Till this had been done, the ambassadors waited without the city ; three days later they were publicly introduced. They acknowledged the pontiff as head of the universal church, presented to him a copy of the act by which his authority had been established, and solicited him to ratify the absolution pronounced by the legate, and to confirm the bishoprics erected during the schism." And in a footnote Lingard says : "As the natives of Ireland had maintained that the kings of England originally held Ireland by the donation of Adrian IV, and had lost it by their defection from the communion of Rome, the council delivered the second Bull to Dr. Carey [Corren], the new Archbishop of Dublin, with orders that it should be deposited in the treasury, after copies had been made, and circulated throughout the island." If one were to seek for a confirmation of the authenticity of Adrian's Bull he could not find a stronger one than in this whole episode.

[2] *St. Pap.*, v. 616, p. 169. *Car. Cal.*, 1554, 251.

In anno 1554 Viscount Mountacute, Thomas Thurlby, Bishop of Ely, and Edward Carne, ambassadors to Pope Julius III, but before their coming to him he died. Marcellus II succeeded in the papacy, who likewise died, to whom succeeded Paulus IV, and the first day of his papacy they entered the city of Rome. The first day of their audience the Pope gave a general pardon to the realm of England, for all the transgressions which the English had used against the Church of Rome in the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI, and unto King Philip and Queen Mary he gave the title of King and Queen of Ireland, granting them this dignity by the authority which the Pope hath from God, being placed over all kingdoms, to supplant those that are contumacious and to build new. . . .

Henry VIII after his separation from the Pope, made Ireland a kingdom, and called himself King of England, France, and Ireland, which title, continued by Edward, was assumed by Mary and her husband. The Pope, so soon as he was created, entered into a resolution that the title of Ireland should not be used by those princes, affirming constantly that it belonged only to him to give the name of a King. But it seemed hard to induce England to quit that which two kings had used, and the Queen, not thinking much of it, had continued. Therefore he found a temper, that is, to dissemble the knowledge of what Henry had done, and himself to erect the island into a kingdom, that so the world might believe that the Queen had used the title as given by the Pope, not as decreed by her father. And the Popes have often given that which they could not take from the possessors, and to avoid contentions, some have received their own goods as gifts, and some have dissembled the knowledge of the gift, or of the pretence of the giver.

As far as the people of Ireland were concerned the difference between King and Lord of Ireland was of no material consequence. What really mattered to them was that English sovereigns, including Mary, held dominion over their country. As they had respected the authority of Adrian in granting the Lordship of Ireland to Henry II, they respected the authority of Paul in granting the Kingship to Mary. But, as they resisted the Lordship of Henry and his successors so they resisted the Kingship of Mary. The religious question did not obscure the issue. The fact that Mary was a Catholic did not influence them to show any more loyalty to her as a temporal sovereign than they had shown to her father or her brother.

Browne Deprived of his See.

There is some difficulty about the exact date on which Browne was deposed. Mary had succeeded to the throne in July, 1553, and in the following November (26) a patent letter (1 Mary) was issued appointing Browne among others to consecrate Roland Baron, Archbishop of Cashel. Dowling's *Annals*, *ad an.*, 1554, say that George Dowdall, the Primate, deposed Browne in that year. If that be so, then his deposition must have occurred early in that year as in the order sent by Mary to the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland as to the restoration of St. Patrick's Cathedral of 23 February, 1 and 2 Mary (i.e. 1554), she mentions that the See was then void, and in another order of 18 February of the same year she makes appointments as in her own gift "by vacation of the archbishopric." [1] The deposition must have occurred sometime between 26 November, 1553 and 18 February, 1554. The reason given by Sir James Ware for Browne's removal is that he was a married man,[2] but Robert Ware [3] says that whether he had been married or not he would have been expelled as he had been so prominent in the "reform"

[1] *Pat. and Cl. R., Ir.*, Mary, pp. 328-29.

[2] Ware's *Bishops*, p. 351. Sir James Ware says (*loc. cit.*) that about the close of the year 1554 Browne was deprived of his See by Primate Dowdall and other delegates. He gives no authority for this statement, which is inconsistent with the Patent Rolls of 1 and 2 Mary, which say that the See was vacant on 18 Feb., 1554.

According to Brady (*Episcopal Succession*, i. 328), Browne was deposed "although he obtained a dispensation from censures, etc., from Cardinal Pole." Brady probably means that Browne, being a member of the Episcopate, shared in the general dispensation from the Papal Legate.

[3] Ware in his *Life of Browne* says that Browne was expelled, "and not thought fit to continue in his See of Dublin, as being a married man; and it is thought, had he not been married, he had been expelled; having appeared so much for the reformation, in both these former kings' days.

"George Browne lived not long after the consecration of this Hugh Corwin (his successor in the See); yet I have, amongst my manuscripts, a writing of a papist (i.e. Lynch, *De Praesulibus Hiberniae*), who would fain have persuaded the world that this George Browne died through joy, having had a bull from the pope to be restored to his see of Dublin; which must needs be false, upon this account of Sir James Ware, who writeth those very words of him, in his book, entitled *De Praesulibus Hiberniae*, p. 120, 1554: *Circa tempus Georgius Browneus (quod conjugatus esset) per Dowdallum archiepiscopum Armachanum et alios delegatos exauthoritatus est;* otherwise the pope, if he had granted such a bull, must likewise have dispensed with his marriage, it being contrary to the Romish tenets for bishops to marry" (*Harl. Misc.*, v. 602).

movement during the previous reigns. There is no definite information as to what became of Browne after his removal from the See. It is generally accepted that he repaired to England where he lived with his wife and children. When the See was declared vacant Thomas Lockwood, Dean of Christ Church, took charge of the spiritualities of the diocese, according to the ancient custom.

It will be remembered that Browne had granted leases of diocesan lands without the consent of the Chapter of Holy Trinity, the only Chapter that existed in Dublin between 1547 and 1554. His object in so doing was evidently to obtain some revenue from the lessees, where he found it impossible to get rents directly from the Catholic tenants or to work the manor lands. These lands seem to have dwindled away since Browne succeeded to the See. The manors of Ballymore, Castlekevin, and Shankill were surrounded by Irish enemies, and were of no use to him. What was left of his manors in north Dublin he leased so as to obtain a sure rental. This wholesale alienation of these lands was the cause of a petition some years later (1556-57) from his successor in the See to the English Parliament for their restoration. Parliament received the petition favourably and passed—

An act for revocation of bargains and sales, alienations, discontinuance, and grants of leases, and demises made or suffered to be made by George Browne, late Archbishop of Dublin, and for restitution to the late Archbishop of Dublin [i.e. to the See] of all such lands and tenements as are at this present wrongfully and by strong hand, usurpation, fraud, or any other unlawful way taken, or held by any wild Irishman or rebel.

[1] *Car. Cal.*, i. 327, 3 and 4 Philip and Mary, c. 10. This Act is not printed in the Irish Statutes, 3 and 4 Philip and Mary, c. 10 (as asserted by Leland, ii. 213), but it is published as above in the Carew *Calendar of State Papers*, i. 327, and as belonging to 3 and 4 Philip and Mary, c. 10. Both Leland and Mant (i. 247) mention that "all grants made by the Archbishop of any parcel of the archbishoprick, either to his own use, or that of his 'bastards' were declared utterly void." It was thus, they say, that the legislators termed Browne's children, and they consider the name opprobrious and ignominious. From a Catholic standpoint the children could not be considered otherwise. Browne had taken a vow of celibacy as a Catholic priest, and he had not been released from his vow by the authorities before whom he made it. Besides, there was a question of succession to property, and if his children held some of it, they, being illegitimate in the eyes of the Catholic legislators, could not continue to do so. It would

It seems, therefore, that Browne had bestowed some of the See lands, etc., on his children. The accusation had been made some years previously that he had granted them leases of property. In reference to leases to other persons we have a few entries in the Patent and Close Rolls granting pardons to those who had re-leased them, and restoring them to Browne's successor.

Pardon to Edward Fitzsimon, Dublin, son and heir of Thomas Fitzsimon, brother of Robert, late Precentor of St. Patrick's, and Marion, late wife of Christopher Nugent [of Feltrim], who was son and heir of Richard, Baron of Delvin, for alienating the lands of Cloghrane, Swerdes, the Rath, in the parish of Swerdes, Muchstacoll, Curragh, Mahonrathe, Corbally, Balgreighe, Cowloke, Kylmore, and Cowparke, Co. Dublin: fine 13s. 4d. (16 Feb., 1554.) [1]

These lands apparently belonged to the Archiepiscopal manor of Swords.

License to Richard Talbot, John Caddell, of the Nall, and Michael Goldinge, of Tartane, to alienate the rectory of Kylmahid, Co. Dublin, to the dean and chapter of Holy Trinity. (8 Nov., 1554.) [1]

In July, 1557, the King and Queen wrote to the Lord Deputy and Council to assure fee farm of the Isle of Lambay to John Chaloner. They then granted permission to the Archbishop (Curwen), Dean and Chapter of Dublin, to renew the grant to John Chaloner, though apparently void by recent Act. The Isle of Lambay was one of the places that had been leased by Browne.[2]

Many persons had asked parcels of lands from Queen Mary, among whom was Andrew Brewerton who asked for the farm of the parsonage of Swords, and James Ashbolde who asked for the farm of the town of Kylrotherie, of the yearly value of £3 13s. 4d. The Queen ordered the Lord Deputy to have diligent enquiry to be made as to persons who already held

seem that this was the real reason of the use of the word "bastard," and that it was not meant in any opprobrious manner. The term was quite a usual manner of speech in those days. To-day, no doubt, it has an offensive ring.

[1] *Pat. and Cl. Rolls*, 1 and 2 Mary.

[2] *Cal. S.P. Ir.*, Mary, p. 139.

them, and if they deserved to forfeit the same, then leases should be granted to those who asked for them for twenty-one years, paying the usual rent.[1]

These were some of the efforts made by the Crown to discover the alienated lands, return them to the See of Dublin, and, where advisable, have new leases granted.

Mary Restores St. Patrick's Cathedral.

Mary, not wishing to soil her hands with revenue from the plundered possessions of St. Patrick's Cathedral, sent an order,[2] 23 February, 1554, for their restoration and for that of the Cathedral to its former state.

From the King and Queen to the Lord Deputy, Sir Thomas Cusake, Chancellor, and the Council of Ireland:—

Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well, and for as much as having caused our Council to peruse and examine the ancient foundation and pristine state of our metropolitan church of St. Patrick in Ireland, it appeareth that its foundation and pristine state is Godly and right honourable; our pleasure therefore is, for the glory of God and advancement of his service and holy worde, that the said church and chapter shall be revived and restored to its pristine state. Wherefore we will that you make out letters patent of presentation unto such persons as are named in the accompanying warrant to the dignities and prebends therein expressed, and that you suffer them to enter the church, and all the lands and possessions thereunto belonging, and the rents and profits thereof, to take and enjoy to them and their successors, from the Feast of the Annunciation, for ever, in like sort as the late Dean and Chapter before the pretended dissolution of the Church; causing this our good pleasure to be signified unto all parties, so as our subjects knowing thereof may thereby extend their devotion towards the renewing and furniture of such ornaments, books, and other things as are necessary for the use of divine service to be sung and said in the church. The semblable order of restitution we will shall be also ensued with the petty canons, vicars choral, and choristers of the church, who have corporations apart under the chapter; we will that the Dean and Chapter should be suffered to enter into such houses as belong to their dignities; to enjoy same for the maintenance of hospitality, and that the

[1] *Pat. and Cl. Rolls*, 1 Mary, pp. 300-1.
[2] *Cal. Pat. and Cl. Rolls. Ir.*, pp. 327-35.

Dean and Chapter, and their successors, maintain a schoolmaster and an usher to teach grammar, and the finding of as many almsmen as in times past hath been used in St. Patrick's; that the six priests and two choristers lately erected at Christchurch, shall continue there and be paid their stipends as theretofore hath been accustomed; and that all books, ornaments, copes, vestments, and other things belonging to the church, shall be restored and delivered to the Dean and Chapter, to be employed in the service of the church. The Archbishop of Dublin, and his successors, shall have the nomination of the schoolmaster and usher; the Dean and Chapter shall have the nomination of the petty canons and other inferior ministers of the Church; the Dean and Chapter of the Church of Christ shall have the nomination of the six priests and two choristers, and all other inferior officers, and the Deputy shall have the nomination of the almsmen, provided they be impotent, decayed men, who have done the state some service, of honest behaviour and conversation, and given to serve God in prayer. Lastly, we have nominated unto the Archbishoprick of Dublin, now void, our well-beloved Chaplain, Hugh Corren, and presently by our letters signify and send unto the Dean and Chapter of those churches our nomination, desire, and license for the election of the said Mr. Corren; we pray you so to call upon them that this cause may with speed take effect; and as we have named Mr. Lockwood to the Prebend of Rathmichell, in the same church, we desire that he shall discharge us of a pension yearly paid to Mr. Sentleger, one of the late prebendaries, and that the Dean and Chapter shall confirm Mathew King in the possession of certain tithes which he holds by lease.

34. From the King and Queen (18 Feb., 1 and 2 Mary) to the Lord Deputy, Chancellor, and Council of Ireland:—

Trusty and right well beloved,—Whereas we have given order to revive and restore our metropolitan and prebendary church and chapter of Saint Patrick, in Ireland, to her pristine honorable state; we let you wit our pleasure is, that this restitution shall begin and take effect from the Feast of the Annunciation of our Lady next ensuing; and for the perfection of our intent in this behalf we have appointed the persons underwritten to be preferred to the dignities, offices, and prebends, vacant, and belonging to our gift by vacation of the archbishoprick; We will and command you forthwith to make, in our name unto every of the same persons, grants, gifts, and presentations, of the said dignities and offices respectively, as they are hereinafter appointed and in semblable cases of vacation in times past hath been used.

Thomas Leverous, Dean; Thomas Creiff, Precentor; Robert Nangle, Chancellor; Edward Barnewall, Treasurer; William Weshe, Archdeacon; John Willey, Archdeacon of Glandelagh; Henry Parker, Prebendary of Kilmatalway; Peter Byrne, Prebendary of Swerds; Richard Ellercar, Prebendary of Castleknoc; Nicholas Miagh, Prebendary of Mallahidert; Robert Daly, Prebendary of St. Audeon's; Patrick Fynne, Prebendary of Yagoe; John Sonnyng, Prebendary of Wicklo; Thomas Fitzsimon, Prebendary of Tymothan; Henry Tancy, Prebendary of Tipper; the Archbishop of Armagh, Prebendary of Tassagard; James Sarsfield, Prebendary of Duloan; Richard Johnson, Prebendary of Maynoth; Simon Geffraye, Prebendary of Howth; Thomas Lockwood, Prebendary of Rathmichell; John Gallofre, Prebendary of Moonohomoke; John Wogan, Prebendary of Tipperkevin; William Yong, another Prebendary of Tipperkevin; John Come, Prebendary of Donamore, in O'Maill; Christopher Browne, another Prebendary of Donamore, in O'Maill; Richard Betaghe, Prebendary of Stagnoill; and George Brown, Prebendary of Clemethan.

35. Appointment of Thomas Leverous to the deanery of Saint Patrick, Dublin, in the presentation of the Crown, *pro hac vice*, in consequence of the vacancy of the See.—26 March, 1 and 2 Mary.

36. Letters patent for his admission and installation. (No date.)

37. Memorandum that letters patent had been perfected to the dignitaries, prebendaries, and canons, mentioned in the letter, No. 34, of the date, and according to the form therein prescribed.

38. *Charter of the Cathedral of Saint Patrick, Dublin* (15 June, 1 and 2 Mary). Reciting that John,[1] formerly Archbishop of Dublin, by his writing, declared, that he, by the Grace of God, minister of the Church of Dublin, established and decreed under God, and with the consent of the Holy Roman See, and of John, Earl of Moreton, to make the church of Saint Patrick, in Dublin, prebendary, and to institute a College of Clerks, who by their learning and the probity of their lives might be an example to others; and gave to the canons the church of Saint Patrick, with all its tithes and obventions, altars, and cemetery, and the church of St. Nicholas, in Dublin, Saint Briget's church, in the suburbs of the city, the chapels of Richardstown, Norren, Williamstown, Eryk and Ade Rothe, a pension of five shillings out of the chapel of Cromlen and the churches of Donaghmore and St. Kevin, the

[1] Cumin, 1181-1212.

tithes of the lands of St. Kevin, the tithes of the lands of St. Patrick's and Donemore, and as much of the wood of the land as was necessary for the Bake-house of the canons, and for enclosing their palings and a court-yard for the bakehouse; common of pasture in the lands of St. Kevin, three parts of oblations arising out of all processions which should occur in Penticost week, and the tithes of his mills which he then held, or might afterwards acquire (except the tithes of the mills of Swords), and the tithes of his demesne of Rathcoole, and the tenth acre of his meadows in the town; and gave them the courtyards near the cemetery in which to build their houses, on condition that the canon who should first build there, might leave a moiety of the money, laid out in building, at his decease to whoever he might choose, and whoever should succeed him in the prebend should pay the amount of that moiety within a year, and should have the remaining moiety gratis, and the house allotted for the prebend; but if he should not pay, the Chapter should pay, and should have the use of the fruits of the entire building until it should be redeemed by him, or any other who should have that prebend; and if a canon should die, from the day of his decease the chapter should for an entire year enjoy his prebend, with its fruits and appurtenances, and the community should permit their so doing for a year; and if a canon die intestate his property should be disposed of at the will of the canons; but if he made a will, the canon should answer for no ecclesiastical business which appertained to his person, unless within the chapter of St. Patrick's; and if a canon go to foreign countries for study, or any other necessary cause, with the license of his chapter, he should have his prebend, with his community [commons]; but if he go abroad without their license, he should lose his community; He also granted to the canons, that their prebends should be free from the visitation and procuration of the archdeacon, and that they should not be suspended unless by the judgment of the Chapter, and that the priests of the said prebends should attend only two general chapters of the archdeacon, viz., one next after the Feast of St. Michael, and one after the Octave of Easter; but the archdeacon should not presume to suspend any prebendary chaplain within his chapter, nor without, unless by the judgment of two canons, who should be guardians of the community, or of two others who might be present. And reciting, that Henry,[1] formerly Archbishop of Dublin, appointed a certain amount of rents for the support of those dignities, to be possessed for ever by the persons serving there, and to be converted to their use;

[1] De Loundres, 1212-25.

constituted William, son of Guido, dean, at the election of the chapter, to whom he gave full power to elect a fit person out of the bosom of the church, assigning to the said William and his successors, the prebend of Clondalkan, the lands on Clonwanwyr and Kilbery, with all the liberties and free customs belonging to the lands and the church of Clanwanwyr and Kilbery, with their chapels, when they should become vacant, the church of Cloncarde Magory, and its chapels, when they should become vacant; and appointed Philip de Braye, precentor; ordaining that the prebend of Lusk and the churches of St. Andrew and St. Audeon, in Dublin, whensoever they should be vacant should fall to him and his successors; and appointed Thomas de Castles, chancellor in the church, assigning the prebend of Finglas, with St. Martin's church, in Dublin, and the church of Killaghgear, when vacant, to the chancellorship for ever; he also appointed Ralph de Briscole treasurer in the church, decreeing that the prebend of Clonekene, with St. Audeon's church, in Dublin, and the church of the Blessed Virgin Mary, near the Castle of Dublin, and a carucate of land of Tachekery to the said church belonging, when vacant, should fall to and be assigned to the said treasurership for ever; and be granted, as an augmentation to the community of the said chapter, the church of St. Nicholas Within, which his predecessor, John, of blessed memory, confirmed to the church, and which Gilbert Comen held paying thereout yearly one pound of wax to the chapter on St. Patrick's day by way of pension; and also reciting a charter of Edward IV, formerly King of England, who stated, that his noble ancestors, with great devotion, bounty, and abundance, for the encrease of divine worship, endowed the said college with 24 cathedral canons and ministers; of whom a dean, precentor, chancellor, and treasurer, as the pillars and columns of said college, were given the rule, each according to his station; and two archdeacons, to wit, the Archdeacons of Dublin and Glendelagh, as well to assist the Archbishop for the time being and his deacons in divine service, as to support his jurisdiction in his diocese. But after lapse of time, by the continual warfare of Irish enemies and English rebels, the benefits and profits of the precentorship and chancellorship of the college and of the Archdeacon of Glendalagh—being the 2nd, 4th, and 6th greatest dignities in the college and church next the dean—became of such small value that they could not support the precentor, treasurer, and archdeacon of Glandelagh, agreeably to divine worship hospitality, and other things, according to the foundation and to the degrees of those benefices, without some remedy being provided; upon which the archbishop united and appropriated

one part of the fruits and profits of the rectory and prebend of Lusk on the part of the precentor to the said chauntry or precentorship, and the other part, on the part of the dean, to the treasurership of the church and the rectory of Newcastle, in Lyons, with its appurtenances, to the archdeacon of Glandelagh, and their lawful successors, for ever; to enter and occupy them at the next vacancy, according to the form aforesaid; by which union, appropriation, and consolidation, the number of persons of the college would not be diminished, because the church of Kilmatalway, the church of St. Audeon's, Dublin, and the church of St. Patrick's, Wicklow, were created and incorporated into three canonical prebends in the college to supply the number of persons appointed upon the first foundation; And reciting, that Richard, late Archbishop of Dublin, by his division of the prebend of Swords, instituted 6 petty canons and 6 choristers in augmentation of divine service. His Majesty therefore (Edward IV), confirmed, approved, and ratified, the union, appropriation, and consolidation, of the prebends of Lusk and Newcastle, in Lyons, with their appurtenances, to the precentorship, treasurership, and archdeaconry, to supply the other creation and institution of the prebends of Kilmatalway, St. Audoen's, and St. Patrick's, Wicklow, and fill up the number of the canons of the college of the old foundation. Reciting, that Edward Bassenet, dean of the cathedral, and the chapter thereof, surrendered the said cathedral, and the chapter thereof, surrendered the said cathedral or collegiate church, and the entire site, foundation, circuit, ambite, and precinct thereof, and all its manors, lordships, and possessions, on the eight day of January, in the 38th year of the reign of the late King [Henry], and caused the Dean and Chapter of the cathedral, in their chapter-house, personally to come before the Lord Deputy, who received the cognizance of the said Dean and Chapter, in writing, sealed with their common seal, on the 8th day of January, in the 38th year of the Lord the King, as their deed, to be enrolled in the Rolls of the Court of Chancery; by virtue of which King Henry the Eight, and after him Edward the Sixth, late King, were seized of the site, ambite, and precinct of the said cathedral. The present charter (Philip and Mary), for the glory and service of God, to encrease and promote the ministers of his word, and for the general benefit and happiness of the Queen's subjects, Ordered and decreed to restore, renew, and establish the late cathedral or collegiate church to its former estate; and ordained that the late church should be for ever the cathedral church of St. Patrick, Dublin, to consist of a dean, a precentor, a chancellor, a treasurer, two archdeacons, twenty-two prebendary canonical presbiters, six minor canonical pres-

biters, sixteen vicars choral presbiters, six boy choristers or singers; to continue for ever; and ordained and decreed that the church of St. Patrick should, for ever, be a cathedral church, and the Archiepiscopal See of the Archbishop of Dublin, for the time being, in the same manner and form, state and condition as it was before the dissolution, and as if the said church was never dissolved; and adorned and decorated the church, and all the persons therein instituted, founded, incorporated, and established, and their successors, with the like honors, prerogatives, pre-eminences, jurisdictions, dignities, and ensigns with which the said church was endowed before its dissolution, and with which the ministers, and each of them, were at that time decorated and adorned; and that the cathedral should be decorated and filled with fit persons in all its places and degrees it was ordained and established that Thomas Lyverous should be nominated and presented to the Deanery, and instituted and installed therein; Thomas Creife, precentor; Robert Nangle, Chancellor; Edward Barnewall, Treasurer; William Wellesley, Archdeacon of Dublin; and John Willey, Archdeacon of Glandelagh; the Archbishop of Dublin for the time being, Prebendary of Cullen; Henry Parker, Prebendary of Kilmacawly; Pat Byrne, Prebendary of Swords; Pat Flynn, Prebendary of Yago; Robert Daly, Prebendary of St. Audoen; George Browne, Prebendary of Clomethan; John Sonnynge, Prebendary of Wicklow; Thomas Fitzsimon, Prebendary of Tymothan; Nicholas Miaghe, Prebendary of Malahide; Richard Ellarcar, Prebendary of Castleknock; Henry Daney, Prebendary of Tipper; George Dowdall, Prebendary of Saggard; James Sarsfield, Prebendary of Donloan; Richard Johns, Prebendary of Maynooth; John Dongan, Prebendary of Howth; Thomas Lockwood, Prebendary of Rathmichael; John Galbally, Prebendary of Monohomocke; John Wogan, Prebendary of one part of Donamore in O'Maley; John Cane, Prebendary of the other part of Donamore; and Richard Betagh, Prebendary of Stagonill; and that the dean, precentor, chancellor, treasurer, archdeacons, and the canonical prebendaries should be of themselves, by right, and in name, one body corporate, by the name of the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral Church of St. Patrick, Dublin; and should have by that name perpetual succession; that they and their successors should be for ever the Dean and Chapter of the Church, and be called and named the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral Church of St. Patrick, Dublin, and for ever be annexed, incorporated, and united to the Archbishop of Dublin, and his successors, in the place of the Dean and Chapter

of the former cathedral church of Glandelagh,[1] in the same manner and form as the Dean and Chapter of the cathedral and metropolitan church of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, commonly called Christ Church, in the city of Dublin, were united and incorporated to the Archbishop of Dublin and his successors, or to the Archiepiscopal See; and that they and their successors, by the name of the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral Church of St. Patrick, might prosecute, claim, plead, and be impleaded, defend, and be defended, answer, and be answered, in all law courts and places of the Crown, and before any judges and justices in all cases, actions, suits, demands, writs, and complaints, real, personal, spiritual, and mixed, and in all other things, causes, and matters, in as ample manner and form as the late Dean and Chapter of the cathedral church heretofore might have done; and that they, the Dean and Chapter, might take, receive, and acquire, give, alienate, and demise manors, lordships, lands, and tenements, in the same manner and form as any other Dean and Chapter of any cathedral church in England might do, by right, grant, or custom; that they might have a common seal to serve for their affairs; and that the said cathedral should be honorably endowed, her Majesty gave and granted to the said Dean and Chapter, and their successors, the entire site, circuit, ambit, and precinct of the late cathedral and college of St. Patrick, in the suburbs of Dublin, with all ancient privileges, liberties, and free customs which the late Dean and Chapter, before the dissolution thereof, used and enjoyed, in right of the said church or college; and the entire church and belfry, with all chapels, bells, cemeteries, houses, edifices, lands, tenements, buildings, orchards, gardens, water-mills and all places and hereditaments to the said church or college belonging or appertaining, as well within as without the site, enclosure, circuit, ambit, and precinct of the said cathedral or college, and which were commonly reputed or esteemed as part or parcel of the site of the said late church or college, and all lordships, manors, lands, tenements, rents, reversions, annuities, knights' fees, advowsons, donations, and rights, of patronage of churches, chapels, vicarages, and other ecclesiastical benefices whatsoever, dignities, canonrys, prebends, rectories, tithes, glebes, pensions, liberties, franchises, jurisdictions, and other hereditaments whatsoever, as well spiritual as temporal; and all charters, evidences, writings, and muniments whatsoever, which to the cathedral and college

[1] Mary was wrong in this. This probably gave rise to the idea that St. Patrick's Cathedral was a substitute for the Cathedral of Glendaloch after the union of the two Sees. Cumin's idea was to have a secular Chapter in St. Patrick's, as Christ Church belonged to Regulars.

of St. Patrick, before the said dissolution, did or ought to belong, and which came to the hands of the Crown by reason of the dissolution; to have, hold, and enjoy all the premises to them, the Dean and Chapter, and their successors, for ever, in pure and perpetual alms, from the Feast of Easter, as fully, freely, and entirely, and in as ample manner and form, title, right, and interest, as the said church and college, and the Dean and Chapter, before the dissolution, held and enjoyed the premises, and as if the said church never was dissolved; to divide and apportion same amongst themselves in the same manner and form as they had or ought to have divided same before the dissolution; the aforesaid surrender, delivery, and dissolution, or any other thing, cause, or matter whatsoever, notwithstanding; and that the dean, precentor, chancellor, treasurer, archdeacons, and canonical prebendaries, and their successors, with the aforesaid deanery, dignities, and prebends, should be united, appropriated, and annexed to the church for ever; and that each of them, the said dean, precentor, chancellor, treasurer, archdeacons, and canonical prebendaries, and their successors, severally should have, hold, enjoy, and use all such honors, authorities, jurisdictions, pre-eminences, benefices, lands, tenements, and hereditaments whatsoever, as well spiritual as temporal, as their predecessors before the dissolution of the church had, held, enjoyed or used; and that the Dean and Chapter and their successors might, from time to time, as often as expedient, make, ordain, and institute laws, statutes, and ordinances for the government and welfare of the Dean and Chapter, and all others in the church; and that Thomas Leverous, the modern dean of the said cathedral, and his successors, for ever, should have the same authority, investure, and pre-eminence, as well over the modern canonical prebendaries, minor canonical prebendaries, and their successors, as over the vicars choral, and their successors, as Edward Bassanett, late dean of the church, before its dissolution, or any of his predecessors, had held, exercised, and enjoyed; and their Majesties also granted to the dean, precentor, chancellor, treasurer, archdeacons, and the other canonical prebendaries, and their successors, that the corn, hay, horses, cars, carriages, oxen, heifers, pigs, sheep, and other goods and chattels of them, and their successors, tenants or farmers, whatsoever found, should not be taken or carried away against the will of them, or any of them, or their servants, for the use of the Crown, or any other persons whomsoever, by any steward, bailiffs, commissioners, ministers, or others whomsoever; and that the present dean, precentor, chancellor, treasurer, archdeacons, and the other canonical prebendaries should have all the issues, rents, reversions, and profits of all and singular

the manors, lands, tenements, hereditaments, deanery, precentorship, chancellorship, treasurership, archdeaconrys, and other prebends from the Feast of Easter; and for this restitution, renewal, and restoration of the cathedral, the Dean and Chapter, and their successors, for ever, were enjoined to have and support one fit and proper instructor or schoolmaster, and a proper under-teacher to attend the grammar school, to inform and instruct in grammar all persons coming there to be taught; and should support for ever as many paupers or almsmen as in former times were supported at St. Patrick's; which paupers and almsmen should be, from time to time, nominated by the Lieutenant-Deputy or Justices, provided that the Deputy or Justices should nominate as almsmen such persons as were impotent and feeble, and had done faithful service in Ireland, of decent behaviour and conversation, and given to serve God in their discourse and prayers; and that the Archbishop of Dublin, and his successors, for ever, should nominate the schoolmaster and under-teacher, from time to time; and that the present grammar school should be dissolved, and the almsmen, now living, be supported by the Dean and Chapter, after the rate and state used before the dissolution of the church; and that the Dean, whensoever the deanery should be vacant, should be elected and chosen by the chapter of the church, with the same rites and forms as were used before the dissolution; and that the Archbishop of Dublin and his successors, for ever, should have all donations, collations, nominations, and rights of patronage to the prebends, and every of them, as often as they become vacant, which he, before the dissolution or surrender of the church, had, or ought to have had, and as if the church had never been dissolved or surrendered.

St. Patrick's, thus restored to its former state, remains practically unchanged in that matter down to the present day.[1]

Dublin Priests Degraded.

To what extent the clergy of the diocese had accepted the "reform," there is little definite information. A few entries in the Rolls of the period [2] are all we have to show the leakage. There is mention of presentation of Maurice Conlane to the vicarage of Lucan, vacant by the deprivation of Walter

[1] For details about the Chapter, see J. H. Lawlor, *Forms Used in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin.*

[2] *Cal. P. and Cl. Rolls, Ir.*, p. 325.

Flanagan (in the gift of the Crown, *pleno jure*), and of presentation of John Herman to the office of Chancellor of the Cathedral of the Blessed Trinity, vacant by the deprivation of Walter White (in the gift of the Crown, *pleno jure*). Another entry tells of the presentation of Christopher Rathe to the office of Precentor in the same Cathedral, vacant by the resignation of Richard Ball (*plene jure*). There is no date attached to these presentations, but they are given in the Rolls as belonging to the first year of Mary's reign. It would seem that Ball had resigned before waiting to be deposed. We are inclined to the opinion that the only reason these clerics were deposed was because they had married.

Other presentations made by Mary were of Arthur Sentleger to the Rectory of Swordes (10 July, 1554), *pro hac vice*, and of John Cardiff to the treasurership of Holy Trinity, vacant by the death of John Moose (in the gift of the Crown, *pleno jure*, 13 Feb., 1556).

Hugh Corren, Mary's Chaplain, Appointed to Dublin.

One of the most extraordinary acts of Mary was her appointment of Hugh Curwyn or Corren, her chaplain, to the See of Dublin. A native of Westmoreland, he became a student of Oxford in one of the inns or hostels frequented by civilians and canonists, or in Brasenose College (or both successively), about 1521, took one degree in arts, holy orders, and some years after was made one of the chaplains to Henry VIII. In 1532 he proceeded in the Civil Law, took his degree, and about that time was a great promotor of the King's marriage with Anne Boleyn. In 1533, when Friar Peto had inveighed against it in his sermon or sermons before the King at Greenwich, Dr. Curwyn the next Sunday happened to preach there, and spoke as much for the marriage as Peto had against it, uttering several things against him, and wondered why a subject should behave himself so audaciously as he did before the King's face. After this he was preferred to the deanery of Hereford where he continued during Edward's reign. At length when Mary succeeded (to whom he was chaplain), in her letter to the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland (22 Feb., 1554), she gave licence to the Dean and Chapter of Holy

Trinity and St. Patrick's to proceed to the election of a successor to Browne.[1] She mentioned that "we have nominated unto the archbishopric of Dublin, now void, our well-beloved chaplain, Hugh Corren." This licence had been preceded by a letter (18 Feb.) to the Dean and Chapter of Holy Trinity from the Queen, under her privy signet, and signed in her own hand "Marye the Quene,"[2] in which she declared her desire for the election of the said Mr. Corren, and that the chapters should proceed at once and give effect to her wishes. The Chapters had no option but to elect Corren. In this Mary only did what many of her predecessors had done in regard to appointments to the See of Dublin. At the supplication of the King and Queen, the Holy See appointed Corren on 21 June, 1555, and bestowed the pallium on 23 August. He was consecrated in St. Paul's, London, on 8 September of the same year by Edmund Bonner, Bishop of London, Thomas Thirlby, Bishop of Ely, and Maurice Griffin, Bishop of Rochester.[3] The See of Dublin had thus been vacant for about a year and nine months. Four days after his consecration, Corren was appointed by Mary, at Greenwich, Chancellor of Ireland, and he arrived in his See in October.

Corren was not only an upholder of the Supremacy and of Henry's marriage with Anne Boleyn but he inveighed against the "Sacramentaries." "It is no marvel," he said, "though this abominable heresy so much prevail among us; for there is one now in the Tower [namely Frith], so bold as to write in defence of that heresy, and yet no man goeth about his reformation."[4] Thus he incited the King against Frith, and the latter's death is attributed to him. When Mary became Queen, he put aside the Edwardian liturgy and embraced again the Roman Pontifical. He has been justly styled "a complier in all reigns."[5] By some means he had succeeded in convincing Mary of his pretended loyalty to the Catholic Church. It is said that he "whose first article of belief enjoined submission to principalities and

[1] In the Papal appointment of Curwyn no mention is made of Browne; the Holy See utterly ignored his episcopate.

[2] Harris, *Ware's Bishops*, 352. This letter is said to be in the Chapter-House of Christ Church.

[3] Stubb's *Register*, p. 81.

[4] Strype, *Life of Parker*, i. 508.

[5] Strype, *Life of Cranmer*, p. 54.

powers, no doubt knew how to turn the Queen's love of power, as he had done her father's, to his own advantage." [1] Be this as it may, Corren was the strange instrument chosen by the Queen to counteract the evil wrought by Browne in the diocese. It may be useful to remark here that under Elizabeth he was again compliant, and was described by the commissioners for ecclesiastical causes (1563) as "civil and conformable" and ready to do "what authority shall command." [2]

His moral character was assailed by Loftus, who was "almost ashamed to mention," the "open crimes" of Corren.[3] However, we know that Corren had many enemies, and Loftus thought that he was not a sufficiently zealous reformer. Brady, Bishop of Meath, complained of him as not "willing to go through" and as an "old unprofitable workman." And Loftus said that he used to "swear terribly" in open judgment.[4] In 1567 he supplicated Queen Elizabeth to have the Bishopric of Oxford conferred upon him, being desirous to spend the remainder of his days in peace. He settled at Swinbroke, near Burford in Oxfordshire, having no house or palace belonging to his See, where he died towards the end of October, 1568, and was buried in the parish church there.[5] It is said that "Curwin was the only possessor of an Irish See at Elizabeth's accession, who is proved to have apostatised." [6]

To return to his appointment by Mary as Chancellor of Ireland, he received the following letter (13 Sept., 1555) from the King and Queen :—

Appointment of Hugh, Archbishop of Dublin, to the office of Chancellor: to hold during pleasure and receive such fees as his two immediate predecessors, John Alen and Richard Rede, received, payable out of the great and small customs of tonnage and poundage in the ports of Dublin, Drogheda, and Dundalk, or if the customs be not sufficient, out of the other revenues in the hands of the Treasurer, with power to keep the great seal of the office of Chancellor, and of sealing therewith all writs of common

[1] Bagwell, i. 395.
[2] Shirley, p. 140.
[3] Strype, *Life of Parker*, i. 221.
[4] Shirley, pp. 201, 275.
[5] *Athen. Oxon.*, i. 698.
[6] Brady, *Episcopal Succession*, i. 328.

justice and other charters, writs, commissions, letters, offices, tenements, or hereditaments.[1]

The same day he received another letter [2] as follows :—

Whereas we have received from our Holy Father the Pope a bull [3] herein enclosed, by which you shall clearly understand that his Holiness upon our recommendation, hath preferred unto the archbishoprick of Dublin, Ireland, our trusty and well beloved chaplain, Hugh Corren, whereupon he hath done unto us his homage and fealty, and hath expressly renounced all things contained in the said bull, or any other which may be prejudicial to us or our Crown ; we therefore will and command you that under our great seal you make out such, and as many writs as shall be necessary and requisite for the restitution of the temporalities of the archbishoprick to our said chaplain accordingly.

He brought with him a letter from Queen Mary as follows :—

To our trusty and well-beloved dean and chapter of the cathedral of Christ's Church in Dublin, within our realm of Ireland.

Mary Queen,

Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well ; and forasmuch as the right reverend father in God, our right trusty and well-beloved councillor, the Archbishop of Dublin, being lately chosen for that see, repaireth speedily to that our realm of Ireland, as well to reside upon the cure of his bishoprick, which now of long hath been destitute of a Catholick bishop, as also to occupy the office of our high chancellor of that our realm ; albeit we have good hopes ye will in all things of yourselves carry yourselves towards him as becometh you ; yet to the intent he might govern the clergy committed unto him, to the honour of Almighty God, and for the remain of our service, we have thought fit to require and charge you, that for your part ye reverently receive him, honour, and humbly obey him in all things, as appertaineth to the duties tending to God's glory, our honour, and the common weal of

[1] *Pat. and Cl. Rolls*, 2 and 3 Mary. [2] *Loc. cit.*

[3] This Bull of Pope Paul IV absolved the King and Queen from all excommunications and ecclesiastical censures, and erected Ireland into a kingdom under them. (Rome, 7 June, 1555.) A similar letter was written by Cardinal Pole, 15 Oct., 1555. From the Queen's letter it is clear that the cause of the delay in having Corren consecrated was that Mary had applied to Rome for confirmation of his appointment. He was sent to take up his official duties in Dublin without delay and reached his See in the month of October. "Curwin landed at Ringsend and lodged with Dean of Christ Church." (Loftus MSS.)

that our realm, whereby ye shall please God, and do us acceptable service.

Given under our signet, at our manor of Greenwich the 15th day of September, in the third year of our reign.[1]

The temporalities were restored to him on 21 October, 1555, and three days afterwards he took the following oath before the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland for the due execution of his office as Chancellor :—

Ye shall swear, that you shall be faithful and true Counsaillour to our most deare Sovereign Lorde the Kinge and our most deare Sovereign Ladye the Queen's Majesty, their heirs and successors, Kings of England, France, and Ireland, and shall faithfully, truly, and uprightly demeane yourself in the roome of Lord Chancellor of this realm of Ireland, as well towards their Majestys, their heirs and successors, as towards their Highness's subjects and all others that shall have to do before you ; you shall maintain, execute, and keep the laws, ordinances, and rights, of our Mother, the Holy Church, in all their points and articles, and the laws, ordinances, and most godly statutes of this realme, agreeable and consonant to the same ; you shall administer justice indifferently to all persons, refusing no man thereof ; you shall also do all other things that appertaineth to the office of Lord Chancellor and Counsaillor to the uppermost of your power ; Soe help you God, all Saints, and by this book.

Corren Undertakes the Counter-Reform.

Corren seems to have, at any rate, begun at once to carry out what was expected of him. The marble image of Christ, put aside by Browne, was immediately restored to its former place in Christ Church.

His first appearance in the pulpit made a good impression on his congregation, according to a letter[2] written at that time by one Martin Pelly or Pells to the Lo(rd)e :—

Also please it your lordship to be advertised, that the Archbishop of Dublin did preach his first sermon that he made in this land the Sunday after St. Andrew, in Christ Church in Dublin, and did set

[1] Mant, i. 238.

[2] Ware's *MSS.*, vol. 75, p. 180 ; Coll. Carew, *Lambeth MSS., Library*, no. 602, p. 136.

forth the word of God in his sermon sincerely and after such a sort, that those men that be learned and unlearned both do give him as high praise, as I have heard given to any one man : so that those men, that favour the word of God, are very glad of him, and prayeth for him so to continue.

Dowdall likewise set about at once to restore the old religion, held synods at Drogheda, deposed the married clergy, and caused a day of jubilee (in 1555) to be observed throughout all Ireland as a thanksgiving for the restoration.

That same year, and therefore shortly after he came to Dublin, Corren held a provincial synod for the "reformation of religion," and the restoration of the Catholic liturgy.[1] Former religious customs were also revived.

Church Property Restored.

By the confiscation of the possessions of the Church under Henry VIII, the clergy had been reduced to poverty. Many benefices entailing the cure of souls had been formerly filled by the religious orders, but since the dissolution of the monasteries, and owing to the complete inadequacy of the revenues, they had fallen into the hands of people without learning or moral stability.[2] Mary, on the advice of Cardinal Pole, determined to be the first to give the example. As more than 800 benefices were in the possession of the Crown, she declared that the renunciation of ten royal crowns would not be too great a sacrifice to assure the salvation of her soul.[3] But as the seizure had been made by Act of Parliament, it would require another Act to restore the property. Mary appealed to the Commons in England to set her conscience free from the injustice of holding this property, and Pole pointed out that the coffers of the state would not suffer thereby, and it would be better for the common good as the emoluments of the benefices would be of advantage to the sons of the nobles and the people.[4] The Bill was finally accepted by the Commons on 3 December, 1555, the Lords having previously passed it. With this restoration of benefices was coupled the repeal of the Act exacting first fruits and tenths of ecclesiastical benefices.

[1] Loftus MSS
[2] Pastor, xiv. 385.
[3] Lingard, *ad an.* 212 ff.
[4] Pastor, p. 387.

The Irish Parliament of 1556 also passed similar enactments; first fruits and yearly tenths to the Crown were to cease, and certain rectories, glebes, and other emoluments, spiritual and ecclesiastical, lately possessed by the Crown, were now renounced and relinquished; with a proviso, however, that the Act should not extend to any grants made by letters patent to any persons or bodies, other than to spiritual and ecclesiastical corporations. Thus the spoils of the Church, previously bestowed on the laity by Henry VIII, were allowed to remain in their hands. This arrangement seems to have been unavoidable. The English Parliament counted among its members many who were themselves in possession of Church property and who had no desire to follow the example of generosity and of self-sacrifice given by Mary. Their opposition to the Bill was prompted by their desire to retain the property. Although Cardinal Pole declared that the Church would not demand the property, yet the possessors were not satisfied until a Bull from Paul IV, at the repeated request of Pole, arrived which declared that the restoration of Church property was not to be exacted in Mary's realm. It was only after this assurance that the Commons passed the Bill.[1]

Yet in regard to Ireland, an exception seems to have been made in the case of the priory of St. John's of Jerusalem at Kilmainham, which, at the request of the Queen, Cardinal Pole, by his legatine power, restored to its former possessions and appointed Oswald Messingberd prior, by patent dated 8 March, 1557.

He seems to have had no belief in the stability of the new system. It is said [2] that he gave long leases and sold all that was saleable, and he took no thought for the morrow. Although this portion of the history of this priory is a blank, yet the question may be asked, why was it alone selected for restoration? There can be no doubt that Mary wished to restore the religious houses, but for the reasons given above this was impossible. Grants of monastic lands were, therefore, confirmed by her as freely as by her father and brother. In England wherever it could be done without offending vested

[1] Pastor, p. 386.

[2] Bagwell, i. 401.

interests, Mary re-established religious houses, for instance, the Benedictines at Westminster, the Carthusians at Sheen, and the Observants at Greenwich. And there are indications that she wished to examine titles closely, and to restore the monks where defects appeared. In Ireland we have already seen that Henry had appointed commissioners to grant leases of the lands that had come into the King's hands. It has been suggested that in the case of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem the Crown had not parted with the house and lands.[1] We know that Kilmainham priory had become the official residence of the Lord Deputy, and probably the manor lands remained as his appurtenances. These would have been small indeed for the upkeep of this great military order. But the other preceptories, the strongholds of English power, forming a chain throughout the south of Ireland, were clearly unrestored and unprovided for. It seems then that the restoration of Kilmainham priory was a poor makeshift, and it is not to be wondered at if the new prior considered it of no stability. He probably saw the futility of trying to continue it. At all events it had a short life, for Mary's death settled the question.

But if Mary could not restore the lands and possessions of the religious houses she was not without deep concern as to the fate of the plate and ornaments of the churches and chapels of Dublin city and county. It would seem that after the introduction of the Book of Common Prayer, the official establishment of Protestantism in Ireland, the churches were no longer frequented by Catholics, and the chalices, ciboriums, etc., no longer used. The church plate was evidently carried off wholesale, but by whom we do not know. It would seem that much of it was sold, and this would point to the sales having been carried out by the conforming priests or wardens. The situation, however, was considered so serious that the Queen issued a commission on 3 December, 1556, to the Archbishop of Dublin, Thomas Lyverous, Bishop of Kildare, and Dean of St. Patrick's, Thomas Lockwood (Dean of Christ Church), and others to enquire concerning the chalices, crosses, ornaments, bells, and other property belonging to the parish churches or chapels in the city and County Dublin,

[1] Bagwell, i. 402.

and of sales made thereof to any person or persons, the price, in whose hands they then remained; and also in whose possession were the houses, lands, and tenements belonging to those churches: to cause an inquisition to be thereof made and returned into Chancery without delay.[1]

We have no means of knowing what was the result of this inquisition, whether much of the ecclesiastical furnishing had been restored or not, or to what extent the churches and chapels had been despoiled.

Sentleger Recalled.

Sentleger did not long enjoy his term of office of Lord Deputy under Mary. The reason of his recall is attributed to various causes. Cox states that "he had formerly made some rhymes ridiculing transubstantiation," and adds, "and thereupon, for that or some other reason, he was soon after recalled."[2] Campion,[3] however, narrates in detail the circumstances that he considered led to this recall: "Queen Mary, established in her Crown, committed her government once more to St. Leger, whom sundry not known pelted and lifted at, till they shouldered him quite out of all credit. He, to be counted forward and pliable to the taste of King Edward the Sixth's reign, rhymed against the real presence for his pastime, and let the papers fall where courtiers might light thereon, who greatly magnified the pith and conveyance of that noble sonnet. But the original of his own handwriting had the same firmly, though contrary to his own judgment, wandering in so many hands, that his adversaries caught it, and tripped it in his way; the spot whereof he could never wipe out. Thus was he removed, a discrete gentleman, very studious of the state of Ireland, enriched, stout enough, without gall."

This whole story seems absolutely unreliable, considering what we now know about Sentleger's quarrel with Browne over this very doctrine of transubstantiation, for which he was reported, and recalled. Campion is probably mixing up these episodes. Instead of rhyming against the doctrine, he

[1] *Chancery Rolls, ad an.* (See Mason, *St. Patrick's*, 163.)
[2] *Hib. Angl.*, i. 302. [3] *Hist. of Ir.*, c. 10.

actually suffered for his adherence to it. We must remember also that he had professed that he did not wish to mix in religious matters. Considering his attitude also on the occasion of the installation of his successor (see next section) and on the occasion of his proclamation of the first Book of Common Prayer, this story seems completely out of gear. Moreover, if these alleged verses were so well known to courtiers then, it seems extraordinary that Mary alone was ignorant of them until three years after she came to the throne. Lastly, even if, for the sake of argument, he had written them, was not his subsequent conduct righteous and according to Mary's ideas? And, as Mary had pardoned great offenders, among whom was her own chaplain Corren, made Archbishop of Dublin, was it not likely that she would pardon the repentant Sentleger? Historians will have to invent some other story to explain his recall. The only reference to charges against him is to be found in his request to go to England to answer accusations made against him by Sir Wm. Fytzwylliams.[1] He had already written to Secretary Sir Wm. Petre that he was charged by his adversaries with debt to her Majesty, and that he had borrowed so much he could not borrow more. He likewise states that "he is clear from taking gifts and presents at the hands of Irishmen to show them partial favour."[2] It seems, then, that it was monetary matters that got him into trouble, and probably also his benign attitude towards the native Irish.[3]

The real reason of his recall seems to be that, as on a former occasion, he was heartily sick of trying to govern Ireland. He had done his best for his sovereign and with the money at his disposal, and, having been maligned, he wished to face the accusations. It was his own wish to be relieved

[1] *Cal. S.P.I.*, April (?), 1556. *Queen Mary*, vol. i., no. 10.

[2] *Ib.*, no. 8.

[3] Bagwell (i. 396), says: "As in the case of most Irish governors, his detractors, among whom Sir William Fitzwilliam was conspicuous, were busy at Court. They accused him among other things, of falsifying estimates in favour of Andrew Wyse, the late Vice-Treasurer, whose accounts had been found unsatisfactory. . . . His position made it impossible for him to economise, and no money came to pay his hungry retinue. A friendly chronicler [Hooker in Holinshed] has remarked that St. Leger, like all other Irish governors, was hated chiefly for his good deeds: like a good apple tree, which, the more fruit it bears, the more stones are thrown at it."

of the impossible burden and to be allowed to return to England.

New Deputy; Religious Celebrations.

Sentleger's entreaties for release were heard at last, and the government was conferred on Lord Fitzwalter, afterwards created Earl of Sussex. Mary rejoiced that the true Catholic faith had by God's great goodness and special grace been recovered in England and Ireland, and she directed her representative "to set forth the honour and dignity of the Pope's Holiness and See Apostolic of Rome." The installation of the new Lord Deputy was accordingly to be carried out with great pomp and with the Church's magnificent ceremonial. The following account of the auspicious occasion is given in the State Papers:—[1]

Thomas, Earl of Sussex, Lord Deputy, arrived upon the quay of Dublin on Whit Sunday (24 May in 1556), and with him his wife, Sir Henry Sydney, Treasurer, Sir William FitzWilliams, Mr. Henry Stafford, Mr. Jaques Wingfield, Mr. George Dellves, and others, in the mayoralty of Thomas Rogers, who conducted him to the cathedral of Christ Church, and thence to his lodging at the Powle [Pole] gate of Dublin.

On Monday he rode to Killmaynam, where he was nobly feasted by Sir Anthony Sentleger, then Lord Deputy, and after dinner consulted a certain space, and so returned to Dublin.

On Tuesday Sir Anthony Sentleger came to Dublin, and so to Christ Church, not permitting any of his gentlemen to precede him, or the sword to be borne before him. He went till he came to the chapel called [*blank*] [2] on the left hand of the altar in Christ Church, and there devoutly kneeled until the service was done, the Lord FitzWalters kneeling somewhat distant from him. The services being ended, the Lord Deputy proceeded forth, Sir George Stanley, Knight Marshall, bearing the sword before him "and the officers of arms; and, after his business humbly rendering unto the altar, sat down." The Lord Fitz-Walters' patent was then delivered to John Parker, Master of the Rolls, who read it, Sir Anthony kneeling before the altar, who,

[1] *Car. Cal.*, 1556, pp. 257-62.

[2] St. Mary's Chapel, afterwards mentioned (*Car.*, p. 279) as the place of a similar function.

after his thanks given to Almighty God, rose up, set Lord Fitz-Walters in his place, took the sword from Sir George Stanley, and upon his knees surrendered it to Lord FitzWalters; which sword was afterwards delivered to Sir Henry Sydney, Vice-Treasurer. Then Hugh Coren, Archbishop of Dublin, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, read the oath of the Lord FitzWalters, and I, Arthur, pursuivant-at-arms, held the mass book, whereon he took his oath. That done, the trumpets sounded and drums beat, and then the Lord Deputy kneeled down before the altar until the Te Deum was ended.

On Wednesday the Lord Deputy (FitzWalter) came to Christ Church, nobly accompanied, and, under a canopy at the church door, was received by the Archbishop of Dublin with the clergy kneeling. There he was censed, and after kissed the Cross, being blessed by the Archbishop. He then proceeded to the high altar, where he kneeled until the Te Deum was sung; and, being censed and blessed, and service done, he rose up from his place, and proceeded to the altar, where he kneeled a certain space, and offered a piece of gold. Then he departed to his lodging.

On Thursday the Lord Deputy came to the minister of St. Patrick's Church, and there, after the form aforesaid, was received by the said Archbishop, being Lord Chancellor, and there offered, and dined with him that day. A short space after he went to Kilmaynam, and there remained until Wednesday, 1st July, when he removed and came to Old Patrick's [1] by Skerris, and there lay that night with John Parker, Master of the Rolls. He afterwards went to Drogheda where, at the "high church" he was received by the Lord Primate, and service used as aforesaid.[2]

The same religious ceremonies accompanied other official acts. When Corren as Lord Chancellor and Sir Henry Sydney, treasurers at wars, were sworn, "they were censed and sprinkled with holy water and Mass was celebrated." [3] And when Thomas, Earl of Sussex, Lord Deputy in 1558, restored to Earl of Thomond his territory, the latter "together with the freeholders of the country did on Sunday the tenth day of July swear on the Sacrament, and by all the Relics of the Church, as Book, Bell and Candelight (they are the very words

[1] Presumably, Holmpatrick; the priory formerly granted to Cowley, Master of the Rolls.

[2] An interesting account of the whole journey round Ireland is given in the State Papers.

[3] Loftus MS. Ware's *Bishops*, p. 352.

of the herald's certificate) to continue loyal to the Queen and to perform their agreements with the Lord Deputy." [1]

Instructions for Lord Deputy.

Lord Deputy Fitzwalter on coming to take up his new post in Ireland carried with him detailed and far-reaching instructions [2] from Mary who still styled herself "Mary the Queen," although she had been long before married to Philip of Spain. She commands that :—

Our said Deputy and Council shall, by their own good example and all other good means possible advance the honour of Almighty God, the true Catholic faith and religion now by God's great goodness and special grace recovered in our realms of England and Ireland : and namely they shall set forth the honour and dignity of the Pope's holiness and see apostolic of Rome ; and from time to time be ready with our aid and secular force, at the request of all spiritual ministers and ordinaries there, to punish and repress all heretics and Lollards, and their damnable sects, opinions, and errors.

And where the most reverend Father in God, our right trusty and right entirely beloved cousin, the Lord Cardinal Poole [Pole], being sent unto us from the Pope's Holiness and the See Apostolic Legate of our said realms, mindeth in brief time to dispatch into our said realm of Ireland certain his commissioners and officials to visit the clergy and other members of the same realm of Ireland, our will, pleasure, special request, and express commandment is that our said Deputy and Council shall in all and everything belonging to the function and office Legatine assist, aid, and further the same commissioners, officials, their ministers and commandments, for the advancement of God's glory and the honour of the See Apostolic, so that the same commissioners and officials shall at their return report no lack in our said Deputy and Council or any other our ministers and good subjects in this part.

These instructions were issued to the Lord Deputy Fitzwalter.[3] George, Archbishop of Ardemaghe, Primate of Ireland, Hugh, Archbishop of Dublin, Chancellor, the Earls of Kildare, Ormond, and Desmond, Sir William Fitzwilliams,

[1] Cox, i. 305-7. [2] *Car. Cal.*, 1556, pp. 252-57.

[3] The farm of the house, demesnes, mills, and fishing of Kylmaynam, the Castle of Wicklow, and other manors and castles were granted to Lord Deputy FitzWalter by the King and Queen. (20 March, 1557. *Car. Cal.*, p. 272.)

Sir Henry Sydney, Sir John Alen, Sir John Travesse, and John Plunket, members of the Council. (Given 28 April, 2-3*a. r.*)

Mary's concern was not confined to these matters of repression of errors and the legatine commission to ensure due obedience to the Pope and to see that the Irish bishoprics were thoroughly restored in the ancient faith and practice. Her anxiety for the devotion of the people and for the fitting worship of God showed her keenness and thoroughness in her counter-reform. The great central act of Catholic worship, the Mass, must be restored in all its ancient splendour of ceremonial, and churches must be becomingly furnished and adorned so as to increase the fervour and faith of the people. Instructions[1] to this effect were sent to the Lord Deputy, 17 November, 1556. The Queen was specially concerned with the settling and planting of the north-east coast of Ireland, and directed Fitzwalter :—

8. To have a special foresight how the people which shall be sent thither, may be instructed in the Catholic religion, and what churches there be fit for the same.

Lord FitzWalter's opinion—

To the eighth I say that when towns be built, there also churches must be built, for the time as well as there may be, and after amended. The priests and ministers must be sent out of England and well chosen, who may as well instruct the people in the Catholic faith as also see their churches so kept and adorned, as the sight thereof may bring reverence and more devotion, which in my opinion feareth the hearts of the people more, being daily put in remembrance by their eye than the words of the rare preacher which for the time most commonly feedeth the ear, and after falleth from the remembrance of the ignorant.

I would also wish a discreet man to be sent out of England, who should be bishop of those parts [N.E. coast], as well as to see the premises [foregoing] observed in his diocese, as also to give example to other bishops to do the like in reforming of their dioceses, and the ministers under them, who (it is as pitiful as true), be now the common spies and messengers of mischief, and make their churches not only in the north, but also through the most of Ireland, like stables for horses, and herd-houses for cattle, than holy places to minister with due reverence the most blessed Sacraments in ;

[1] Shirley, *Original Letters*, no. 27.

and use them, as appeareth by the filth in them, more to that purpose than to the other; which ungodliness amongst Christian men, it may please your Majesty with the advice and authority of my Lord Cardinal's grace, to see abolished and the disorder reformed.

Other instructions were issued by Mary for the peace of her realm of Ireland and for the placing of the Irish Sees in their spiritual and temporal welfare on a secure basis. On 4 February, 1556, she wrote to the Lords spiritual and temporal and Commons assembled in Parliament in Ireland ordering them to give assistance to the Lord Deputy, Fitzwalter, for the restitution of their ancient rights, revenues, regalities, etc., of late years much diminished and neglected, and to continue the assistance recently given him in "expulsing of the Scots, plaguing of our rebels, and reducing that disorderly realm to better state of good rule and tranquillity that it was lately in." [1] And in the appointment of Thomas, Earl of Sussex, as Lord Deputy, he was ordered (9 March, 1557) to grant and confer all ecclesiastical offices belonging in any way to the King's presentation; the nomination of archbishops and bishops always excepted; to confirm the state, privileges and liberties of all persons possessed of any ecclesiastical benefices; to accept the allegiance, provisions, and renunciations of the archbishops and bishops, and cause their temporalities to be restored to each of them; reserving all rights and revenues by reason of the vacancy of the said dignities and benefices; to receive the homage of all tenants spiritual and temporal, and of all subjects; to cause their lands and tenements to be restored to them, and the King's hands therefrom removed.[2]

Settlement of Ireland.

Mary, though a Catholic, was as determined to quell the opposition of the Irish chiefs to her sovereignty over Ireland as Henry VIII had been. After a month's stay in the capital, the Lord Deputy set out for the north with a considerable force composed of regular soldiers, Ormonde's followers, and the horsemen provided by the gentlemen of the Pale. Having succeeded to some extent in securing submission from the Irish

[1] *Pat. and Cl. Rolls*, 3 and 4 Mary. [2] *Ib.*, 4 and 5 Mary.

chiefs and settling districts on a peaceful basis, Sussex received the Queen's thanks. In order to continue the work, Mary issued various commissions[1] to prelates and officials. One of these was to Hugh, Archbishop of Dublin, Primate and Chancellor; George, Archbishop of Armagh, Primate of All Ireland; John Bathe, Chief Justice of the Common Bench; James Bathe, Chief Baron of the Exchequer; John Parker, Master of the Rolls; Sir Patrick White, Second Baron of the Exchequer; and John Plunket of Donsoghly, to hear and determine all causes and complaints (from 15 June to 20 Aug.) as well by bill as writ, but not the cases of the magnates or nobility; reciting that grievous complaints had been made to the Lord Deputy of enormities and injuries perpetrated on her Majesty's subjects, but which, in consequence of the pressure of public affairs, hitherto could not be attended to.

Another commission was issued to the Archbishop, Gerald, Earl of Kildare, and others for the government of the counties of Dublin, Kildare, and Catherlough, and the confines and marches thereof, in the absence of the Lord Deputy; to take and survey the muster and array of all the inhabitants of those counties, as there should be need; to cause them to be assessed and arrayed to horses and arms of light cavalry, horsemen and footmen according to the quantity of their lands, tenements, goods, and cattle; to cess the men in every barony for the defence of the country, and to place them to serve in such places as shall seem most expedient; to fine, chastise, and imprison such as are negligent, remiss or rebellious, and certify the amercements unto the Exchequer; to treat and parley with the King's enemies or rebels; to grant safe conduct to all who may wish to treat and to return to their country; to take and establish ordinances and agreements with them, and compel them to observance; to resist and punish with fire and sword, or otherwise, those enemies and rebels who may attempt any evil against the Queen or her subjects; commanding all earls, nobles, sheriffs, barons, mayors, provosts, bailiffs, constables, servants, and other officers and subjects to be aiding and assisting in the execution of the premises.

A third commission was issued to the Lord Deputy, Hugh,

[1] *Pat. and Cl. Rolls*, 2 and 3 Mary.

Archbishop of Dublin, Lord Chancellor, and judges and officials of the Council, to enquire by the oaths of twelve men, as well within the Irish counties not yet shire ground, as within the shire ground of the realm, of what lands, manors, lordships, advowsons, and hereditaments, the late Earl of Kildare (Thomas) was seised or possessed, at any time during his life, and which came to the hands of the Crown by reason of the attainder of the said Earl; that they should return into the Chancery of England a transcript of the offices or inquisitions to be found, in order to the restoration of those possessions to Gerald, the then Earl; and should cause satisfaction to be made for the money, plate, jewels, and household stuff, which were concealed and embezzled by several persons at the time of the attainder.

Besides the Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, the Bishop of Kildare, judges, and officers of State, many notable persons in the various counties were commissioned as Justices of the Peace. Amongst these we find John Alen of Alenscourt and Thomas Alen of Kylheale, who had been so prominent in the "reform." The Deans of Holy Trinity and St. Patrick's received similar commissions for counties Meath and Dublin.

The country was still in an unsettled condition, and provisions were scarce. Dowdall had written to the Queen and Council that "a man may ride south, west, and north 20 or 40 miles, and see neither house, corn, nor cattle . . . many hundreds of men, women, and children are dead of famine." And Lord Justice, Sir Henry Sydney, and Council wrote to the Queen telling of the evil designs of the Irishry and the attempts of the French and Scots, and that the country was in a wretched state, having neither money, munition, nor credit.

Archbishop Corren also tells a tale of opposition to the Queen. In a letter to the Lord Deputy he enclosed one from William Pers, constable of Carrickfergus, to himself, which letter, he said, was from one of the chief men in Ireland, Gerald, Earl of Kildare, who he fears, "is a true Frenchman, and the chief doer with the Scots and Frenchmen." And he tells how Sorley Boy McDonnell began to talk after supper and "said plainly that Englishmen had no right to Ireland." [1]

[1] According to Loftus (MSS., 1555): "Cavanaghs took Powerscourt; Knight Marshal besieged them 3 May, took them prisoners, beheaded many next day in Dublin Castle."

John Alen Retires to England.

John Alen had been a loyal supporter of the "reform," a friend of Browne, but strong in his opposition to him when Browne wished his support in a falsehood against Sentleger. He had acquired many lands and possessions, as a relative of Browne's predecessor, and a determined opponent of the Fitzgeralds. St. Wolstan's and the lands around Celbridge had fallen into his hands, and St. Wolstan's became Alenscourt. He was Master of the Rolls, and then Lord Chancellor. But through love of intrigue, and through the instrumentality of Sentleger, he lost his position of Lord Chancellor. He still continued a loyal advocate of the "reform" and supporter of Edward VI. Consistent with her policy in Ireland towards the lay folk who had accepted the "reform," Mary granted him a pardon (9 Dec., 1555-56) and appointed him, along with his old family enemy, Gerald, Earl of Kildare, Justice of the Peace for Kildare and Carlow. She was most considerate of John Alen, aware, doubtless, of his loyal character and of his loss of prestige and office. She granted him license to remain in England or return at his pleasure, and ordered a new lease of twenty-one years of his church lands, etc.[1] Whatever may have occurred after that, does not appear, but James, Earl of Ormond, writing to the Queen (April, ? 1556) stated that John Alen was a "secret practiser of all sedition and malice."[2] This much must be said for Alen, that in his intrigues his main object was the "reform," and his zeal for that was consistent and courageous. We have only to recall how he refused to support Browne when asked to lend his name to a lie against Sentleger. Nevertheless, like the other officials of Henry and Edward, he did not go without a handsome reward out of the confiscated Church lands. And, as these were not recalled by Mary, the heirs of Alen and others handed on to their children the manors, lands, revenues, and privileges of the ecclesiastical establishments of Catholic Ireland.

Irish Statutes against "Heretics."

The instructions to the Deputy were afterwards embodied in the Acts passed in the Irish Parliament which began in

[1] *Cal. Pat. and Cl. Rolls*, 1 Mary, 1554. [2] *Cal. S.P. Ir., ad an.*

Dublin on 1 June, 1557, and on 2 July was adjourned to 10 November to Limerick, and then was adjourned to 1 March to Drogheda. The Act of Parliament, 3 and 4 Philip and Mary, contains in its preamble the Bull from Paul IV transmitted through Cardinal Pole. This Bull—

having been delivered by the Lord Deputy to the Lord Chancellor, Archbishop Curwin, was by him devoutly and reverendly received and read upon his knees, in open parliament deliberately and distinctly, in an high voice. And the Lords spiritual and temporal and the Commons, in the name of themselves particularly, and also of the whole body of the realm, hearing the same, embraced it right reverendly and humbly kneeling upon their knees, being repentant; and yielding thanks, had *Te Deum* solemnly sung. And further, for a due proof of their repentance, immediately proceeded to abrogate and repeal all the acts and statutes made in Parliament, since the 20th year of King Henry the Eighth, against the See Apostolical of Rome, according to the tenour and effect of the said bull.

By this Act many false doctrines were stated to have been taught, preached, and written, partly by divers natural born subjects of the realm, and partly being brought in hither from sundry other foreign countries. The providence of God was acknowledged for having raised up and set on the throne their Majesties, as " persons undefiled, and by God's goodness preserved from the common infection aforesaid." The title of Supreme Head of the Church was pronounced to be not justly attributable to any king or governor; but writs, letters patent, commissions, and other documents, whether the title of supremacy was contained or omitted, were declared good. Bulls and dispensations from Rome, not prejudicial to royal authority, or the laws in force and not repealed in this Parliament, were allowed to be put in execution. And it was ordained that the See of Rome should have and enjoy such authority, pre-eminence, and jurisdiction, as the Pope used and exercised, or might have lawfully used and exercised by the authority of his supremacy in the twentieth year of the reign of the King her Majesty's father, within this her realm of Ireland and other her dominions.

Another Act of the same Parliament, entitled " an Act for reviving of three statutes made for the Punishment of Heresies " (c. ix.) was passed—

for the eschewing and avoiding of errors and heresies, which of late have risen, grown, and much increased, within this realm, for that the ordinaries have wanted authority to proceed against those that were infected therewith. [It was enacted that] the three statutes made respectively in the reigns of King Richard the Second, King Henry the Fourth, and King Henry the Fifth concerning the arresting and apprehension of erroneous and heretical preachers, and concerning repressing of heresies and punishment of hereticks, and concerning the suppression of heresy and Lollardy, and every article, branch, and sentence contained in the same three several acts, and every of them, shall from the first day of this present parliament be revived, and be in full force, strength, and effect, to all intents, constructions, and purposes whatever.

Mary did all she could to efface her father's and brother's anti-Roman policy; but no Irish persecution took place. We do not know whether this was due to the Queen's want of will rather than to the insignificance of the Protestants in Ireland. Be this as it may, it is said that many people fled from the western parts of England in hope of sharing the comparative immunity enjoyed by the small Protestant congregation in Dublin.[1]

Parliament restored the jurisdiction of bishops over their churches as though no exemption or grant had been made of them by the late King, and it enacted that lands might be given to spiritual bodies without licence of mortmain. It was decreed that the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the archbishops, bishops, and ordinaries should be in the same state for process of suits, punishment of crimes, and execution of censures of the Church, with knowledge of causes belonging to the same, and as large in these points as the said jurisdiction was in the twentieth year of Henry VIII. All payment of first fruits was to cease, and yearly tenths were renounced. Finally, rectories, glebes, tithes, emoluments, ecclesiastical and spiritual in the possession of the Crown since 28th year Henry VIII, were renounced by the Queen. Thus, the Catholic Church in Ireland enjoyed for a short time a welcome rest from religious turmoil. But the death of Mary on 17 November, 1558, put a speedy end to the joy of peace.

[1] Bagwell, i. 413.

APPENDICES.

(*Being a Summary of Unpublished Latin Roll, State Papers, Ireland, Folios* v. 2, *no.* 2, *Public Record Office, London.*)

I.

Carmelite Monastery of White Friars.

Extent of lands and possessions made at Dublin, 18 Aug., 30 Hen. VIII [1538], before Thomas Walsshe, one of the King's commissioners, by the oath of Thomas Bysset, labourer, John Conor, weaver [?], John Fleming, tanner, Nicholas Carhull, weaver, Patrick Fyny, husbandman, Daniel Mylner, Thomas Roche, labourer, and John Ogan.

The church and all other buildings within the precincts of said house were thrown down except one small hall, one small room, and one stable with two chambers (lofts) which are now waste. The roofs of the church and said buildings were bought by Nicholas Stanyhurst from William Brabazon, Sub Treasurer of the King, but for how much the jurors do not know. Within the precincts is a garden which Denis Moran held to farm leased to him by the late prior at 4s. p. a. Another garden held to farm by Risor Eustas late wife of Matthew Godyng at 4s. p. a. Another small garden occupied by Denis Milner at 4s. p. a. Two vacant plots, formerly orchards, at 2s. p. a. An enclosure of pasture outside the precincts, to the south, of 2 acres at 10s. p. a. Out of this the Prior of Kylmaynan used to receive 6s. 8d. p. a. quit rent. Another enclosure of pasture and meadow of 1 a. at 3s. 4d. p. a. In the suburbs of Dublin near the priory, a messuage held to farm by Simon Gaydon at 2s. p. a. Another messuage held by Patrick Shane at 5s. p. a. A messuage held by Thomas Lokonne at 5s. p. a. A messuage held by Philip Colman at 10s. p. a. A garden held by Thomas Roche at 3s. p. a. A messuage held by Elizabeth Loghan, widow, at 2s. p. a. No other lands or tenements belonged to the said priory. Total £2 13s. 8d.

Mem.—Nicholas Stanyhurst holds the site, lands, and tenements aforesaid to farm by grant from the King under the great seal of Ireland for a term of years at 40s. p. a.

II.

St. Mary's Abbey.

The inventory or extent was taken on 23 October, 1539, before Thomas Walssh, John Mynne and William Cavendesh, the King's commissioners, assisted by Anthony Sentleger, Deputy of the King in Ireland, and on the oath of Henry Byrmyngham of Bloyke (Bullock, Dalkey), John Savan (of the same), Walter Hussey of Dobboure, William Kelly of Drushoke, Richard Horwiche of Ballybaghull, John Longe of Drushoke, Thomas Lynan of Garraston, William Kelly of Carebrennan (Carrickbrennan, Monkstown), John Gawen (of the same), James McShane (*do.*), John O'Moran (*do.*), William Fullann (*do.*), Thomas —— (*do.*), Walter Colman (*do.*), John Long (*do.*), Denis O'Fynne (*do.*), Thomas McMyles (*do.*), Patrick Frynde (*do.*), Patrick Bayly (*do.*), David Vengill (*do.*), James Cogan (*do.*), John Lacy (*do.*), William Lache (*do.*), John Taylor (*do.*), Patrick Gygyn (*do.*), Hugh White (*do.*), Simon Browne (*do.*), James Richardson of Dublin, Walter Harbryke, Thomas Byrne (*do.*), Edward Harbert (*do.*), Patrick Hooker (*do.*), Simon Browne (*do.*).

Extent of all possessions, spiritual as well as temporal, made at Dublin, 23 October, 1539.

All the buildings of the monastery, church, and other houses, were standing as at the time of the dissolution. The church was occupied by John Travers, Master of the Ordinance, for artillery and other munitions of war.

Leonard Grey, late Deputy, had a lease for some years of a mansion called the Abbott's Lodgynge, and other buildings pertaining to it, a garden called the Abbott's Garden, a large orchard called the Comyn Orcharde, the Asshparke enclosed, a rickyard (*granario*) over the outer door of the monastery, the Abbot's stable, the Ankerest [1] Parke enclosing 3 a. pasture, at xxv [*sic*] p. a.

The remaining buildings with the Convent Gardyn were sufficient for the use of the farmer [2] there.

Walter Hussey occupies, by lease, within the convent precincts, a messuage and garden at 3s. 4d. p. a.

[1] Anchorite.

[2] "Farmer" is used for the person to whom buildings, lands, or tithes were leased on payment of a certain annual sum. In the case of tithes of rectories at a distance from the religious house in the city or suburbs it was more convenient for the abbot and community to lease them to a private individual who would collect them. The annual rent would be lower (generally one-fifth) than the value of the tithes, thus leaving a margin for the "farmer's" trouble. The "farmer" in the case of the above premises was Walter Pipard.

Leonard Grey had there a water-mill[1] and a horse-mill at £6 p. a.

There are 50 a. arable and 1 stang[2] in the Abbey Manor measured by John Tasken of Dublin and John Fagan of Baldowyle, the perch being equal to 24 feet according to the custom of the country there,[3] and worth 1s. 3d. p. a.

The tithes of the garbarum[4] of the Manor lands are 2 couples[5] = 26s. 8d.

There are 30 a. pasture and habietum, 60s. p. a.

Sum of extent of monastery site with manor lands and tithes = £14 0s. 4d.

Grange of Clonlyffe.—1 messuage[6] and 123½ arable (£6 3s. 6d. p. a.), 8 a. meadow (16s. p. a.), 10 a. common pasture (6s. 8d. p. a.).[7] Water-mill (11s. p. a.) £9 6 2

Reynoldiston.—1 messuage and 30 a. (no customs, no tithes) held by Walter Walsshe (paying also 4s. rent to Prior of Kilmainham) p. a. . . . 1 0 0

Ballyboght.—2 messuages and 150 a. arable, 1 a. meadow, 4 a. common pasture and gorse (*iampnorum*) held by William Leche and Agnes widow of Richard Yonge at 200 bushels of corn and oats by St. Glennoke's measure,[8] i.e. 95 corn and 105 oats (a bushel = 9 pecks; price of bushel of corn, 12d., of oats, 6d) = £7 7s. 6d. Customary services,[9] 8

[1] Probably on the Bradogue, the stream that flows, now underground, from Cabra and through the abbey lands at Halston Street into the Liffey near East Arran Street.

[2] A measure of land, the fourth part of an acre.

[3] Perch = 5½ yards = 16·5 feet. In the above measurement it was 24 feet, viz., 1½ times the statute perch. This was called the Fingal measure. Perambulation was a common system of measuring.

[4] Grain.

[5] Up to the end of the fourteenth century the usual measure of corn was a crannoc, usually equal to the English quarter, or eight bushels.

[6] A dwelling-house, especially one with its adjacent out-buildings, garden, curtilage, and other usual appendages.

[7] Arable land 1s. an acre; meadow, 2s.; pasture, 8d. These prices varied according to the soil.

[8] Glennoke, i.e. Glas-Caineoc or stream of St. Canice, patron of Finglas. Glennoke is then a corruption for Canoc. The measure varied considerably, whether the grain was corn, oats, etc. In that of corn, a bushel = 8 pecks or *lagenae* (gallons). In the above there were 9 pecks in a bushel of oats.

[9] The services to the lord of the manor, in this case the abbot, given by the tenants in ploughing and harvest time, making up hay, or weeding, or cutting, or carting the harvest to the manor house or sometimes to the monastery in Dublin. These services were worth here 3d. a day each man.

days ploughing, 4 days carting (3 of preceding in autumn), and 3 hens [1] (5d.) £7 12 6

Droushoke.[2]—1 messuage, 54 a. arable, 3 a. meadow, 5 a. pasture, 5 a. gorse, and 5 a. underwood = £4 p. a., also customs = 2s.: held by William Walsshe, p. a.. . . . . 4 2 0

Tithes of Ballyboght and Droushoke (6½ couples), paid to Thomas Howith, Justice . . . 3 12 0

Dublin City: Parish of St. Andrew.—Augustinian friars paid as rent for their house, 3s. 6d.; 2 gardens and 1 house, held by William Grace, Simon Walsshe, and the widow of Richard Walsshe 0 11 4

Parish of Blessed Mary [3] *in Castle Street.*—1 garden, held by Margaret Latherne 0 1 4

Parish of St. Werburg.—2 shops (26s. 8d.), 4 houses (28s.) one of which in Fisher's Street; 1 garden (waste; 16d. p. a.). Tenants, Stephen Casse, Richard Whitte, Roland Bagge, John Wylkynn, Clemens Cyeraghe and John Lurcote . . . 2 14 8

Parish of St. John Lebothstret.[4]—1 house (13s. p. a.), 1 tenement (waste). Holy Trinity used to pay as rent 6s. 8d. Tenants, Johanna Wylken, Christopher Talbot, and Katherine Sheld . . . 0 13 0

Parish of St. Olave [5] *in Fishamble Street.*—3 gardens, 1 house, 2 tenements (one in le Woodkey). Tenants, Stephen Casse, Robert Cottrell, Thomas Fyan, Arnold Ussher and Gerald Aylmer . . . 1 4 4

Parish of St. Nicholas in Skinners' Row.[6]—9 tenements, 8 houses, 2 gardens, 1 vacant plot of ground. (One of the tenements lately occupied by procurator of St. Nicholas, now held by Earl of Ormond from King without rent.) Bailiffs of City pay for Tholsel,[7] 3s. p. a. Prior of Holy Trinity [8]

[1] A hen was usually given by the tenant to the lord at Christmas. In the fourteenth century the hen was worth 1d. Here it is worth 1⅔d., but usually in the sixteenth century it was worth 2d.

[2] Drishogue or brambly district, near Clonmethan in Fingal.

[3] St. Mary del Dam, called after the Dam on the Poddle river at Lower Castle Yard. The church stood at the site of the present City Hall and Dame Gate.

[4] St. John Evangelist, Fishamble Street, beside Christ Church. Lebothstret = The Booths, Shambles, Fisher-shambles Street.

[5] At the bottom of Fishamble Street, east side.

[6] Now Christchurch Place.

[7] City Hall, beside St. Nicholas Church. [8] Christ Church.

holds a garden. Two of the rents were 1 lb. of cinnamon (*cimini*) and 1 oz. pepper. Tenants, John Wyrrall, John Collyer, William Fyttrye, John Bynnett, Robert Shillingford, widow of William Newman, Nicholas Hancocke (this tenement is now waste by reason of attainder of John Burnell[1]), William Newman, Robert Shillingford, Philip Ellyat, Nicholas Hancocke, John Burnell (tenement now waste), Patrick Burge, Dermot Kelly, and John Bryan £7 16 2

Parish of St. Audoen.—8 tenements, 2 of which were held by Master and Wardens of St. Anne's Gild,[2] and one by Abbot and Convent of St. Thomas. Tenants, Thomas Luttrell, Nicholas Quatreat, Stephen Stewis, John Baylay (tenement of Christopher Plunkett), James Orype, John Rocheford (also a tenement of Richard Talbot), Clemens Curragh (in vico coquorum, Cooks Street, 2 shops, 12d.), Edward Harbard (2 shops, 13s.), Clemens Curragh (2 shops, 12s.), John Richeford (1 house, 12s.), John Reynold, and Francis Harbart (rent, 1 lb. *cimini*) 3 2 8

Parish of St. Nicholas in St. Patrick's Street.[3]—5 tenements, 1 messuage. Tenants, Thomas Bothe, Reginald Suettbye (? Suetterbye), Thomas Bathe, Galfrid Sale (in the new street of St. Sepulchre's, i.e. Kevin Street), John Roche (in Lyecowne Street) 1 0 8

Parish of St. Katherine[4] *in St. Thomas Street.*—8 tenements and 1 house. Tenants, John Rede, Robert Luttrel, John Haforde, James Pasmantt, Thomas Jacob, Patrick Burge, Alicia Nugent . . . 1 13 8

Parish of St. James in St. Thomas Street.[5]—2 gardens, 1 tenement, 1 grange, pasture lands, salmon

[1] Of Balgriffin, Co. Dublin, attainted of treason, A.D. 1536.

[2] The religious Gild in St. Audoen's founded in 1430. These tenements were between Cook Street and Cornmarket.

[3] St. Patrick's, being a cathedral, was not a parish church. One of its side-chapels was appointed as the parish church for the neighbourhood under the title of *St. Nicholas Without* the walls, to distinguish it from *St. Nicholas Within*, in Skinners Row, Christchurch Place.

[4] St. Catherine's stood behind the site of the present Protestant St. Catherine's in Thomas Street. It was the parish church for St. Thomas' Abbey.

[5] The highway to Kilmainham village was still called Thomas Street, though St. James's Church stood between St. Catherine's and Kilmainham.

fishery on Liffey [1] (30s.). Tenants, John Rocheford (1 garden within Crokersbars, and another outside it), Thomas Mason, John Rocheford (a grange outside Crokersbars, some lands, pastures, and meadow) £4 9 4

Parish of St. Michan.—50 houses,[2] 32 tenements, 16 gardens, and vacant plots of ground. Also 2 water-mills called Dammys.[3] Tenants, Margaret Harebrecke, Michell Henry, Henry Duff, Richard Talbot, Thomas Leche, Richard Taylor, William Pouer, Henry Duff, William Pouer, Rauland Baker, Thomas Shotte, William Pyscart, Nicholas Browne, Walter Hussey, John Holler, John Chamerlayne, Genet Wydlecke, John Hubbucar, John Archepull, George Miagh, Christopher Barnewall, Walter (*sic*), Thomas Byrmyngeham, John Famem, John Sharvayne (Sherwin), Nicholas Gowne, William Piscart, Thomas Fynne, Thomas Byrne, Thomas Weston, William Gauann, Isabel Myrry, John Rocheford (also gardens given to the Abbey by Richard Bull lying in the lane called Stonynglane, *alias* Kyngislane), John Holler, Phillis Dowrysh, William Carrane (in lane called Lephill), William O'Doghyrt, Hugh Murtagh, Patrick Sener, Catherine Ardan, Dermot (*sic*), Thomas Fynne, Robert Hay, Thady Roche, Kylo Myrtagh, William Mole, Philip Dowrost, John Archersole, William Fagenn, John Crock, Robert Byckton, Johanna Or (in lane called le Frapsaus-lane, i.e. Frappers Lane), Richard Walsshe, Dermot Hayne, Galfrid Mosse (?), Nicholas Gowne, Walter Hussey, John Tastan, Walter Harbryke, Donald Fyddler, Galfrid Massy, Henry Duff, Robert Hay, William Ball, Richard Kyrrall, Thomas Burgesse, John Reynold, Elizabeth Mercye, Foc [*blank*], Philip Mann, Anna Whitte, George Nyaghar. Within the franchise of the city, 1 pasture called le Steyne, of 40 a. held by Christopher [*blank*, probably, Barnewall] . . . 33 7 9

[1] Salmon fishery belonged to the portion of the land that flanked the course of the Liffey. It belonged to St. Mary's Abbey, Christ Church, the Hospital of Kilmainham, and the City of Dublin.

[2] These houses were in Oxmantown or Danishtown, a large suburb on the north bank of the Liffey, around the present King Street.

[3] The Dam mills on the Poddle at the Lower Castle Yard.

Ville de Dobbere.[1]—1 messuage or fortilage, a dove-cot, garden, haggard, 138 a., a grove of ash-trees (2 a.) at Finglas Bridge in the parish of Glannoke. Tenant, Walter Husse	£4	13	4
Tithes of village in corn and oats leased to John Ryan, p. a.	1	6	8
Rectory of Stantroff.[2]—Tithes (besides altarages to the curate) in Stantroff, Sturmyneston, Maieston, Shillocke,[3] Bardeston, Hunston, and Ballystrowan, held by indenture by Robert Barnewall. Tithes in Collyeston and Davenston leased to Thomas Howith, Justice. Tithes in Ballymon, now waste, but when sown leased to Nicholas Hancocke for 1 qr. of corn, p. a.	14	0	0
Grange of Ballichelmer.[4]—2 messuages, 134 a. arable, 6 a. meadow, 12 a. pasture and moor, held by Nicholas Rowe and Simon Browne (£8 6s. 8d.); 4 cottagers (pay only the customs). All tenants give at Christmas 1 hen (2d. each). Tithes, 38 measures, each of 12 gallons (*lagenas*), one with another each worth 12d. (38s.) p. a. . . .	10	7	8[5]
John Shilton and Walter Barby are farmers of the tithes under pretext of a lease made to them by the late Abbot for the use of John Barrett [6] late monk of St. Mary's Abbey at a rent of 40s. . . .			
Village of Kylmacodryke.[7]—1 messuage, 51 a. and customs, held by Patrick Holder. . . .	2	13	6
Tithes, cottage, and customs, p. a.. . . .	1	4	2
Village of Galreston.[8]—6 messuages, 280 a., 4 cottages, and customs. Tenants, Patrick Balye, James Bughull, Thomas Lusshe, William Rowe, David Bughull, and Patrick Frynde	11	18	1

[1] Dubber, *Dubh-bothar* or Black Road, near Santry. Vill probably means the townland or district.

[2] Santry or Sean-treibh, the old tribe.

[3] Silloge, or land of the sallows.

[4] New Grange, *alias* Ballichelmer and Kilmacuddricke, contained 180 acres in the reign of James I. (Chanc. Inq., 6 Feb., 1621-22.)

[5] Mistake for £10 5s. 8d.

[6] Barrett received a pension of 53s. 4d. per annum at the dissolution of the Abbey. According to the above the abbot also provided for his temporal welfare.

[7] Kilmacuddrick, or the old church on the Grand Canal near Clondalkin.

[8] Galrotheston.

Village of Clondalkin.—2 messuages, 15½ a. and customs. Tenants, Patrick Holder and David Whittington (8s. p. a. to Bishop of Dublin as quit rent)	£0	16	4
Grange in le Marche.[1]—4 messuages, 272 a., and tithes (60 pecks), 7 cottagers, customs, water-mill, and tithes. Tenants, John Longe, Denis O'Fynne Thomas McMyles. The mill (perquisites 60 pecks) leased to Walter Tyrrell for 33s. 4d. The tithes leased to Walter Tyrrell for 53s. 4d. . . .	14	16	4
Village of Ballyrowan.—60 a. (waste, no tenants) .			
Vill of Caribrynan[2] alias *Monketon.*—4 messuages, 13 cottages, and 208 a. p. a. Tenants, John McTeg John Ryath, and others	10	7	0
Customs, including 1 sheep (8d.) out of every flock of 7 sheep, 1 little sow (6d.) of every litter of 7 pigs.[3]	3	2	10
Grange of Carbrynan.—A chief messuage, with 3 towers, surrounded by stone walls necessary for the defence of the inhabitants of those parts, their goods and chattels,[4] 1 garden enclosure of 5 a., 126 a. (£8 p. a.). Tithes (53s. 4d.), 2 cottages (1s. each). Total	10	15	4
Village of Newton.[5]—1 messuage, 101 a. (£4 13s. 4d.), 4 cottages, no rent only customs as in Monketon. Tenant, John Moran	6	13	0
Village of Bloyke.[6]—2 messuages, 60 a. (72s. 3d.), 7 cottages and tithes. Tenants, Patrick Byrmyngeham and John Gaben. Tithes leased to Richard Edwardes	4	8	3
Village of Dalkey.—1 messuage with enclosure, 7 a., 3 houses (no land) p. a. (4s. quit rent to Bishop of Dublin). Tenants, John Lacy, Anthony Shillingford, Donald McThomas, and Terence Mayne. .	0	15	8
Grange of Ballybaghill.—1 mansion, several houses, 220 a., 1 water-mill (£7 6s. 8d.). Customs, viz. 4 carts drawing hay to Mary's Abbey (=16d.). Tenant, William Kelly	7	8	0

[1] The Marches or borders of the Pale.

[2] Carrickbrennan or Monkstown.

[3] This was quite a unique form of the customs.

[4] Namely, against the invasion of the Wicklow clans from the Dublin mountains above Shankill.

[5] The old village near the present Blackrock.

[6] Bullock and its harbour, an important port in those days.

Village of Ballybaghill.—4 messuages, 389 a. (£10 5s. 4d.). Customs, carting, 19 geese (6s. 8d.), 5 watche hennes (10d.). Tenants, Joneta (*sic*), Richard Sedgrave, Nicholas Tallon, Richard Howringe and Simon Ball. 6 cottages (13s 8d.), 8 cottages (waste). Tenants, James Dillon, Nicholas Fynne, Charles Taylor, Richard Dirpatrick and Thomas Carroll	£12	15	10
Village of Droushoke.—2 messuages, 220 a. (£4 0s. 10d), 3 cottagers, no rent only customs. Tenants, Thomas Kelly and John Longe	4	12	4
Village of Belyngiston alias *Wolleston.*[1]—1 messuage, 200 a. (£4 13s. 4d.), 2 cottagers, no rent only customs. Tenant, Patrick Hegher . . .	4	15	10
Village of Rascall and Maynyscourte.—1 messuage, 240 a. (100s.), 2 cottagers, no rent only customs. Tenant, Thomas Futterell.	5	2	6
Village of Elliston.—1 messuage, 120 a. (50s. 8d.), 1 cottage, only customs. Tenant, John Kelly .	2	12	0
Village of Garardiston.—1 messuage, 80 a. (40s.), 1 cottage, only customs. Tenant, Thomas Leman .	2	1	4
Village of Browneston.—1 messuage, 80 a. Rent, 2 lbs. of wax or 16d. p. a. Tenant, the heirs of Alice Tynbygh. Tithes of Grange of Ballybaghill, Drousshoke, Belyngston, Wolston, Rascall, Maynyscourte, Ellyston, Gerrardiston, in parish of Ballibaghill, 23 couples, leased to Lord Leonard Gray (£17). Tithes of Little Rascall and Brownestton, 3 couples[2] (26s. 8d.), leased to Nicholas Bennett, Dublin. Sum of tithes, p. a. . .	18	6	8
Grange of Portmirnocke.—Grange, 3 messuages, 260 a. (£12). Customs held by Walter Goldynge, Hugh Whitte, and Bartholomew Enos. 3 cottages (nothing). Tithes (£4) leased to Walter Goldynge.	16	4	8
Village of Portmirnocke.—9 messuages held by Patrick Gygen, Peter Mansfeld, John Taylor, Robert Benane, Thomas Kellye, John Gyles, John Rowe, Patrick Hogge, and John Proydforde. 10 cottages,			

[1] Probably Rollestown, parish of Ballybaghill.

[2] Couple = copula or cupa, a measure of corn. The value of the couple varied from 4s. to about 9s. It was equal to about 12 or 14 pecks. The ordinary rate of tithes in Ireland was every tenth acre which was called the *couple* of acres. It seems equal to the produce of an acre sown, as the same sums are usually found for one as for the other.

226¼ a., 100 a. (common pasture) (£11 17s. 0d.). Customs, two water-mills and 1 rabbit-warren[1] (leased to Lord Leonard Gray at £4 p. a.). Tithes (£4 10s.)	£22	16	0
Village of Robback Wallis.—1 messuage, 80 a. (£4 13s. 4d.), held by Patrick Gygen. Tithes (32s.) leased to Robert Taylor	6	5	4
Village of Skyddow.—1 a. pasture held by Patrick Barnewall	0	2	0
Village of Strodbally near Feldiston.—½ messuage, 30 a. held by Roger Bery	0	7	0
Village of Little Clonsagh.—1 messuage, 55 a. (49s. 4d.). Customs (4d.). Tenant, Walter Colman. 1 cottage and 1 park or closure of ½ a. (6s.) held by William Coke	2	15	8
Village of Great Clonsagh.—6 messuages, 228 a. (£9 5s. 8d.) held by William Fowlan, Richard Harrold, Thomas Walsshe, William Kelly, Richard Hampton, and Henry Bartholomew. 4 cottages (nothing). Customs, carting, etc. (8s. 4d.). Tithes (53s. 4d.) held by Wm. Brabazon. 7 a. underwood (for repairing). Total	12	6	4
Village of Moragh in parish of Waspelliston.—1 messuage, 60 a. (39s.). Tenant, James Cowgan (1s. head rent to Thomas Fynglasse)	1	19	0
Village of Kylragh.—2 messuages, 110 a. (£6 13s. 4d.), 2 water-mills (£4). Tenant, James Hayward. Tithes (60s. held by Gerald Aylmer, Chief Justice, King's Bench)	13	13	4
Village of Tobergragan in parish of Garystowne.—2 messuages 48 a. (21s.). Head rent to Thomas Talbot, Knight, of Malehide. Tenant, John Clynche	1	1	0
Village of Howth.—1 messuage, 2 a. Tenant, Patrick Hery, fisherman	0	3	4
Village of Corryston.[2]—1 messuage. Tenant, William Whitte	0	2	0
Rectory of Rathenny.—Worth £6 13s. 4d.: held by Richard Talbot; also 1 messuage, 30 a., tithes, besides altarages to curate.	6	13	4
Village of Glyncape in parish of Kylmahenocke.—Tithes, i.e. 4 fat cows called *martes*. Tenant, John Ryan	1	18	0

[1] Evidently the present Portmarnock golf links.

[2] Correstown, between Howth and Sutton, hence Corr Bridge.

Village of Kylmanaugh.—Held by Reginald Talbot for rent of same £1 0 0

Village of Lucan.—2 messuages or tenements, a dove-cot and 6 a. p. a. Tenants, William Wedder and Richard Andrewe 0 15 0

Village of Swords.—Rent out of Futtresslands. Tenant, Patrick Russell of Seton 1 10 0

Village of Culmynn and Ranvelyston.—6 messuages, 339 a. (£14 15s. 8d.). Customs (3s. 4d.), and tithes (60s.). Tenants, Richard Fensham, John Dowlinge, and others. Tithes of Culmynn leased to Thomas Lutterell, knight 17 19 0

Village of Hunteston in parish of Malathedder.[1]—1 messuage, 52 a. and 1 grove of underwood of 1 a. Leased to Thomas Luttrell 1 12 0

Village of Clonsillagh.—Grange, with mansion, and 26 a. Tithes as member of Castleknocke, leased to Thomas Luttrell, Richard Talbot, and Richard Fitzsimon (£20). Tithes of mill called Lutterelston-mylne leased to Thomas Luttrell (16s.) p. a. . 21 16 0

Village of Blanchardiston.—1 messuage and garden and 6 a. (9s.) held by John Reynolds. Tithes called the Litle-tythe, parish of Castleknocke (66s. 8d.) leased to John Fyndglasse 3 15 8

Village of Kyltyernan.—1 castle, other buildings, 217 a. (40s.). Tithes (20s.). Held by Walter Goldynge, p. a. 3 0 0

County Louth. Extent made at Louth, 2 October, 1540 (32 Hen. VIII), before William Cavendish, Commissioner, with Anthony Sentleger, Lord Deputy, Thomas Walsshe and John Mynne, assisted by William Cardyff, 2nd justice of the Common Bench in Ireland, Walter Cowley, Solicitor-General, and Patrick Dowdall, on the oath of Nicholas Garlond, Patrick McBryne, Owinn O'Cor, Weni O'Kerwill, Caull O'Hanwynam, Henry Garmonn, Hugh O'Bryne, Cormac McKurlye, Patrick McKernaghan, Patrick O'Doghirtie, Cornelius O'Doghirtie, Coll McMahonde and Henry Cosshedd, true and lawful men of the Co. Louth.

Village of Termonfeken.—1 mansion, 120 a. held by James Dowdall, 1 messuage, park of 2 a. held by Patrick McEkyller £5 13 4

Village of Donanay.—2 messuages and 50 a., held by Patrick Garmonn 1 16 0

[1] Mulhuddard.

Rectory of Drumker.—James Cusake held it at £9 6s. 8d. Said James leased it to Patrick Whitte for £20 . £9 6 8
Rectory of Kyllane.—Held by Patrick Garmon, knight . 5 6 8
City of Drogheda.—1 messuage, held by Michael Duff, merchant of same 1 6 8
(Total, Co. Louth, £23 9s. 4d.)

County Meath. Extent made at Skryne, 1 and 2 October, 1540 (32 Hen. VIII), before John Mynne, commissioner, assisted by Robert Cowley, Master of the Rolls, and Patrick Barnewall, Serjeant-at-law, on the oath of Thomas Dulon of Ryverston, Thomas Cusake of Gererdiston, Patrick Read of Kellen, Mark Wasyn of Monketon, Richard Barnewall, of Stafforde, Nicholas Bodman of Monketon, Richard Bronnall of the same, Bartholomew Quartermas of Skryne, Patrick Clynch of the same, Edward Dowdall of Broniston, Christopher Penteney of Cabragh, Thomas Dillon of Ryverston, and other true and lawful men of the Co. Meath.

Village of Monketon[1] *with Rectory.*—Lady Ellinora Plunkett held chief mansion called Monketon Grange, with manor lands of 162 a. (12d. an acre) = £8 2s.; 1 water-mill (13s. 4d). Rectory and all tithes, work, besides stipend of £8 to curate, £20 18s.; 60 a. (60s.) and customs; 4 cottages (16s. rent) and customs; all leased to said Ellinora for £16 p. a. under seal of monastery. Also 4 a. pasture (4s.). Tenants of lands, Nicholas Bodnam, William Reagh, and William Aylene (a pasture near Slanduff) £16 4 0
Village of Skryne.—1 messuage, 12½ a. (6s.) and 2s. head rent to Baron of Skryne. Tenant, Patrick Clynche . . . . . 0 [4 0]
Parish of Alumpney.[2]—3 a. at Ellyston Rede (2s. 4d.) held by Manus Gynne *alias* Lome . . . 0 2 4
Rectory of Kelene.[3]—⅔ of grain (12 couples), besides ⅓ to vicar 7 18 4
Rectory of Skryne.—⅔ of grain (12 couples), besides ⅓ to vicar, worth £7 6s. 8d. Tithes in Corballye and Gillowiston in parish of Tempulkeran[4] (5 couples), 73s. 4d. Rectory and tithes leased to James Cusake at p. a. 11 6 8

[1] Monkstown, 3 miles north of Skryne (Skreen).
[2] Athlumney, a few miles east of Navan.
[3] Killeen, about 3 miles north-west of Dunshaughlin.
[4] Templekieran (given as Templecarn in Lewis' atlas), north of Skryne.

Rectory of Duffeton.—⅔ of grain (6 couples), leased with rectory to James Cusake at p. a. . . . £3 6 8

Rectory of Daveston.—⅔ of grain (4 couples), leased with rectory to James Cusake at p. a. . . . 2 6 8

James Cusake also holds portions of tithes in Lassemollen, Loughton, Blonderston, Great and Little Balgeyth, and Clonardan (18 couples) in parish of Tempulkerone, at p. a. 11 6 8

Katherine Preston holds portions of tithes in Great and Little Kylkyrne, Olton, Brenanston, and Gerardiston (20 couples = £13 6s. 8d.) at p. a. . 10 13 4

Rectory of Foleston.—Manse, 2 a., and tithes (5 couples) leased to Thomas Cusake 1 8 0

Alumpney.—Tithes (20 couples), 2 parts of altarages (40s.), worth £15 6s. 8d., leased to Nicholas Bedlowe at p. a. 10 0 0

The abbots of St. Mary's abbey held the rectories of Skryne, Daweston, Duffeton, Monketon, Staffers-ton, Foleston, Kylleyne, and Tempulkeran, and also advowson and donation of vicarage of Skryne

Rectory of Stawholmoke.—Tithes (6 couples) p. a. . 4 0 0

Rectory of Mastrome and Knokerath.—Farfasius McTege holds to farm the rectories of these parochial churches. Leased to Patrick O'Ferall for 4 cows or p. a. 2 0 0

Barony of Doilyke.[1]—Extent made at Skryne, 2 October, 1540 (32 Hen. VIII), before John Mynne, commissioner, assisted by Robert Cowley, Master of the Rolls, and Patrick Barnewall, Serjeant-at-law, on the oath of Thomas Dillon of Ryverston, Patrick Rede of Kelane, Mark Wafer of Monketon, Richard Barnewall of Stafford, Nicholas Bodman of the same, Richard Browne of Monketon, and Patrick Clynch of same.

Village of Bronneston[2] *with Rectory.*—2 messuages, 44 a., customs, 1 cottage and customs. Rectory tithes (9 couples), 53s. 4d. In all £4 2s. 2d. Leased to Richard Dillon at p. a. . . . £2 13 4

Barony of Deese.—Extent made at Rathmollen, 6 October, 1540 (32 Hen. VIII), before John Mynne, commissioner, assisted by Robert Cowley, Master of the Rolls, Patrick Barnewall, Serjeant-at-law, on the oath of Peter Lynssey of Knocke, William Rocheforde of Frassan, Peter Lynam of the same, Donald Nary (*do.*),

[1] Duleek. [2] About 5 miles east of Navan.

Nicholas Cusake of Cloyneaghann, George Mape of Larcoure, and Richard Whitt (*do.*).

Village of Ballyhegge.—15 a. (8s.) besides 7s. 6d. quit rent to Bishop of Meath. Tenant, Thomas Lyname £0 8 0

Barony of Rathonrhye.[1]—Extent made at Rathouth, 13 October, 1540 (32 Hen. VIII), before John Mynne, commissioner, assisted by Robert Cowley, Master of the Rolls and Patrick Barnewall, Serjeant-at-law, on the oath of John Wade of Dennamore (Donaghmore), John Talbott (*do.*), John Flemynge of Grenoke, Brian Orody (*do.*), Thomas Forann of Halton.

Village of Grenoke.[2]—1 tenement and garden at 5s. (held by Patrick Barnewall), 3 a. at 18d. (held by Brian Orodye); head rent, 18d. (held by Nicholas Skyrloke (Scurlog) £0 8 0

Village of Little Bowlston.—37½ a. at 12s. 4d. (held by Brian Orodye). Abbot of St. Thomas' Court receives this as head rent out of 16s. for said land.

Extent made at Dunboyne, 15October, 1540 (32 Hen. VIII), before Thomas Walsshe, commissioner, assisted by Gerald Almer (Aylmer), Chief Justice, Robert Dillon, Attorney-General, on the oath of John Artor, Simon Longe, and others.

Village of Caleston.—1 messuage, 15 a. called abbotts-land, p. a. £0 7 0

Village of Great Braiston.—1 messuage, 31½ a. (head rent 13s. 4d. to Baron of Dunboyne) p. a. . . 1 0 0

Village of Dunboyne.—1 messuage, p. a. . . . 0 4 0

Manor of Gibston.—Held by Patrick Plunkett in socage, p. a. 2 0 0

Extent made at Ardbragham, 3 October, 1540 (32 Hen. VIII), before Thomas Walsshe, commissioner, assisted by Gerald Almer, Chief Justice, and Robert Dillon, Attorney-General, on the oath of Richard Ledwich and others.

Village of Knyghston.—Lands and tenements p. a. . £0 3 0

Extent made at Foure, 6 October, 1540 (32 Hen. VIII), before Thomas Walsshe, commissioner, assisted by Gerald Aylmer, Chief Justice, and Robert Dillon, Attorney-General, on the oath of Oliver Nugent, Richard Nugent, and others.

[1] Rathconrath, now barony of Ratoath.

[2] Grenoge, south-east of Ratoath, on the borders of Meath and Dublin. Donaghmore is a little to the north of Grenoge.

Village of Ballycoure and Distonlagh.—Messuages and cottages, 111 a., 1 water-mill, 1 tower by the mill. Held by John Nugent, *generosus*. Rent p. a. besides 100 fresh quills (*anguillas*) . . . £4 13 4

Rectory of Castelloftie.—Leased by William Laundy, late abbot of St. Mary's, 26 October, 1537, at rent of 28 fat and fit cows, worth p. a. . . . 14 0 0

Rectories of Porlaman, Poreshangen, and Russagh.—Gerald Nugent holds same; rent 17 cows, worth p. a. 8 10 0

Co. KILDARE.—Extent made at Maynooth, 20 November, 1540 (32 Hen. VIII), before William Cavendissh, commissioner, Anthony Sentleger, Lord Deputy, Thomas Walssh and John Mynne, assisted by Walter Cowley, Solicitor-General, and Patrick Dowdall, on the oath of William Harrold, Alexander Thounder, William Pyppard, Richard Walssh, Henry Walssh, John Sheill, Henry Goldinge, Thady Walloghan, Thady Lanan, and others.

Village of Layslipp (Leixlip).—2 a., held by Thomas Fiann, merchant, Dublin. 1 messuage, near Layslipp mill, held by William Harrold . . £0 5 8

Extent made at Ballyculand,[1] 30 November, 1540 (32 Hen. VIII), before Thomas Walssh and John Mynne, commissioners, assisted by Patrick Barnewall, Serjeant-at-law, on the oath of Walter Trotte of Rathmore, cleric, Edward Eustace of Ballymore, cleric, William Harrold of Holywood, Fernand McEyhoghoo (McHugh) of Three Castells, and others.

Village of Tubberrogan.—1 castle or fortilage, 60 a., held by Philip MacThomas, p. a.. . . . £1 18 0

Tithes and 5 cottages (nothing) p. a. . . . 0 16 0

Extent of Rectory or church of Fassagh Revan,[2] made at Kilkaa,[3] 27 November, 1540 (32 Hen. VIII), before Thomas Walssh and John Mynne, commissioners, assisted by Patrick Barnewall, Serjeant-at-law, on the oath of Martin Pelles of Athy, Thomas Fitzgarratt (Fitzgerald) of Dullardiston, James Fitzgarrat of Myllons Grange,[4] James Moultell of Athy, Robert Woulff, of the same, cleric, and others.

Tithes (£16), altarages, 20 lbs. of wax (6s. 8d.), money (53s. 4d.) £19 0 0

[1] Cotlandstown between Old Kilcullen Bridge and Ballymore-Eustace.

[2] Rheban or Churchtown, Athy. *Fassagh* = wilderness.

[3] Kilkaa, about 5 miles north-west of Castledermot.

[4] The Grange of Timolin, north of Moone, i.e. Tigh-Moling or St. Mullin's House.

In time of war the Mores (Moores) had said rectory. Leased to Earl of Ormond and the late Prior of Athy at 100s. p. a., for a term of years still running.

Co. Carlow.—Extent of rectory or church of Carlow made at Kilkaa, 27 November, 1540 (32 Hen. VIII), before Thomas Walssh and John Mynne, commissioners, assisted by Patrick Barnewall, the King's Serjeant, on the oath of Martin Pelles of Athy, Thomas Fitzgarratt of Dullardiston, James Fitzgarratt of Millions Grange,[1] and others.

Rectory of Carlow.—Tithes of said village when sown £8, and of vills of Pollerdiston and Ballykernon (waste on account of war with the O'Mores and Cavanaghs) when sown £8. Donation and advowson of vicarage worth £10. Rectories leased to Earl of Ormond at p. a.				£3	6	8
Total sum of all possessions, spiritual and temporal of St. Mary's Abbey (yearly)				1037	17	10
Annual Charges :—						
To Archbishop of Dublin for procurations of divers churches within his diocese, p. a.	£0	106	8			
To Archdeacon of Dublin for procurations of Church of Santry, p. a.	0	6	8			
To Bishop of Meath for procurations of divers churches within his diocese, p. a.	0	53	4			
To said Bishop for a certain annual pension	20	0	0			
To the Archbishop of Armagh for procurations in diocese of Meath every third year (58s. 4d.), p. a.	0	19	5			
To Mayor and Bailiffs of city of Dublin for quit rent of tenements of monastery within the city	0	44	0			
To said Mayor, etc., for quit rent of certain land called the Grenans *alias* le Fyrres, parcel of Abbey manor land	0	40	0			
Sum of Charges				33	10	1
And Remains				£1005	7	9[2]
				(*recte* £1004	7	9)
				(*1914 value* above £15,060.)		

[1] Mullin's Grange.

[2] This extent is published by Gilbert in *Chart. St. Mary's Abbey*, but with some mistakes which we have corrected according to the original MS., P R.O., London.

III.

Convent of Grace Dieu.

The inventory of the possessions of Grace Dieu was made before the three commissioners, Thomas Walsh, John Mynne, and William Cavendyssh assisted by Patrick Barnewall, in the presence of the following 12 jurors who swore on oath as to the possessions: John Sale, Terence Brady, Thomas Kean, John Russell, James Bykton, Christopher Fleming, Nicholas Tomyn, David Doggyng, James Jenet, Nicholas Slee, Thomas Hertford and Thomas Tomyn.

Extent of lands, tenements, and possessions belonging to the house of Nuns of Gracie Dei, made 25 October, 32 Hen. VIII at Dublin.

House, church, and other buildings within the precincts or manor, are in good repair for the use of the farmer and parishioners. Said church from time immemorial was a parochial church. There are there 1 garden, 1 orchard with cemetery of church, containing 3 acres in which grow many ash trees and oaks reserved for repair of said houses, and not to be otherwise used. The pasture is worth nothing. In the same manor are 200 a. arable, meadow, pasture and heath, at 5d. an acre, worth £4 3s. 4d.; also a water mill, and horse mill, worth 40s. p. a.; also a dove cot worth 3s 4d. p. a. There are 26 cottages, cottiers giving labour on the manor lands in autumn, sowing, carting, making hay, weeding, and cleaning water mill; 2 cottages, with same customs; and 2 other cottages, with same customs. The cottiers pay no other rent, except a hen each at Christmas, worth 2d. each.

1 messuage, 2 a., 1 stagn (¼ acre), in socage,[1] at 12 p. a. and suit of manor court. Tenants, Thomas Hacket and Matthew Begg.	£	—	—
1 messuage, with enclosure (¼ acre), with *S.M.C.* Tenant, Patrick Childham	—	—	—
1 messuage, ¼ a. with *S.M.C.* Tenant, heirs of Alice Tynby	—	—	—
Perquisites of court worth nothing beyond expenses of seneschall			
Total of Possessions . .	6	12	8
Co. Dublin.—*Rectory of Gracedewe.*—Tithes (4 couples), 53s. 4d.; alterages, 6s. 8d.	3	0	0
Total of manor, with rectory, works, and customs	9	12	8

[1] Socage from *soc*, ploughshare. It was a tenure of lands by or for certain inferior services of husbandry to be performed to the lord of the fee.

Village of Luske.—1 messuage, 102 a. at 12d. an acre (with customs) held by Nicholas Lynam; 4 cottages (nothing); 1 cottage, 1 a (10s.) held by Philip Bassett; 1 cottage and enclosure (12s.) held by Walter Jordan; 1 cottage (4s.), with customs, held by John Ballymore. Each of the tenants gives ¼ gallon of the best ale, and ¼ gallon of inferior ale as brewing customs (*pandoxans* or *Toll-boll*) worth p. a. 20d. Tithes of land called *Rye Glasse*,[1] p. a. 13s. 4d.

Total for Luske . . . £7 5 2

Village of Donganston.—2 messuages, 120 a. (£6), 4s. being head rent to Bishop of Dublin; tenants contribute the customary services. Held by Walter Walsshe and James Jenet; 1 cottage and enclosure (6s.) with customs. Tenant, Robert Walsshe.

Total for Dongan . . . 4 8 6

Village of Irysshton.—1 messuage, 2 cottages, 80 a. (8d. an acre) with customs. Tenant, Thomas Hertford. 2 1 6

Village of Stradbaly.—1 cottage held by Thady Abyrne 0 3 0

Village of Swerdes.—2 messuages (waste), 30 a. (8d. an acre). Tenant, Thomas Fitzsimondes . . 0 16 0

Village of Brownstone.—5 a. (2s. to Bishop of Dublin as head rent). Tenant, John Waryng . . . 0 3 0

Village of Cromlyn.—2 messuages, 30 a. held by Edward Bassenet, dean of St. Patrick's at 10s. p. a., besides 22s. 6d. paid to the King as head rent due to the manor of Cromlyn 0 10 0

Village of Wymbelton.—Patrick Barnewell, lord of Wymbelton, pays p. a. 0 13 4

Village of Dollogh.[2]—Thomas ffynglas, lord of Dollogh, pays p. a. 0 6 8

(What *kind* of rent these two lords pay the jurors do not know.)

Total of possessions outside the manor lands and Rectory of Gracedewe 16 8 2

Rectory of Portraven.[3]—Tithes p. a (£6 13s. 4d.).

Village of Portraven.—1 messuage, 18 a. belonging to

[1] Probably, *Righ Glas* or King's Stream.
[2] St. Dullough's, Co. Dublin.
[3] Portrane.

Rectory (18s.), tithes of lambs and fish (30s.) held to farm by James Cusack, leased by Prioress, p. a. £9 10 0

Rectory of Lambay.—Parish church on the island now waste as no one lives on the island.

Rectory of Waspolston.—Tithes (£8), altarages with Rector's glebe (25s.). (The King finds the curate.) Leased to Thomas ffynglas, p. a. . . 9 0 0

Rectory of Balmedon.—Tithes, leased by Prioress for . 15 3 4

Rectory of Newcastell McGynygan.[1]—Robert ffytzsymondes, precentor of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, holds the rectory to farm, now in parts of the Irish called Obyrnes where the King's Brief does not run, paying to Prioress 15 cows p. a. (price of each cow 6s. 8d.) and 12 gallons of butter (8d. a gallon). Total 5 8 0

In this church there is a *vicarius dotatus*[2] who receives the altarages.

Co. Meath.[3]—Extent made at Donboyn, 15 October, 1540 (32 Hen. VIII), before Thomas Walsshe, commissioner, on the oath of John Arthur, Simon Long, John Luttrell, William Barry, Thomas Brockton, Philip Malkyn, John Knoke, Simon Dawe, Richard Malkyn, Richard Currates, Robert Fyne, David Galbalff, John Polle, Thomas Brayne, Thomas Brymingham, Edward Colgon, Donald Grady, Patrick Burges, and James Fyne.

Village of Loslogh.—Tenants, Christopher Capron and William Spenser. Rent £0 13 4

Extent made at Rathouth 13 October, 1540, before John Mynne, commissioner, on the oath of John Wade of Donamore, John Talbott (*do.*), John Flemyng of Grenoke, Brian Roddy (*do.*) and others.

Grenok.—1 stang (¼ acre) on the road to Kylsalham, now occupied by Thady Byrne. £0 0 4

Co. Dublin.—*Manor of Cromlyn.*—Extent made at Cromlyn 29 October, 1540, before Thomas Walsshe, John Mynne, and William Cavendysshe, on the oath of John Bathe of Cromlyn, Richard Talbott (*do.*), Robert Peerse (*do.*), Nicholas Lyon (*do.*), William

[1] Newcastle, Co. Wicklow.

[2] Probably a priest with his own patrimony.

[3] A messuage in Drogheda also belonged to Grace Dieu (*Fiants*, Eliz., no. 4420).

Braghall (*do.*), John Bolton (*do.*), Patrick Nele (*do.*), John Lawlez (*do.*), Richard Kelly (*do.*).

1 messuage,[1] 40 a. held by Dean of St. Patrick's (Basnet) £1 10 0

Co. Kildare. Extent of parish church of Tubber, Co. Kildare, made at Ballymore (Eustace), 1 December, 1540, before the said commissioners, on the oath of Ewstas (Eustace) of Ballymore, Laghlyn O'Dempcy (*do.*), Edward Ewstas of Ballycutlande, Walter Burk, Ferald O'Galfo of Ardynouth, John Ewstas (*do*), Thady Oherthyn (O'Hearne), Patrick McRychard (*do.*), Mortagh O'Siolan (*do.*), Patrick Dewe (*do.*), Laghlyn Odewe (*do.*), Patrick O'Cullan (*do.*), Thomas Clerk of Tubber, Patrick McKylchryst (*do.*), Dermot McDonogh (*do.*), Philip Cristofer.

Rectory of Tubber.[2]—Tithes (68s.). (The jurors do not know how many bushels of grain, what altarages, and other emoluments of the parish, as the whole parish lies almost waste.[3] £3 8 0

Total of possessions of Gracie Dei, except lands and rectories waste 70 12 10

Expenses.—Procurations [4] to Archbishop of Dublin (40s.), stipend of curate celebrating in church of Gracie Dei (53s. 4d.), curate celebrating in church of Tubber (40s.),[5] curate celebrating in church of Westpellston (106s. 8d.) 10 0 0

And remains . . 60 12 0

(about £900 *1914 value*).

IV.

Hospital of St. John Outside Newgate.

Extent of the lands and possessions made 26 October, 1540 (32 Hen. VIII), at Dublin before the three commissioners, Walsshe, Mynne, and Cavendysshe, assisted by Anthony Sentleger, on the oath of Nicholas Benet, merchant, Nicholas Harbard of Palmerston near Grenok, Nicholas Holys (*do.*), Matthew Hullok (*do.*), John Huet (*do.*), William Rychard of Cotterelles Towne, John Kengham

[1] Called the Minchen farm. *Mynchen* = nuns of superior station in life (*Fiants*, Eliz., 24 Oct., xix.). The nuns of Hogges also held fields called Mynchen.

[2] About one mile north of Dunlavan. There are still remains of the old church. It will be noticed that nearly all the jurors bear Irish names.

[3] Because of the incursions of the Irish from the mountains.

[4] On account of visitation by the Archbishop: paid in money instead of the original procuring of victuals on occasion of archbishop's visitation.

[5] It must have occasioned the nuns some trouble to provide a curate for the church lying among the Irish.

of Jordanstowne, John Harward (*do.*), Thomas Felde of Whitstons, Nicholas Hunter of Newton, John Whitte of Aston (Ashtown), and William Timman (*do.*).

The church lately called the Hospital was, after its dissolution, thrown down, and the roofing tiles, timber, glass and iron were sold by William Brabazon, Sub-Treasurer of the Exchequer of Ireland, to diverse persons of the city of Dublin, their names and the sums of money paid, the jurors do not know.[1] Within the precincts of the Hospital is a house lately called the Chapel of St. Eligii now occupied by Edward Redman. There is also a Chapel of St. Margaret [2] now unoccupied through defect of conduit [3] and repairs and worth nothing; a cemetery (of no value and unoccupied) with its appurtenances; a house in which there were 50 beds for sick men, with a small piece of ground of no value beyond its use for the sick; a kitchen with a curtilage, commonly called a "baline," and other chambers and apartments, which were occupied by the prior of the hospital and now in the occupation of Thomas Stephens, merchant; a house called Lereverster, with the cemetery aforesaid, now occupied by Patrick Carde, workman; a house held to farm by Richard Harold at 13s. 4d. p. a.; a house lately occupied by Richard Workeman; a house which the Abbot of Balkynglass (Vallis Salutis) [4] now occupies [at 13s. 4d. p. a.]; a house occupied by Nicholas Bennet, merchant, at 13. 4d. p. a.; an orchard, near the mill; a garden occupied by Clement Curragh; 3 water mills on the stream coming from the water of the Dodder,[5] and *Molancia* [6] which said Nicholas Benet holds to farm, by idenure made some years past, giving yearly 220 pecks of good wheat and oats, each measure containing 12 gallons, the price of each measure of both kinds of grain, one with the other, computed at 12d. Total £11. The prior and convent were bound by the indenture to exonerate said Nicholas towards the lord the

[1] Another example of how Brabazon sold monastic chattels and made no return of them in his accounts.

[2] Probably the celebrated Chapel of St. Mary Magdalen; Margaret is evidently a mistake for Magdalen.

[3] The city water-pipe down through Thomas Street.

[4] It is strange to find the abbot of the suppressed monastery of Baltinglass lodging in St. John's.

[5] The city water-supply came from the Dodder, a portion of which was deflected at the "head" at Balrothery, then joining the Poddle, was deflected at the "tongue" at Mount Jerome, passed by Dolphin's Barn and down Thomas Street.

[6] Probably the perquisites of the mill, i.e. the taxes for grinding the grain sent to the mill. Mills were a considerable source of profit to the king, archbishop, and religious houses.

King of the twentieth part of said priory and, of the rent of the water,[1] towards the city, and other charges.

Total of the farmers of the site, houses, and mills. . £13 3 4

Mem.—The King with the assent of John Alen, Chancellor, granted to farm to Edward Redman the whole site, precinct, church, belfry, and cemetery of said hospital, with reversions and rents, except water mills, on 16 September, 31 Hen. VIII (1539) at a yearly rent of 43s. 4d., the said Edward to bear the repairs and other charges,[2] etc.

City of Dublin—In St. Francis Street.—1 house and garden, held by Nicholas Pipard . . .	£0	5	0
High Street.—1 house, held by John Caudell (or Candell)	0	2	8
Thomas Street.—1 messuage and garden, held by Thomas Stephens	0	10	0
Francis Street.—1 garden, held by Richard Duff . .	0	10	0
In the City.—1 tenement and garden, held by James Fitzsymondes	0	10	0
Francis Street.—20 gardens, 11 houses, 1 messuage. Tenants, John Rocheforde, Richard Harrold, Denis Cortran, William Bolton, Philip Jordayn, Denis Edward, Richard Han, Clemens Curragh, Malaghlyn Leffa, John O'Kerrall, Edward Corcyon, John Willoms, James Rorus, John Hygdon, Nicholas Humfrey, Richard Mores, Matricius Baker, Gerald Vale, William Nele . . .	4	3	11
[The rent of a garden varies between 8d. and 12s.; a holding between 2s. 8d. and 8s.; a shop, 3s. 4d.]			
Thomas Street.—A plot of ground (nothing). In said suburbs, a meadow lying between the clearing (*viridarium*) of le Hogges. Tenants, Richard Burges and John Caudell	0	6	2
Total of lands and tenements .	£6	16	5

[1] Namely, 40s., paid to the Mayor and Corporation of Dublin for the special supply to the mills.

[2] James Sedgrave afterwards received a grant of the above land and possessions, including the mills (rent, 11s. 8d.). Another grant to same (26 Sept., 1552) mentions the yearly value of the above possessions as £10 2s. 10½d.

Manor of Palmerston near Grenok.—1 message and 72 a.	£1	10	8
Customs, 3 geese (3d. a goose), 3 hens (2d. a hen), 2 cheeses (4d. each). Tenant, John Browne	0	1	11
1 messuage, 60 a. (26s.), customs (2s. 3d.). Tenant, Matthew Hyllok	1	8	3
1 pasture, customs (6d.)	0	0	6
1 messuage and 50 a. (22s.), customs (1s.). Tenant, Nicholas Elys	1	3	0
1 messuage and 30 a. (12s.), customs (9d.). Tenant, John Howet	0	12	9
1 messuage and 97 a. (40s.), customs (1s. 7d.). Tenant, Nicholas Harvard	2	1	7
Profits of annual fair on Vigil of St. James Apostle	0	0	2
Perquisites of court, nothing beyond expenses of seneschall.			
Total of Manor	£8	0	8

Village of Jordanston.—1 messuage and 130 a. (66s. 8d.), customs (1s. 2d.). Tenant, Alice Davy	£3	7	10
1 messuage and 50 a. (26s. 6d.), customs (9d.). Tenant, John Kenan	1	7	3
1 messuage and 80 a. (32s.), customs (8d.). Tenant, John Edward	1	12	8
Village of Cotterelston.—69 a. (40s.), customs (9d.). Tenant, William Rocheford	2	0	9
1 tenement (held by Thomas Talbot of Dordeston, Co. Meath), quit rent	0	2	0
1 tenement held by Katherine Nott	0	3	0
Free tenants render suit of court at the Court of Palmerston. Perquisites	2	5	9
Nicholas Benet, merchant of Dublin, holds said three villages to farm at yearly rent of £15 1s. Iryssh			
Total of farming the three villages	15	1	0
Village of Whyteston.—147 a. (leased some years before to Patrick Barnewall of ffeldeston)	1	6	8
Village of Greallagh.—1 house, 1 enclosed pasture. Tenant, Patrick Cassy	0	2	4
Village of Newton, near village of Grace Dewe.—80 a. Tenant, Nicholas Hunter	2	13	4
A meadow called the Myll Horse Park (Little Newton), of 3 stangs at Derndale near Colok, held by Nicholas Benet	0	1	0

Little Newton, at Dodder River, leased by prior to Edward Corkerane	£1	0	0
(Total for Newton and Little Newton £3 14s. 4d.)			
Village of Astontowne.[1]—2 messuages and 120 a. (93s. 4d.), 4½ a. wood, 2 a. meadow (2s.), 2 cottages (4 tenants pay 2 watchhens, 2d. each = 16d. and a heriot[2] when it occurs). Tenants, John Whitte and William Timmam	4	16	8
Walter ffoster holds messuages, etc., to farm, p. a., £4.			
Village of Terenure.—1 messuage called St. John's Lees leased to Thomas Stephyns, Dublin merchant and Richard the butchard by Patrick late bishop of Cloghyr,[3] commendatory (patron) of the late Hospital of St. John Baptist, by indenture of 6 April 26 Hen. VIII for 31 years, at annual rent of 33s. 4d.	1	13	0
Village of Lucan.—1 messuage (2s.) held by Thomas Barby, 4 a. (4s.) held by James Rorye. . .	0	6	0
Village of Churcheston at Wyklowe.—1 tenement (rent 2 lbs. of wax = 12d.) held by William fforagh. .	0	1	0
Manor of Palmerston by the Liffey.—By letters patent 29 July, 31 Hen. VIII (1539) the King granted to John Alen, Chancellor of Ireland the manor or house of Palmerston, and all messuages, land, and tenements in Palmerston and Irysshton at annual rent of £10, Irish money	10	0	0
Rectory of Palmerston.—Tithes in Palmerston leased to William Whyte (£8)	8	0	0
Tithes of Irysshton (46s. 8d.) leased to Richard Coylok, Dublin merchant, by Prior for	2	10	0

Mem.—Thomas Everard, late Prior of Hospital, 4 Feb., 1537, leased to Nicholas Benet, Dublin merchant, said tithes (after expiration of lease to Whyte and Coyloke) for 40 years at £10 10s. 0d. p. a.

Co. Meath.—Extent made at Vill of Navan, 1 Oct. 32 Hen. VIII (1540), before Thomas Walsshe, commissioner, on the oath of John Phylpot, John Donnett, Thomas Glouer (Glover?), Richard More, William Coan, Dermot Coner, Feralei Ban, Patrick Glouer, Patrick

[1] Ashtown, Co. Dublin.

[2] *Heriot*, the best beast at death of tenant to be paid to the lord of the fee.

[3] Patrick Culin (1519-1534), an Augustinian, joint-compiler with Roderick Cassidy of the Register of Clogher; author of hymn in honour of St. Macartin, first bishop of that see.

Kelly, Richard Michell, Magni Duff, William Betagh, Robert Colgan, and John Flemynge.

In vill of Navan, 1 messuage held by Thomas Plunket . £0 10 0

Village of Dardeston.—Extent made at Donboyn, 15 Oct. 32 Hen. VIII (1540), before Thomas Walsshe on the oath of John Arthur, Simon Long, John Lutterell, William Barry, Thomas Brocton, Philip Malkyn, John Cnocke, Simon Dun, Richard Malkyn, Richard Currates, Robert Fynne, David Galbaff, John Pole, Thomas Brayn, Thomas Byrnyngham, Edward Colgon, Donald Brady, Patrick Burges and James Fyne.

1 messuage, 1 cottage, 30 a. (8d. an acre) at 20s. p. a. Also 1 a. meadow, ½ a. pasture, 2 a. wood, which the tenants occupy gratis according to the custom of the country there £1 0 0

Village of Johnston.—Extent made of the possessions in the Barony of Duelek at Arcagh, 30 Sept. 32 Hen. VIII (1540) before John Mynne on the oath of Stephan Pepard, Philip Con of Johnston, Walter Conner of Kenok, John Carrogh of Maceton, Richard Carrogh of same, and Henry Byrne of Mananston.

1 messuage, 32½ a. held by Philip Con of Johnston . £2 0 0

Rectory of Gyrle in barony of Kenlye.—Extent made at Kyldalk 9 Oct., 1540 (32 Hen. VIII), before John Mynne, commissioner, on the oath of William Rocheford of Karaneston, Edward Mesed of Scarcayn, Barnabas Scurlock of Athboy, George Ardagh of Kylleconnogan, Martin Blake of Athboy, Patrick Browne (*do.*), Walter Leyus (Lewis ?) of Donnor (Donnamore), Charles O'Brynne of Kyldall, Edward McDonagh (*do.*), Donald Hoblegan (*do.*), Maurice Odoune of Colronan, Cornelius McGrath of Baskenaagh, and Thomas Jordan of Corbally.

Tithes and altarages, besides the manse (£8 13s. 4d.) leased to Partick Barnewall by Prior for . . £8 0 0

Vill of Grenock in barony of Raythlough.—Extent made at Raythlough 13 Oct, 1540 (32 Hen. VIII) before John Mynne, commissioner, on the oath of John Wade of Donamore, John Talbott (*do.*), James Talbott (*do.*), John Flemyng of Grenock, BrianRoddy (*do.*), James Barret of Cokeston, David Creiffe of Ballybyn, Thomas Foran of Halton, Thomas Walsshe of Donshakelyn, Richard Connyll of the Grange of Trybet (Tryvett), William Cardon of Wulton, and Robert Owtlawe (*do.*).

1 plot of ground (vacant) held by Richard Novan . £0 0 6

County Carlow.—Extent made at Kylka, Co. Kildare, 27 Nov., 1540, before John Mynne, on the oath of Martin Pelles

of Athy, Thomas Fitzgarrett of Dullardston, Matthew de St. Michael, Baron of Reban, James Fitzgarret of Mullens Grange, James Moultell of Athye, Robert Wolff (*do.*), cleric, Arnold Wolff of Kylcolman, Leonard Casshell of Thrysteldermot, Richard Vale of Ferumpolston (?), Denis Helan of Athye, cleric, Dermot Olyen of Catherlagh and John McMynnougrrough of Russelltowne.

Rectory of Arerystell.—Tithes besides Curate's stipend, p. a. £3 6 8

Rectory of Templemory.—Besides Curate's stipend, p. a. 0 10 0

Rectory of Rathtouthe.—do. p. a. 1 6 8

Vill of Ballydowde,[1] *Co. Dublin.*—Extent made at Thomas Courte before Thomas Walsshe, on the oath of James Rery, gent., Nicholas Horpole, cleric, John Lybet, yoman, Richard Andrewe, John Tolle, Edward Raylye, William Quyll, William Wydder, Patrick Wade, Richard Holme, Peter White, Thomas McKye, Simon Lyshagh, and John Hogan.

In said vill belonging to the manor, 4¼ a. p. a. . . £0 8 4

Co. Kildare.—Extent made in vill of Naas, 22 Nov., 1540, before Thomas Walsshe assisted by Patrick Barnewall and David Sutton, on the oath of Patrick FitzPhyllyp of Straffan, Thomas Owrerk, Edward Lyon, Patrick Laler, William Mylon, Peter Beghan, William Money.

Rectory of Straffan.—2 messuages, 16 a. of glebe (16s.). Tithes of parochial church, 4 couples (13s. 4d. a couple).

Village of Irysshton (same parish). Tithes 4½ couples.

Village of Bewbys (same parish). 2 couples.

Village of Barbeyston (same parish). 2 couples.

Village of Heweteston (same parish). 1 couple.

Sum of tithes £9 9s. 4d. Portion of altarages, 20s., leased to James Clane. Remainder of altarages to the *vicarius dotatus*.

Sum of Rectory £11 5s. 4d. Leased to Nicholas More, Chaplain, Nicholas Hancok and William Newman, Dublin, merchant, for 51 years at . . . £8 0 0

Village of Graungeclare.—Extent made at Kyldare 25 Nov., 1540, before Thomas Walsshe and John Mynne, on the oath of William FitzThomas vicar of the parochial church of Rathagan, Hugh Dempcy, rector of monastery of Ewen (Monasterevan), Charles McCrossan of Clonmayll, Hugh O'Shaghnys of Rathangan, Cornelius O'Conolan of Shanrelyk, James O'Mory (*do.*), Thady McDermote of Rathangan, Maurice McCostelogh of Oldrelyk,

[1] At Hermitage, near Lucan.

Domnall McCohoran of Kylmoney, Gerald O'Morey of Kylrussh, chaplain, Thady McShane (*do.*), Donald O'Byrn, vicar of parochial church of Balysax, Thomas O'Caman of Kylcolen, Patrick McKeryght of Kyldare and John Barclyne (*do.*).

No messuage or cottage here, only 58 a. arable, waste (worth 8d. an acre, p. a. when cultivated). Leased to Raymund ffytz Thomas by James Earl of Ormond, farmer of same. No rent.

Rectory of Graungeclare.—In villages of Grangeclare and Watergrange. Tithes (worth nothing on account of destruction of Graungeclare and of 20 a. in Watergraunge) value p. a. (no church) . . £1 6 8

Village of Kylbelet.[1]—Extent made at Balymore, 1 Dec., 1540, before Thomas Walsshe and John Mynne, on the oath of Edward Eustace of Balymore, Laughlyn O'dempcy (*do.*), Edward Ewstas of Balycutland, Walter Burgh, Ferald Ogalso of Ardenouth, John Ewstas (*do.*), Thady Oherthen, Patrick McRychard (*do.*), Mortagh O'Noolan (*do*)., Patrick Dawe (*do.*), Laughlyn O'Dewe (*do.*), Patrick O'Cullon (*do.*), Thomas Clerk of Tubber, Patrick McKylcryst (*do.*), Dermot McDonagh of Kylbellet and Philip Crystofer (*do.*).

40 a. and mountain pasture of greater measure, waste for 10 years.

Rectory of Donard (*Co. Kildare*).—Destroyed by Arthur Otholes and Irish accomplices for past 8 years. Tithes in villages of Donard and Crehelp, worth, p. a. £2 0 0

Vill of Drohoda (*in the county of the same town*).—Extent made at Drohoda, 11 Oct., 1540, before William Cavendyssh, assisted by Robert Cowley and Partick Douedale [Dowdall], on the oath of Robert Whyte, Thomas Garnet, Roger Fellys, Robert More, Robert Keris, Peter Dardys, William More, George Warde, John Ewe, Nicholas Hanlon, John Lyneam, Roger Simonds, John Flemynge, and Christopher Flemyng.

1 vacant messuage, held by Patrick Pentney . . £0 3 0

County Lovidie (*Louth*).—Extent made at Arde, 30 Sept., 1540, before the above, on the oath of John Whyte, Henry Dowdall, Maa (*sic*) McKynner, Brene O'Kerwyll, Hugh McKenall, Thomas O'Murghe, Patrick O'Beran, Tylagh More O'Kerwyll, Thomas McKedrysk, Walter Babe, John Aune, Henry McIrraghe, Patrick Braye, Laghlyn O'Molmonen, John Bray, and Patrick McShane.

Village of Almonston.—30 a. leased by prior to Patrick and Edward Dovedale £1 10 4

[1] Parish of Dunlavan, beside the Wicklow mountains, the stronghold of the O'Tooles.

Co. Tipperary.—Extent[1] made at Clonmell, 15 Jan., 1540, before William Cavendysshe, on the oath of Thomas Everard, late prior of the Hospital of St. John outside Newgate, William Burder, James Whyte, John Correy, James Quoyike, John Quoyike (Quirk?), Thomas Mulreny, Robert Butler, John Streithe, William Fagon.

	£	s.	d.
Village of Bolyck.—1 messuage, and 10 a. p. a.	0	7	8
Village of Balylakyn.—6 a. p. a.	0	4	0
Village of Skadeston.—2 a. p. a.	0	1	4
Village of Colagh.—2 a. p. a.	0	1	4
Village of Pepperton.—½ a. p. a.	0	0	4
Village of Moganar.—1 messuage and 2 a. p. a.	0	1	4
Village of Drongan.—3 cottages and 5 a. p. a.	0	4	0
Village of Clonyng.—1 messuage and 2 a.	0	2	0
Village of Athforth.—1 fortress or castle, hall, water pound, and 49 a. arable, 2 a. heath, and 12 cottages, p. a.	1	12	8
Village of Cromston.—2 a. p. a.	0	1	4
Village of ffether.—1 a. p. a.	0	0	8
Village of Rathcouth.[2]—1 messuage and 1 a. p. a.	0	1	0
Village of Kyleconelb.—8 a. p. a.	0	5	4
Village of Balynra.—1 a. p. a.	0	0	8
Village of Clogher.—1 messuage, 120 a. (waste, no tenants)			
Village of Mylton.—2 carucates, p. a.	0	1	4
Village of Cordagan.—2 carucates, p. a.	0	1	4
Village of Balylentye.—3 a. p. a.	0	2	0
Village of Kyltayne.—3 a. p. a.	0	2	0
Rectory of Bolyke, and half *Rectories of Clonynges and Ragowle*, worth £13 p. a. Leased to Lady Margaret, Countess of Ormond (by Prior), to last 12 years more, for [amount not stated], rent, p. a.	6	0	0

[1] An Inquisition taken 15 March, 21 Elizabeth, finds that the prior was seised of the castle of Clonebrogane, containing four quarters of land, annual value, 5s., Irish money; also of a void-space of ground in the town of Carrick, bounded on the east by the Earl of Ormond's land, and by a lane adjoining it on the west, on the north by the highway, and on the south by the river Suir, annual value, 12d.; also a parcel of land called Carrintubber, containing a quarter, annual value, 2s.; also of two burgess acres in the towns of Gortnesake, Farrehountie and Rathdrome, annual value, 8d., all Irish money; the said lands lying in the county of Tipperary. Another Inquisition, 12 January, 36 Elizabeth, finds that the rectory between the two bridges in the barony of Carbury, county of Sligo, annual value, besides reprises, 6s. 8d. Irish money, was appropriated to this priory.

[2] Rathcowlie, or Rathgowle, a field called Colvondon, of 3 acres. (Inquisition, 14 Aug., 20 Elizabeth.)

Rectory of Balylakan.—Worth 40s. p. a. Leased to Nicholas Motynge, cleric, p. a. £0 13 4
Rectory of Mogare and Colman.—Worth 40s. p. a. Leased to Walter Cowley, p. a. 1 6 8
Rectory of Drongan.—Leased to Nicholas Motynge (cleric) and Nicholas Hakket, merchant, p. a. . 5 6 8
Rectory of ffetherd.—p. a. 4 0 0
Rectory of Athfath.—Worth p. a. 100s. Leased to Countess Ormond, p. a. 4 0 0
Rectory of Kylkashe.—Worth p. a. 20s. Leased to James Whyte, merchant, p. a. 0 13 4
Rectories of Clonyng and Ragowle.—Half of said rectories, worth [blank]. Leased to Countess Ormond, p. a. 8 0 0
Rectory of Rayleston.—Worth p. a. 27s. 8d. Leased to William, dean of Cashel, p. a. 9 13 4
Rectory of Pepperton.—Leased to Edward Sealton, p. a. 2 0 0
Rectory of Tologh, Balynere, Kylshane and Clonepeth.—Worth p. a. 53s. 4d. Leased to Dermitius Ryan, cleric, p. a. 1 6 8
Rectory of Skadeston.—Worth p. a. 40s. Leased to James Haket of ffetherd, p. a. 1 6 8
Rectory of Cloghyr and Kordengen.—Leased to Countess Ormond, p. a. 6 6 8
Rectory of Cromston.—Leased to Thady Makey and Edward Comyn, cleric, p. a. 2 13 4

Co. Cork.—Extent[1] made at Corke, Feb. 1540, on the oath of Michael Walter, David Walsshe, William Copynger, William Meagh, Nicholas Lumbert (Lombard), Nicholas Broune, Thomas Verdon, Dominick Mortyll.

1 tenement called a ffrankhouse held by Thomas Cormake, 12d.; 5 messuages at 8d. each; 1 vacant placea, 6d.; 1 messuage, 3d. (Total, 5s. 1d.) In Irish money (7s. 7¼d.) Tenants, Robert Meagh of Corke, John Sellens, William Went, Elena Roche, Thomas O'Murghwe, Thomas Kynkyll, and Thomas Roche. £0 5 1
Total of all possessions, spiritual and temporal of Hospital of St. John 147 9 3¼
Deductions: Procurations to Archbishop of Dublin, 26s. 8d.; to Archbishop of Cashel, 40s. 2d.; to

[1] An Inquisition, 19 Elizabeth, finds that the rectories of Ardristell, Templemoayne, and Ratouthe in the Co. Carlow were also parcels of the possessions of St. John's.

Archdeacon of Cashel, 20s. 1d.; to Bishop of Lysmore, 10s.; to Archdeacon of Lismore, 5s.
Total [*blank*] [£5 1 11]

And Remains [*blank*] [£142 7 4½]
(*1914 value* about £2130.)

V.

Priory of Holmpatrick.

Extent of all lands, tenements, and other possessions, spiritual and temporal, of the priory of Holmpatrick, made at Dublin, 29 Oct., 1540 (32 Hen. VIII), before Thomas Walsshe, John Mynne, and William Cavendisshe, commissioners, with Anthony Sentleger, Lord Deputy, on the oath of Nicholas Russell of Skerye, Thomas Corre (*do.*), William Meller (*do.*), James Bave of Lagbragh, John Cronen of Barneheragh, Richard Longan of Baltgrathton, Thomas Tovyn of Newegraunge, Patrick Browne (*do.*), John Marten of Milwardiston (Milverton), John Browne of Hakston, William Dowdall of Lane, Richard Dandon of Holmepatrick, and John Scalye of Newgrange.

The church of Priory was from time immemorial and is the parish church of Holmepatrick. No other buildings that can be thrown down. There are certain buildings necessary for the use of the farmer. Site and precincts with gardens and orchards comprise 3 acres: worth nothing beyond repairs of the houses.

Vill of Holmepatrick.—Manor lands of 131 a. arable, 12 a. meadow, 12 a. pasture in the lands of Robert Cowley, Master of the Rolls	£7 15 0
1 water mill, 40s. p. a.	2 0 0
customs of fish with wreckage, quayage (*Kelegio*),[1] anchorage of ships and other customs, at the Key of Holmepatrick, belonging to said priory, worth beyond repairs to the Key, £8 p. a. . .	8 0 0
8 cottages, rent p. a. 40s. with customs (hens and hookedays[2]), 2s. 8d.	2 2 8
Total from Vill. p. a. . .	£19 17 8

[1] Quay dues for repair of wharves.

[2] Hokedays, special days of labour given by the tenants to the lord of the fee.

Vill of Skerres.—1 messuage and 50 a. (66s. 8d.) held by Nicholas Russell; 1 messuage and 30 a. (33s. 4d.) held by Johanna Ball; customs (ploughing, hens, hokedays) (3s. 4d.), 12 cottages (41s. 8d.). Total from Vill., p. a.	£7	9	0
Vill of Barneherraugh.—Tenant, John Creman. 1 messuage, 30 a. (33s. 4d.), customs (20d.) . .	1	15	0
Vill of Loghbragh.—Tenant, James Bave. 1 messuage and 100 a. (73s. 4d.), customs (2s. 6d.) . .	3	15	10
Village of Baltraston.[1]—Tenant, Richard Langhan. 1 messuage and 60 a. (53s. 4d.), customs (20d.) .	2	15	0
Village of Newgrange.—Tenant, Thomas Toven. 1 messuage and 120 a. (£4 13s. 4d.), customs (3s. 4d.)	4	16	8
Village of Milwardiston.—Tenant, John Marten. 2 messuages, 140 a. (£6 13s. 4d.), customs (4s. 8d.) .	6	18	0
Village of Lane.—Tenant, William Dowdall. 1 messuage, 60 a. (53s. 4d.), customs (20d.) . . .	2	15	0
Village of Hackeston.—Tenant, John Browne. 1 messuage, 30 a. (£4), customs (20d.) . . .	4	1	8
Village of Perston.—Tenant, John Beling. 1 messuage 5 a. (6s. 8d.), customs (4d.)	0	7	0
Village of Dallabrowne.—Tenant, Richard Gaffrey, 10 a.	0	10	0
Village of Swerdes.—1 tenement and garden, held by Simon Dowdyng	0	12	0
Village of Horston.—2 a. held by Walter Sprotte. .	0	1	0
Village of Thirleston.—1 a. called *pers*, held by Richard Sweteman	0	1	0
Village of Balrodry.—1 messuage and garden held by John Sparke	0	2	0
Village of Mallahoynnen.[2]—Tenant, Walter Whitte. 1 messuage, 50 a. (20s.), customs (4d.) . .	1	0	4
Village of Saddleston.—12 a. held by Richard Swayn .	0	8	0
Rectory of Holmepatrick.—Part of Tithes of following villages (the other part belongs to rectory of Luske), i.e. Milwardiston, 26s. 8d. p. a.; Newegraunge, 30s.; Loghbragh, 30s; Lane, 16s. 8d.; Baltrastyn, 16s, 8d.; Barneheragh, 16s. 8d.; Skerres, 40s.; Hacketiston, 10s.; besides altarages for the curate	9	6	8
Total for Co. Dublin . .	£66	11	10

[1] Baltray.

[2] The name seems to be *Mullach-Inneoin* (hill-summit of the anvil) or Mullaghnoney. There is a place of the name near Clonmell. (Joyce, *Names of Places*, ii. 202.)

Co. Meath.—Extent made at Acarth, 30 Sept, 32 Hen. VIII (1540), before John Mynne, Anthony Seyntleger, knight, Deputy, Thomas Walsshe, William Cavendisshe, assisted by Robert Cowley, Master of the Rolls, and Patrick Barnewall, Serjeant, on the oath of Stephen Pipard of Great Raynerston (? Ryverston), William Whitte of Killenure, Henry Birne of Mananston, John Cruche of Clareston, Thomas Tute of Rynerston, John Whitte of Bartramston.

Village of Killenure, in parish of Dueeleke.—1 messuage, 48 a., and 1 a. *habietum*, held by William Whitte at 40s. p. a. Tithes, 10s. 2 cottages: tenants do not pay to the lord but to William Whitte . .	£2	10	0
Village of Hamanston, in parish of Clonalvey.—1 messuage, and 2 enclosures of 1 a. held by William Comme (? Comey)	0	6	8
Total for Co. Meath . .	2	16	8
Total of all possessions . .	69	8	6
(*1914 value* about £1050.)			

VI.

St. Thomas's Abbey.

Survey of all lands, tenements, and other possessions, both spiritual and temporal belonging to the late monastery or abbey of Thomas Courte made at Dublin, 30 October, 32 Henry VIII (1540), before Thomas Walsshe, John Mynne, and William Cavendisshe, royal commissioners, on the oath of Barnaby King, William Devenysshe, John Hennowis, Nicholas Lamkyn, William Cotterell, Richard Barrye, William Serche, James Rodday, William Shaghnagh, and Edmund Rayley.

Thomas Courte: Abbey precincts.—A hall with tower and room, a chamber, and other buildings called the King's Lodgings, with 2 gardens, 8 orchards, comprising 12 acres; a water mill called le Matte Mylle, worth p. a.	£4	0	0
Donoure Manor Lands.—1 carucate of 92 a. worth p. a.	4	12	0
3 water mills (the Woode Myll and the Double Myllis) p. a.	10	0	0
Dublin City. Parish of St. Katherine.—5 messuages, 3 shops, 15 tenements, 1 small park, 11 gardens, p. a.	6	16	6

Tenants, Robert Lutterell, Robert Drake, John Sharpe, William White, John Hennowis (?), Thomas Stephins, William Devenysshe, Patrick Sampson, Alice Goldynge, Nicholas Lamkyn, William Serche and John More, William Donaytus. Vicars of St. Patrick's pay 2s. quit rent for their tenement occupied by Oliver Walsshe. Procurator of Corpus Christi Gild in St. Michael's pay 4s. 6d. quit rent for their tenements occupied by Walter Cotterell. Procurators of Blessed Mary's Gild in church of St. Katherine pay 2s. 6d. quit rent for their tenement occupied by John Mullaly. John Ewstace of Conffey pays 12d. quit rent for tenement occupied by William Whytte. John Brynan, tenant at will.

Thomas Street, 3 messuages lately burnt (formerly worth 20s. 8d). 3 shops, quit rent formerly paid by St. John's outside Newgate, now dissolved. Quit rent for garden occupied by Francis Herbert (4s.), not paid for 16 years. Quit rent (2s.) for tenement occupied by William Talbott; nothing paid for 12 years owing to dispute. One tenement (16s.) waste and in decay on account of defect of Conduit Pipe (*defectum conductus*). Quit rent (2s.) for tenement of William Talbott, occupied by Nicholas Hoell: no payment as no distress can be levied.

St. Nicholas in St. Patrick's.—Barnaby Kinge holds 9 tenements in Donoure (60s.). Bound to repairs, except the wood. Robert Hey, 1 tenement and garden (8s.)	£3	8	0
St. John Evangelist.—1 messuage, with loft and wine-cellar, held by Richard Fitzsimons (40s.). Quit rent (23s.) of 4 tenements now waste . . .	2	0	0
St. Nicholas Within.—1 tenement held by Barnaby Kinge (8s.). Quit rent (7s.) of tenement belonging to said church: now waste	0	8	0
St. Audoen's.—Quit rent (6s. 8d.) from 3 shops belonging to Nicholas Ouetrolle: nothing now. A plot of ground held by James Orpe (4d.) . . .	0	0	4
St. Michee (Michan).—3 tenements, belonging to Holy Trinity. Quit rent	0	2	6
St. James.—3 tenements, 3 gardens. Tenants, Dermot Laborer, John Mason. Quit rent of tenement and garden belonging to John Ewstace, now arable land called the Pounde Large. . . .	0	13	8
Mayor and Bailiffs.—20 marks out of city fee farm (extinct); 10s. in lieu of Toll Bolle[1] . . .	0	10	0

[1] I.e. the tax on the brew of ale and mead in the city. (See p. 194.)

Salmon Leap: Village of St. Katerine.—128 a. arable, meadow, and pasture, and 11 a. wood and underwood, with customs, tithes, and altarages.[1] Tenants, William Cotterell, Richard Barrye and Barnaby King	£7	19	8
Village of Cromlynge (Crumlin).—3 messuages, 80 a., park, 1½ a. Tenant, William Baghall	1	5	0
Village of Kilmanagh.—Quit rent, p. a.	1	0	0
Village of Kilrothery.—Leased to Henry Parker, chaplain, and Thomas Birmyngham. 1 March, 1535	1	6	8
Rectory of St. Katerine in suburbs.—Altarages (no tithes), p. a.	1	5	8
Rectory of St. James.—Tithes (2 couples, 26s. 8d.) and altarages (53s. 4d.). Leased to John Butteler, chaplain, for life, free of rent	4	0	0
Village of Malahoo (Malahide?).—Head rent (Thomas Bathe, tenant)	0	13	4
Rectory of Lucan.—½ tithes, with rectories of Rathmore, Lennagh, Ballaghmone, Moynne, Hennok, Strabo, Moyoon, and Koulkoure, and ½ tithes of Monehenocke (£8) leased to Gerald Earl of Kildare, attainted of high treason. Afterwards they were taken into the King's hands and granted by him to his commissioners Thomas Lutterell, knight, and Patrick Barnewell, Serjeants-at-law, on payment to the late monastery £8, and to the King 20s. £9 p. a. Another half of tithes of Lucan leased to Patrick Clyncher by abbot, 106s. 8d. p. a.	14	6	8
Village of Lucan.—1 messuage and 5 a. (cancelled as they belong to Mary's Abbey)			

Co. Meath.—Extent of possessions in County Meath within the barony of Moysenragh, made at Rathmollen, 6 Oct., 32 Hen. VIII (1541), before John Mynne along with Anthony Sentleger Knt. Deputy, Thomas Walsshe, and William Cavendisshe, assisted by Robert Cowley and Patrick Barnewell, on the oath of Peter Lenche of Knocke, William Rocheforde of Frasan, Peter Linam

[1] All these were granted by indenture to Patrick Fyne, late Canon of House of St. Katherine at Salmon Leap during his life, free of rent, except that he and his assigns provide the ecclesiastical sacraments for said village with the care of souls, and repair buildings of said village and houses and chambers of rectory, and also chancels of said churches at their own expense. Convent Seal, dated 6 April, 1530. (Extent MS.)

(*do.*), Donald Nary (*do.*), Nicholas Cusake of Clonaghan, George Mapre (?) of Larcoure, Richard White (*do.*), Hugh Dormounte (*do.*), and others.

Village of Browneston and Collierston in parish of Laraghcorre.—18 a. arable and meadow, p. a. . . £0 18 0
1 messuage and 60 a. held by Patrick Barnewall Lord Trymleston; head rent, p. a. . . . 0 6 8
Rectory of Chorlokeston.—Tithes and altarages (£11 6s. 4d.) leased to Thomas Stephens by Abbot. (The King repairs and maintains chancel) . . . 8 13 4
Rectory of Laraghcorre.—Tithes, altarages and manse (£20). Leased to Peter Lenche by Abbot, p. a. . 14 13 4
Rectory of Donamor near Navan.—Manse, garden, haggard, burnt by O'Neele. Tithes waste because of O'Neele's war, and leased to Nicholas Hancoke by Abbot, p. a. 18 0 0
Rectory of Kyltale.—Tithes, leased to John Sarcefeld, p. a. 6 13 4
Rectory of Dorpatrick.—Tithes and altarages leased to Thomas Stephens 6 13 4
Rectory of Cullmollen.—Tithes, manse, and altarages leased to James Humffrey 14 0 0
Rectory of Kylmore.—Tithes, manse, and altarages leased to Peter Lyons and James Boes . . 14 13 4
Rectory of Syddan.—Tithes, manse, and altarages, and glebe, p. a. Advowson of vicarage belongs to John Telinge of Sydan. Rectory leased to James Fleminge, Baron of Slane 18 0 0
Village of Shanerath.—30 a. arable and pasture. Held by Christopher Pentney, p. a. 0 16 8

Co. Meath.—Extent of manors of Grangend near Donshakelyn with manor lands, made at Rathouth, 14 Oct., 32 Hen. VIII (1540), on the oath of John Wade of Donnamor, John Talbott (*do.*), John Flemyng of Grenoke, Brian O'Roddy (*do.*), James Barret of Cokeston, David Crieff of Ballylm [——], Thomas Walsshe of Donshakelyn, Richard Connyll of the Grange of Tryvett, and William Carden of Wolton.

Manor of Grangende. Village of Cokeston.—Held by James White; Patrick Barnewall Lord Trymleston, tenements in Graungende; Thomas Dillon; John Duff (in Glaston); George Delahide (in Graungende); James Cusake; Robert Conten (in Graungende); Procurators of church of

Donshakelyn, tenements; John Avyas; Richard Dillon; Barnaby Kinge; all free tenants. Total	£3	13	6
Village of Graungende.—2 messuages, 72 a. arable, meadow, moor, and common pasture. Held by Peter Carne and Thomas Walsshe . . .	4	6	4
Village of Thomaston.—Thomas Salmon. 1 messuage, 39 a. arable, meadow, pasture and moor; also 1 cottage	1	9	0
Grange of Trevett.—5 messuages, 97½ a. arable, meadow, pasture and moor, with 2 cottages, and customs, p. a. Tenants, Richard Connyll, Thomas Carden, Dermot Connyll, Maurice Tagen, and William Caran	3	14	0
Village of Halton.—2 messuages, 60 a. arable, meadow, and pasture, with customs. Tenants, Thomas Foran and James Neylle	2	0	8
Manor of Donnamor. Knockevoy, Roveston, Little Bowleston, and 183 a. of manor lands. Edward of St. Laurence and George Delahide are free tenants in the right of the wife, daughters, and heirs of James Fitzleones of certain tenements in Knockevoy (20s.). They also by same right hold tenements in Roveston (3s. 4d.). Abbot of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin pays 12s. 4d. p. a. for his lands in Little Bowleston. Within the precincts of the manor of Donamor, 1 hall, some rooms, 1 garden, a plot of land called a *hagard place*. These are held by John Talbott, John Wade, and James Talbott with 180 a. They pay 300 pecks of oats and 141 pecks of malt (a peck = 10 gallons, each peck 10d.) = £18 7s. 6d. Also there a water-mill, worth p. a. 66s. 8d. Another messuage (4s.) assigned to curate; 3 cottages	23	7	10
Village of Wolton.—William Carden, Robert Outlawe, Thady Harlan, and John Counter hold 4 messuages, 126 a. arable and meadow. 4 cottages (no rent), with customs; tenants and cottiers have common pasture over le Comen de Bothe, ffesleuestownes, Mowgherston, Reveston, and Wolton; worth p. a.	4	17	4
Village of Moffoureston.—40 a. arable, meadow, pasture, p. a.	1	6	8
Village of Newton.—30 a. do. held by Thomas Hesse .	1	6	8
Village of Great Bowlston.—60 a. do. held by John Wade	2	0	0

Village of Grenocke (Grenogue).—2 messuages, 2 cottages, 2 gardens, held by Thomas Hede and Christopher Bennett (2s. 10d., quit rent to Nicholas Skurloke. Another messuage (6s. 8d.), now waste, worth nothing beyond 12d. rent paid to Nicholas Skurlocke[1] £1 15 6

Rectory of Balmaglastan.—Tithes (106s.), altarages (26s. 8d.). Leased to Barnaby King, supported stipendiary curate and chancel 4 13 4

Rectory of Trevet.—Manse, tithes, and altarages (£12). Leased to Thomas Stephens. Vicar to repair the chancel 8 0 0

Rectory of Ratouth.—Tithes (le longe tithes), £10 13s. 4d. Leased to Arnold Ussher. Tithes in vill of Racouth leased to Robert Shillingford, £10 13s. 4d.; in Harletteston and Balterstyn leased to Richard Hancoke, £8; in Ballyhack leased to Barnaby Kinge, £2 13s. 4d.; in Great and Little Largoure and fflemington leased to Martin Stanton, £10 13s. 4d.; in Cokeston and Ballibyn, £6 13s. 4d. (worth nothing here because leased to Thomas Stephens with Rectory of Grenok, tithes of Kylsalaghan and Chapellmydwey for £26 p. a.); in Milton, with manse and altarages (worth nothing here for same reason). Total extent of Rectory, p. a. (except above) 35 7 4

Rectory of Donshakelyn.—Tithes and alterages, and those of Robynston, Shaneston, and Deryke Great and Little. Leased to Robert Delahide, Walter Fitzsimondes and Patrick Clyncher . . 13 0 0

[1] The jurors then swore on oath that the abbot and his predecessors were possessed from time immemorial of an annual rent from Great Robertston, amount unknown; and in the village of Tallyfordestowne were 60 acres and in Little Robertston 30 acres which for 20 years, and at present, William Talbott retained and retains said rent, and entered into said village and dispossessed the abbot and still occupies the villages without any right. *Mem.*, that afterwards, i.e. 11 Dec., 1540, William Talbott, gent., came before Thomas Walsshe, John Mynne, and William Cavendisshe at Thomas Courte and showed them a writing of ffeoffment dated 26 July, 19 Edward IV (i.e., 1479-80) by which Thomas Bathe, knight, granted to Thomas Talbott, *armiger*, and Elizabeth, his wife, all messuages, lands, tenements, and services with appurtenances which he had in Great and Little Robertston, Gylwardes Lands, to hold to same Thomas Talbott and Elizabeth, their heirs and assigns, and said William stated that said Elizabeth was his mother and gave him the lands and tenements aforesaid in fee tail, and added that the Abbot and Convent of Thomas Court never had any right or possession in the premises. (Extent MS.)

Rectory of Cryxston.—Manse, tithes and altarages (£8 13s. 4d.). Leased to Christopher Barnewall who supports curate and chancel . . . £1 13 4

Rectory of Killeglan.—Tithes and altarages. Leased to Patrick Serey 0 16 8

Rectory of Grenoke.—*do.* p. a., £10 13s. 4d. (see Ratouth). Leased to Thomas Stephens 0 0 0

Rectory of Donamor near Grenok.—Tithes, with its members, Archerston, Newton, ffoleueston, Great and Little, Riveston, Mowfferston, Woodeton, and Bowlston Great and Little, with altarages, p. a. . 12 13 4

Extent of rectories of parochial churches of Moyclare and Knokmarke in Co. Meath, made at Donnvoyn (Dunboyne), 15 Oct., 1540 (32 Hen. VIII) before the same commissioners, on the oath of John Arthure, Simon Long, John Luttrell, William Barrye, Thomas Broketon, Philip Malkyn, John Knocke, Simon Donne, Richard Malkyn, and others.

Rectory of Moyclare.—Tithes in villages of Moyclare, Kilgreye, Butlerston, Porterston, Kynnyn, Parrokes, Baledogyn (?), Aghole, Moyadi Great and Little, Kellane, p. a. (£18 18s. 8d.). Leased to John Alen, Chancellor, p. a. £4 13 4

Rectory of Knokemarke.—Tithes (£9 6s. 8d.). Leased to Alexander Ussher, p. a. 10 13 4

Co. KILDARE.—Extent of possessions made at Castell Carbre, 23 Nov., 1540, on the oath of John Russell of Clayne, Maurice O'Doghirtie, cleric, Laghlinn O'Molone (*do.*), John O'Molone (*do.*), Edward O'Derge, Carmel Kelly, William Birmyngham, knt., Donalde O'Doyn, Nicholas Walsshe, William McMorisshe.

Rectory of Balnescollog.—Tithes (2 parts) (£3 6s. 8d.). Leased to John Spensefeld £2 0 0

Rectory of Clonecurrye in Oughterney.—Tithes (£17 6s. 8d.). Leased to William Newman, Dublin merchant 9 6 8

Village of ffenaghes in parish of Clonecurrye.—Tithes. Held by Richard Ailmer 1 13 0

Village of Arche de Contown in same parish.—40 a. p. a. (held by Gerald FitzGarrold) 1 6 8

Extent made at Kilkaa, 27 Nov., 1540, before Thomas Walsshe, John Mynne, assisted by Patrick Barnewall, Richard Ailmer, and David Sutton, *generosus*, on the oath of John Wade of Donnamor, John Talbott (*do.*), James Barrett of Cokeston, David Creiff

of Ballybyn, Thomas Walsshe of Donshakelyn, and William Cardon of Wolton.

Rectory of Monnahennocke[1] *and Ballaughmone.*—Tithes, p. a. (with half of rectory of Lucan). Leased to Thomas Lutterell and Patrick Barnewall . .	£4	0	0
Rectory of Rathmore.—Tithes (2 parts). Leased to Thomas Lutterell and Patrick Barnewall . .	2	0	0
Rectory of Straboo.—Tithes (2 parts). Leased to Thomas Lutterell and Patrick Barnewall . .	2	13	4
Rectory of Moycon.—Tithes (2 parts) p. a. (now worth nothing because they are waste and unoccupied, lying within the country of the Kavanaghs). Leased to Thomas Lutterell and Partick Barnewall	2	0	0
Co. Carlow: *Rectory of Koulkyrre.*—Tithes. Leased to Thomas Lutterell and Patrick Barnewall (with half rectory of Lucan)	1	6	8
Rectory of Tankestone.[2]—Tithes, p. a. . . .	1	10	0
Rectory of ffenaghs.—Tithes, p. a.	2	0	0
Rectory of Dromme and Barragh.—worth, p. a. (now nothing as it lies in the marches of the Irish called O'Nolane)	1	0	0
Rectory of Kylrosnarryn.—(worth nothing: same reason)	0	0	0
Rectory of Ballykeylti.—(worth nothing: do.) . .	0	0	0
Rectory of Dromphe.—Worth, p. a.	0	10	0
Village of Castellmore.—$\frac{1}{4}$ of village, i.e. 6 a. of great measure equal to 15 a. small measure (16s. 8d.), 2 parts of tithes (40s.), besides $\frac{1}{3}$ part belonging to the monastery of Baltinglasse. Total, 56s. 8d. Leased for	1	6	8

Extent of the Manor of Kyll made at Naas, 22 Nov., 1540, on the oath of John Roddie of Kylwarning, Donald Laghnan (*do.*), Thomas O'Ferrell of Kilhill (Kilteel), Patrick Edall (*do.*), Milmori (Myles) Broghan (*do.*), Patrick Kelly of Oughterarde, John Alone (*do.*), Richard Holer of Kyll, Edward Barrett (*do.*), David Lalor (?), John Colman of Castellwarnyng, John Sewyn of Bisshoppscourte, and Edward Tipper of Tipperston.

A small hill, surrounded by a dry fosse, on which the chief messuage of the manor was situated, and in which the Baronial Court of the manor was held at times. There are no other dominical lands of the manor except the aforesaid.

[1] Monmohennock. [2] Tankardstown.

Village of Kyll (a member of the manor).—6 messuages, and 93¾ a., and 11 cottages (12d. each), with customary services. Held by Thomas Fynne, Richard Holer, Olmar Wesley, Richard Almer, William Wesley, and Barnaby Kinge. £5 19 4

Village of Artwell (*do.*).—A castle or messuage, and 67 a. lying between Payneston and Alostie, with customary services. Held by Thomas Longe, by lease, 23 Nov., 1536 . . . . . 2 0 4

Village of Arterston (*do.*).—A castle, 4 messuages, and 104 a. with common pasture. Held by Dermot McGilepatricke 5 0 4

Village of Nicolston (*do.*).—66 a. held by Edward Wale and James Bayliff 2 2 0

Village of Balybrogge (*do.*).—A castle or messuage, and 7 a. (12s.), held by Henry Browne, and in *Campo de Artesland*, 18 a. (18s.), held by Barnaby King, village of Barrowrath, in socage (2s.), held by Robert Barnewell of the King, village of Hayneston (forfeited by treason of James Fitzgerald) 12d. and a pair of gloves (worth 2d.), quit rent (14d.), tenants and cottagers have right of "common cover with their animals" in 200 a. of pasture and moor (they pay nothing, because waste), perquisites of Manor Court (nothing beyond expenses of Seneschall of Manor). No *nativi* (serfs) in this manor . 1 8 0

Village of Aleston.—40 a. arable, 4 a. wood (40s.). Nothing because leased with village of St. Katherine (Lucan) and there accounted for. Total of manor 15 13 1

Rectory of Kyll.—Tithes in village of Kyll (£9 6s. 8d.), Arlestye (31s. 4d.), Payneston (40s.), Artwell (26s. 8d.), Arteston (43s. 4d.), Ballibrogge (5s.), Arteslandes (8s.), Surdwalleston (40s.), all in the parish of Kyll. Total, p. a. 18 18 0

Rectory of Oughterard.—Altarages of Vicar (£6 13s. 4d.), village of Oughterarde, 46 a. belonging to Rectory (46s.), Tithes in villages of Oughterard and Lyons (13s. 4d.), Tithes in village of Byshoppiscourte (£4). Village of Baronrathe (nothing), all in same parish. Farmers of tithes, Richard Aylmer and Barnaby Kinge. Total, p. a. . . . 14 6 0

Rectory of Castelwarnyng.—Tithes in villages of Castelwarnyng and Hottonred, held by James Fitz-

simondes, Stephen Creinan, Vicar of churches of Oughterard and Castellwarnynge receives the other tithes and altarages £4 6 8

Rectory of Kildraght (Celbridge).—Tithes leased by Abbot to Thomas Lutterell, Justice . . . 8 13 4

Rectory of ffornagh.—Tithes 4 0 0

Rectory of Heynston.—Held by Richard Hancoke. Tithes p. a. (£3 6s. 8d), altarages to the curate (average per year, 26s. 8d.). Bishop of Kildare receives, p. a., 13s. 4d., Archbishop (of Dublin), 6s. 8d. for procurations. No church in Heyneston: served by curate of Fornagh, Nicholas Ogan, one of the canons of Thomas Court 3 6 8

Rectory of Tresteldelan.—Tithes of oats (106s. 8d.), of hay (108s. 8d.). A stipendiary priest celebrates in the church at 40s. p. a. (besides altarages for said priest); leased to Robert Lutterell for £4 . 4 0 0

Rectory of Confye.—Tithes (£4 6s. 8d.), altarages (6s. 8d.) 4 13 4

Rectory of Leslipe.—Tithes (£6 13s. 4d.), altarages (13s. 4d.) 7 6 8

Tithes leased to Nicholas Stanyhurst. Patrick Fyne and John Course, chaplains, and Barnaby King, by composition with late Abbot Henry, 5 April, 1536, bound themselves to find in said church 2 priests to celebrate, out of the [other tithes], altarages and other emoluments, and 26s. 8d. from abbot and convent during the life of Patrick Fyne.

Extent of lands and tenements in the village of Blakerath *alias* Canonrath, Co. Kildare, made at Kildare, 15 Nov., 1540, before the three commissioners, assisted by Robert Dillon, Attorney-General, and Patrick Barnewall, on the oath of William Fitzthomas, vicar of the parish church of Rathangan, Hugh Dempsie, rector of the monastery of Ewen (Monasterevan), Charles Crossan of Clonmayle, Hugh O'Shaghnys (O'Shaughnessey) of Rathangan, Donald O'Bryne, vicar of the parish church of same.

Village of Blakerath.—2 messuages, 1 cottage, 50 a., with customary services (leased to Hugh Dempsye, cleric, by the abbot). £2 3 4

Co. Kilkenny.—Extent made at Kilkenny, 5 Jan., 1541, before the three commissioners, on the oath of Walter Sherloke, Richard Sheethe, Thomas Sheethe, John Walsshe and others.

Manor of Ballybroke and Grenan.—Waste because lying amongst the Irish, le Mores (Moores) and

McGilphatricke, yet (beside altarages to curate) with Rectory of Aythnynagh (£1 6s. 8d.). Leased to Walter Cowley £0 10 0

Rectory of Dumore (*Dunmore*), *Kylmaker and Kylcolman.*—Tithes, 180 pecks of hay and corn (Kilkenny measure, i.e. a peck = 24 gallons at 2s. a peck) (£18), altarages (20s.) (£19). Leased to Earl of Ormond with rectories of Loghmoy, Corbathenny, and Burren in Co. Tipperary 11 6 8

Rectory of Tulleghanbroge.—Tithes (£7), altarages (13s. 4d.) (£7 13s. 4d.). Leased to Walter Arthur and Nicholas Knabisburgh 6 0 0

Rectory of Kyllaghe.—Tithes (32s.), altarages (5s.) (£1 17s od.). Leased to Bishop of Ossory . . 1 0 0

Co. TIPPERARY.—Extent made at Cashell, 13 Jan., 1541, before the three commissioners, on the oath of Dermot Ryan, bachelor-of-law *utriusque juris*, Edward Effernan, cleric, Thomas Grenelyff, Philip Roithe, Dermot McCanne, Thady O'Kellye, William Hannye, John Maurice, Grogorie [——], John Moryce, Walter Nelgan, Alan Mulseder, and Walter Fleming.

Rectory of Corkahenny.—2 parts of tithes (with rectory of Dunmore), p. a. £6 13 4

Rectory of Burren, p. a. 1 6 8

Co. WATERFORD.—Extent made at Waterford, 20 Jan., 1541, before John Mynne, commissioner, assisted by William Brabazon and Patrick Dowall (Dowdall), on the oath of Patrick Walsshe, James Wyse, David Baly, Patrick Shurlocke, and others.

1 tenement in city of Waterford, held by Philip Bryan . £0 6 8

Co. WEXFORD.—Extent made at Wexford, 25 Jan., 1541, before John Mynne, commissioner, on the oath of Thomas Fitzhenry, Walter Devereux, Dionysius Hay, Nicholas Coode (Codd), Patrick Meyler, Patrick Lamporte, and others.

Village of St. John near Innescortie.—4 messuages, 3 carucates of land, p. a., 20s. Tithes of chapel of Kylcorbre, p. a., 20s., now waste on account of war with the Kaverners (Kavanaghs) . . . £2 0 0

Co. LOVIDIE (Louth).—Extent of Ballybabrike made at Dundalke, 6 Oct., 1540, before William Cavendysshe, on the oath of Christopher More, Nicholas Linton (? Clinton), Arthur Verden, Patrick Begge, George Begge, John McInter (Inver or Intyre) and others.

Rectory of Ballybabrike.—Tithes, p. a. . . . £1 6 8

Co. Corke.—Extent of Rectories of Ballyngmartyrrye, Inchynybakye, Carryvoie and Ballynicorrye, made at Corke, 14 Feb., 1541, before the commissioners, on the oath of Walter Galwey and John Skiddy.

Rectories set to farm to William Walsshe at 73s. p. a. or 110s. Irish money £3 13 0

Sum total of all possessions, besides waste lands . 452 1 2

Expenses.—

To Archbishop of Dublin for diverse procurations on churches within the diocese, £13, p. a.

,, Archbishop of Dublin for procurations, 14s., p. a.

,, (Archdeacon) of Clondalagh (Glendaloch), *do.*, 13s. 4d., p. a.

,, Bishop of Kildare, *do.*, 13s. 4d., p. a.

,, Archdeacon of Kildare, *do.*, 6s. 8d., p. a.

,, Archbishop of Dublin for procurations in Kildare diocese every third year, 13s. 4d.

,, Bishop of Meath for procurations, £4 6s. 8d. p. a.

,, Archdeacon there, 53s. 4d. p. a.

,, Bishop of Meath for Synodals, 6s. 8d. p. a.

,, Archbishop of Armagh, primate of All Ireland, for procurations in diocese of Meath every third year, £4 13s. 4d.

,, Repairs of 18 chancels and all tenements, £8 6s. 4d. p. a.

,, Receiver's fee (Rent Collector), £10 p. a.

,, Stipends of curates in various churches and chapels belonging to St. Thomas's Abbey: Curate of Dorpatrik and Kiltale, 26s. 8d., curate in Grenok, 13s. 4d., curate in Testelldelen, 23s. 4d., curate in Lexslipe and Confey, 26s. 8d.

Total p. a. £47 2 8

And remains 404 18 6

(*1914 value* about £6060.)

VII.

Franciscan Friary.

Extent of the lands and possessions in Co. Dublin, made at Dublin, 31 Oct., 1540 (32 Hen. VIII), before William Cavendysshe, commissioner, on the oath of William Hande, Thady O'Roone (? Rooney), John Roche, John Walsshe and others.

Site, with church, cloister, cemetery, and other buildings within the precincts, comprises 2 acres, and worth nothing beyond repairs borne by the farmer. There are no other superfluous buildings except those necessary for the farmer's dwelling. William Hande has a garden there at 4s. p. a. In St. Francis Street, 4 messuages and 3 gardens held by Thomas Stephyns and John Roche at 27s. p. a. . £1 11 0

At *Glasenywyk*.[1]—60 acres arable and pasture occupied by Thady Oronos, worth p. a. 20s., which lands and tenements Thomas Luttrell, Knight, Chief Justice of the Common Bench, claims as his right and inheritance 1 0 0

By the *Marsh of Clondolkan*.—1 messuage, 5 a. arable, and 3 stangs meadow occupied by John Roche, p. a. 0 6 8

The Friars pay to the Archbishop of Dublin as quit rent, 2s. 8d.

Total £2 15 0

(*1914 value* about £41.)

VIII.

Augustinian Friary.

Extent made at Dublin, 31 Oct., 1540, before Thomas Walssh, John Mynne and William Cavendyssh, with Anthony Sentleger, on the oath of William Lyon, William Leder, John Flemyng, Robert Haye, William Spryngham, Clement Curray, John Catermerse, Simon Brene.

There are no other buildings which can be thrown down except those necessary for the farmer. Site, with church and buildings, comprises 1½ acres and worth 2s. p. a. Robert the farmer holds 1 park of 6 a. and 1 meadow of 3 a. within the precincts at 24s. 10d. And said Robert Casye (the farmer) holds 60 a. arable in the village of Typperboyne.[2] There are in the village of Raynyclosse [blank]. Total of said lands, £4 0s. 2d.

In the *parish of St. Andrew*.—1 garden held by John Whyte at 12s. p. a. A garden held by Arlenton (Arnold) Ussher, merchant, at 4s. p. a. William Lyon, merchant, holds 3 gardens at 11s. p. a. Wm. Laghan, 1 garden at 4s. p. a. John fflemyng,

[1] Glasnamucky, Bohernabriena, near Tallaght.

[2] Probably Tipra-bó-binde, alias Topur Temrach at Tara.

1 garden at 5s. p. a. Robert Hoye, 1 garden at 3s. 4d. p. a. Wm. Sprynghan, 1 garden at 8s. p. a. Wm. Leder, 1 messuage and garden at 2s. p. a. Another garden in holding of Wm. Loghan at 6s. 8d. p. a. Total, £2 16s. 0d.

Parish of St. Patrick.—1 house and garden held by John Sinadramasshe at 20d. p. a.

Parish of St. Michael.—1 messuage and garden held by John Sarcewell, Dublin merchant, at 4s. p. a. Clemens Curragh holds 1 garden at 16d. p. a.

Total of all possessions, £7 3s. 2d.

Expenses.—Head rent of above messuages and park to the Bailiffs of Dublin, 6s. 8d.; *do.* to the Vicars of St. Patrick's, 2s. 5d.; Total, 9s. 1d. And remains, £6 14s. 1d. (*1914 value* about £100).

IX.

Convent of St. Mary de Hogges.

Extent of all lands and possessions made at Dublin, 8 Nov., 1540, before the three commissioners, on the oath of Simon Gaydon, James Rychford, John Dungayne, Richard Morren, Barnaby Ryely, Thomas Downe of Callarton, Maurice O'Curren, Richard O'Broy, Edward O'Soly and Hugh O'Byrne.

Church and other buildings within the precincts of this House now broken down by William Brabazon, Sub-Treasurer of Ireland after dissolution of said house, and the roofing tiles (slates, *lapides tegule*) and timber (*maremium*) were carried away by said person to the King's Castle of Dublin where they are kept for the repair of the same castle as is understood. There is also a pasture enclosure surrounded by walls and containing about 2 acres now occupied by John Dongan at 28s. rent p. a. Outside the walls there is a garden also occupied by John Dongan at 10s. p. a. There are also there 28 a. arable land of manor of said house, worth 28s. p. a. occupied by John Whyte, Knt.

City of Dublin.—1 tenement, with garden in Roche-lane,[1] held by Simon Gaydon, merchant. . .	£0	12	0
1 tenement near the Tollshyll [2] (St. Nicholas' parish), held by Wm. Spencer	1	0	0
1 messuage, opposite the door of the Church by the Tholsel, held by Robert Sylyford . . .	0	16	0

[1] Rochel Lane, Back Lane.

[2] Tholsel, or City Hall, corner of St. Nicholas Street and present Christ Church Place.

In Winetavern Street (parish of St. John), 1 messuage, held by Felim Cowper	£0	4	0
In the same, 1 messuage, held by James Paynter	0	5	0
In Cookes Strete, 1 house (said parish), held by Margaret Colgaid	0	16	0
In Cookes Strete, 1 garden (parish of St. Audoen), occupied by Walter Caron	0	8	0
In Cookes Strete, near Woode Kay (said parish), 1 house, occupied by Richard FitzSymond	0	2	0
In le ffyshamylles Strete (said parish), 1 house, occupied by Sir Nicholas Carne, cleric	0	7	0
In High Street (parish of St. Michael, Arch.), 1 house, held by James Segrey, merchant	0	16	0
In High Street, 1 house, held by Bathe de Raffeyth, inhabited by John Frenchman Taylor. Quit rent	0	10	0
In Parish of St. George, 1 garden near the Common Lane (*communem venellam*, i.e. St George's Lane ?), held by Maurice Fulgham	0	6	0
In the Fore Strete in Oxmanton (parish of St. Miani = Michan), beyond the city bridge, 1 house, held by Barnaby Reely	0	10	0
In Cookes Strete (parish of St. Audoen), 1 house belonging to the Fraternity of St. Anne in St. Audoen's Church, held by Nicholas Humfrey, merchant	0	5	0
In High Street near the Watercourse, 1 shop belonging to said Fraternity, rent, p. a.	0	6	0
Within the City Liberties in parish of St. Nicholas Without, 1 garden, held by Catherine Marten	0	3	4
In Newestrete (said parish), 1 messuage, held by Richard Moren, besides 12d. to Bishop of Dublin as quit rent	0	3	0
Total for Dublin City	£6	7	4
Village of Ragarth (Rathgar).—1 messuage, and 90 a. arable, 4 a. underwood, 12d. an acre, £4. Leased to James Rychardes, merchant	£3	13	4
Village of Callarton.—3 messuages, and 3 a. arable, held by Maurice O'Kerran, Edward Offalye and Richard Obroy	3	6	8
Tithes and customary services, p. a.	1	7	2

Extent made at Cromblyn, 29 Oct., 1540, before the three commissioners, on the oath of John Bathe of Cromblyn, Richard Talbott (*do.*), Robert Peerse (*do.*), Nicholas Lyon (*do.*), William Braghall (*do.*), John Bolton (*do.*), Patrick Nele (*do.*), John Lawles and Richard Kelly (*do.*).

Manor of Cromblyn.—1 messuage now thrown down, and 15 a. for which the nuns paid to the manor 11s. 3d. p. a., and which is worth, above the rent, p. a. £0 2 0

Total for Co. Dublin . . £7 9 2

Co. Meath.—Extent in the villages of Dullagh (Duleek) and Knockamore, made at Armulphan, 4 Oct., 1540, before John Mynne, assisted by Robert Cowley and Patrick Barnewell, on the oath of John Whyte, cleric, Matthew Duff, cleric, John Tallon, Donald O'Mulrean, Patrick Portor, Thomas Frane, Thomas Bradye, William Broketon, and others.

Extent in villages of Dullagh (Duleek) and Knockamore in Co. Meath, made 4 Oct., 32 Hen. VIII.

Dullagh, p. a. £0 6 8
Other lands near Ardbraken (*blank*)
Knockamore, p. a. (no particulars given) . . . 0 11 3

Total for Co. Meath . . £0 17 11

Co. Kildare.—Extent made at Kylka, before the three commissioners, 27 Nov., 1540, on the oath of Martin Pelles of Athye, Thomas FitzGarret of Dullardston, Matthew of St. Michael, Baron of Reban, James FitzGarrett of Mullons Graunge, James Moultell of Athye, Robert Woolff of Athye, cleric, Arnold Woolff of Kylcolman, Leonard Casshell of Tressel Dermot, Richard Vale of Frompolston, Denis Helan of Athye, cleric, Dermot Obyen of Catherlaugh, John McMymorogh of Russelston, David Moyly of Glassely, Maurice O'Doren of Woodstock, Donald Smyth of Domongwery, Donald O'Connor of Norragh (Narraghmore), Donald O'Beagn of Fonneston (Fontstown), and John Herrold of Rathdonal.

Village of Ahad.—4 a. of great measure (each acre equal to 4 a.) now waste on account of war with le Thoylez (Tooles) and the Kaveners (Kavanaghs); otherwise worth 16s. Tithes (when sown) worth p. a., 6s. 8d.

Total extent of possessions, besides waste lands	£18 0 5
Expenses.—Procurations to Archbishop of Dublin	1 0 0
And remains	£17 0 5
(*1914 value* about £255.)	

X.

Priory of Friars Preachers.

Extent of the possessions in the Co. Dublin made at Dublin, 12 March, 1541 (32 Hen. VIII), before Thomas Walsshe, John Mynne, and William Cavendisshe, commissioner, with Anthony Sentleger, Lord Deputy, on the oath of John Mastoke, Richard Barbar, John Love, Michael Harrys, Walter Browne, Henry Taylor, Robert Godfray, Robert Bassett, Nicholas Taskeyn, Stephen Pepard, Thomas Tute, Thomas Corbelly, and Henry Byrne, tenants and farmers of the aforesaid lands and possessions. They say that the said church or priory may be thrown down, but as to the timber, glass, iron, and stones of same, they know not their value. All other buildings within the precincts of said house, with cemetery and other conveniences, comprise 3 acres and are worth nothing beyond the repairs.

In *Parish of St. Michan* (Mighani) within the franchises of the city there are 15 tenements, rent, p. a.	£7 4 10
Same parish, 2 tenements, waste.	
In *St. Patrick-street.*—1 tenement, held by John Love	0 6 0
In *Newestrete.*—1 tenement with garden, worth nothing beyond the 5s. paid to Archbishop of Dublin as quit rent.	
A meadow called *Helenehores Mede* alias *le Gybbett mede*; ½ of it belongs to the King by dissolution of the priory; p. a.	0 2 0
Co. Meath: *Village of Londerston.*—2 messuages, 80 a. arable, 4 a. meadow, 6 a. pasture, occupied by Thomas Corbally and John Doyhed (106s. 8d.); 2 cottages (rent only to the farmer); head rent, 1 lb. of pepper, paid to Thomas Plonkett of Raufmore, knt., 20d. p. a.	5 5 0
Total	£12 17 10
(*1914 value* about £195.)	

XI.

Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in Ireland (Kilmainham).

Extent of the possessions in the Co. Dublin surrendered to the King by Sir John Rawson, late prior of the Hospital, made at Kylmaynan, 7 April, 1541 (XXXII Hen. VIII), before Anthony Seyntleger, knt., Thomas Walsshe, John Mynne, and William Cavendysshe, on the oath of John Burnell de Castell Cnok, John Barnewall, of same, William Clynche of Newcastell, Bartholomew Floras, of same, Patrick Mangon of Loghton, Patrick Clere, of same, James Clere of Adergh, Thomas Burges, of same, Patrick Browne of Barkweston, Thomas Coskre, of same, John Lyvet of Lucan, Richard Mason of Balydowde, Patrick Taylor, of same, James Arthur of Kyngsmylton, Henry Croghan of Blondelston, John Holme of Rellagh, William Braghall of Cromlyn, Patrick Neele, of same, Nicholas Heyn of Hollywoodrath, William Raye of Stagnb, Brian Taylor of Kylmaynan, Richard Husbond, of same, and John O'Quoyne, of same, etc., who say that the house, mansions, and edifices now within the site of the manor of Kylmaynan, which manor was the chief hospital or manse of said prior and brethren, are very necessary and suitable for the manse and abode of the King's Deputy, but said house and buildings are now in great decay and require repairs to the extent of £100. There are there 3 small gardens and 1 orchard with stone wall, with 4 towers above said surrounding walls, one tower on the N. with hanging bridge over the River Liffey running near said tower, but at present broken down and which if rebuilt would be very useful in defence against invading enemies on that side; the gardens and orchard are of no value, p. a., as their care and maintenance cost more than they yield. Outside the site is a large curtilage in the S. side of which is a large gate in the shape of a fortress by which access is obtained to the Hospital. In other parts of the curtilage are 2 stables, a granary roofed, and a house beside the granary in which ale is brewed. Also a stone barn the roof of which was burned and thrown down by Thomas ffytz Gerald, rebel and traitor of the King, about 6 years ago, with all the grain then lying there. Also 3 gardens and 1 orchard near the said buildings, worth nothing, as they are reserved for the use of the Hospital of the said Deputy. Also a church, very large, which is a parish church, of which a certain portion, namely, the chapel on the S. side may be thrown down without any harm, and of necessity

should be thrown down as the parishioners of said church cannot otherwise support that church on account of their poverty, and the remainder of the church will suffice for the parishioners.

In fields adjoining Hospital, 260 acres, arable, of manor lands, each acre 12d. p. a. = 22s.—should be .	£13	0	0
22 a. meadow at 12d. an acre	1	2	0
N. side of Liffey near Hospital, a wood called *Grete Wood*,[1] of 41 a., and on S. side of Liffey a wood called *Fustore* of 16 a. underwood and pasture reserved for Hospital's use, and therefore not valued.			
Also on both sides of the Liffey 260 a. pasture and heather of manor lands,[2] not valued as they lie within the farm of arable lands and it is not customary to set them to farm.			
1 water-mill on the Liffey with 2 walls of mill stones under 1 roof, worth p. a. besides repairs and charges of the "farmer"	4	0	0
On same river 1 weir with 4 pools for salmon fishing with boat and nets, worth p. a. besides repairs and charges of "farmer"	26	13	4
On S. side of said house or manse 1 fulling mill between said house and *le Cammocke* [3] river turning on said river, p. a.	3	0	0
1 mill held by Richard Rawson of Bristoll by lease of Prior, p. a. (besides repair and charges borne by Richard)	3	0	0
1 parcel of land on S. side of bridge called le Gylden Bryge [4] on the banks of the Cammok towards Dromrathe called *Walsshemanslandes*, of 30 a. pasture at 12d. an acre, held by James Bathe, Chief Baron of Exchequer, for life in place of his fee, by grant of Prior and Brethren, without rent.			
1 parcel of land called *Droges*, of 14 a. pasture and underwood, 12d. an acre, held by Thomas Hyllock to farm by lease of Prior and Brethren at 13s. 4d. p. a.	0	14	0
In *le Woodfeld*, 15 a. arable and pasture, at 12d. an a., held by Richard Savage at will of the King . .	0	15	0
Total of manor lands with mills and fishing weir .	£49	13	8

[1] Now enclosed in Phœnix Park.
[2] Extending up to Palmerston.
[3] Camac.
[4] Golden Bridge.

Extern lands of the Manor :—

20 a. pasture called *le Dammes*, and 20 a. called *le Stryffe More* held as commons by tenants of the village without rent.

An ancient stone bridge over Liffey, which runs through the Manor, of 6 arches, now broken down to the great harm of the manor and surrounding country, and requiring repairs valued about 100 marks.

In the manor a parcel of land called *Melaghes Medowe*[1] about 1½ a. worth p. a. £0 2 6

Total of extern lands . . £0 2 6

Village of Kylmaynan, parcel of manor.—1 messuage with appurtenances called *Castelhouse*, and 1¼ a. called *le Barleyard*, and 2 a. pasture at *Quoytroltes Park* on the W., held by John O'Quoyne on E. and S., and 5 a. arable on W. of village near the Liberty of Dublin City, held by Agnes Perpoyn and Katerine Rawson from the Prior and Brethren (19 April, 26 Hen. VIII, 1535) for 95 years at 10s. p. a., of which Richard Fytzsymondes claims 2 a. pasture as right and inheritance from said manor at 6s. 6d. p. a.

And 3 parcels of land, of 1¾ a. pasture on both sides of the Cammok to the S. of the bridge called *le Bowbryge*, held by Martin Kelly, baker, at will of the King, p. a. £0 16 0

In said village a garden called *le Kyngis Yardes* on both sides of the Cammok, on the S. called *Sangwendeslandes*, held by William Kerne of Dublin, baker, at will of the King, p. a. 0 8 0

1 messuage dilapidated, with 1 small garden on W. of Thomas Brymyngham's land, held by Brian Taylor at will of King, p. a. 0 1 6

1 messuage, formerly held by Walter Whyte, tailor, now totally waste, held by Agnes Perpoyn, widow, with small brambly grove of pasture called *Gyffordes Grove* between Cromlyn and Kylmaynan, by lease from prior, etc., p. a. 0 10 8

4 gardens near land of Lady Anne Brymyngham on W. held by Brian Taylor by lease of prior, etc., of which

[1] Marshy Meadow.

the heir of William Nangle claims 1 garden beyond said gardens at W. as right and inheritance of manor of Kylmaynan at 12d. p. a.			
1 messuage, with appurtenances, not built, beside messuage of Edward Browis (? Browne) on E., p. a. .	£0	1	8
1 messuage, etc., held by said Edward Browne, p. a. .	0	6	8
1 messuage, etc., not built, near land of John Fytz-Symondes on E., held by Agnes Perpoyn (or Propoyn) at will of King, p. a.	0	1	8
1 messuage, etc., held by John O'Quoyne by lease, p. a.	0	6	0
8¾ a. pasture, held by same at will of King, p. a. . .	0	8	9
¾ a. arable formerly held by same, p. a. . . .	0	1	0
1 garden near western gate of village on N. side held by same, p. a.	0	2	0
1 garden E. of said garden held by James Browne at will of King, p. a.	0	2	8
1 garden, held by Laghlyn O'Quoyne at will, p. a. .	0	2	0
1 messuage, etc., held by same at will, p. a. . .	0	5	0
1 garden E. of said house, held by same at will, p. a. .	0	1	0
1 messuage, etc., not built, on E. of above messuage, held by same, p. a.	0	1	0
1 garden on N. of street of village, held by Thomas Lane, p. a.	0	1	0
1 garden on E., held by James Rery (or Rory ?), p. a. .	0	2	0
1 garden at E. of said garden, held by Denis Tober, p. a.	0	1	0
1 garden on E., held by William Harford, p. a. . .	0	0	8
1 messuage, etc., held by Rory Raban at will, p. a. .	0	5	0
2 gardens, held by Richard Myne, p. a. . . .	0	1	8
½ burgage, etc., held by Thomas Inglond, deceased, in socage of the manor, in the King's hands as Inglond's heir did not claim his right, now held by Richard Myne at 1s. 4d. p. a.	0	1	4
In village fields 3 a. arable, held by James Rery at will of King, p. a.	0	3	4
In same 8 a. arable, held by William Smyth, *do.*, p. a..	0	10	8
5 a. arable, held by Richard Drake, *do.*, p. a. . .	0	6	8
6 a. arable, held by Gerald Brasyer, *do.*, p. a. . .	0	8	0
¼ a., held by Brian Taylor, *do.*, p. a.	0	0	4
Total of rents of village . .	£6	17	9

Tenants for life in said village.—

1 house, etc., and in the fields 3¾ a. arable, p. a., 8s., held by James Whyte, organist, by grant of John			

Rawson, late prior, etc., under the common seal, 16 March, 16 Hen. VIII, free of rent, except service of said James in the choir of Kylmaynan church at diverse times specified in writing, with an annuity of 53s., food and drink during his life as specified in said writing and shown to the above jurors at the Inquisition.

1 house, etc., held by John Dwyn and Alison his wife, without rent

In the fields, 56½ a. arable and pasture, 12d. an acre held by Alienor Dowdale in socage of manor, p. a., 21s. 7d. Which lands Nicholas Quoytrot, James FytzSymonds and Nicholas Bennet[1] claim to belong to the master and wardens of the Gild of St. Anne in St. Audoen's on payment of above rent, by grant of Alienor Dowdall, and in which John Rawson, late prior entered and was seised in his manor and fee of the Hospital at time of surrender of same £2 16 6

Free Tenants.—

1 enclosed place and 24 a. arable in fields of village held by Master and wardens of St. Anne's Gild in socage, p. a. 0 18 5½

¼ burgage held by same near aforesaid, p. a. . . 0 0 6

1 messuage and certain lands[2] in said village and fields, held by Amea Brymyngham, widow, p. a. . . 0 1 0

1 messuage and 50 a. arable in same held by William Talbot, p. a. 1 6 0

1 messuage and 9½ a. arable in same, held by Vicars-Choral of St. Patrick's, p. a. 0 10 7

Certain messuages and lands in same, held by heirs of John FytzSymonds, p. a. 1 6 0

1 messuage, etc. in same, held by heirs of Nicholas Bellowe (Bellewe ?), p. a. 0 1 4

1 messuage and garden and small enclosure, held by Nicholas Quoytrot, citizen and alderman of Dublin, who maintains the village ditch near his messuage, p. a. 0 1 6

1½ burgage, etc., called *Quoytrotes Parke*, in W. of village, held by same, p. a. 0 3 0

[1] These are the Master and Wardens of the Gild of St. Anne for 1540 : not previously known.

[2] MS. torn for many lines here.

Certain burgages and 15 a. arable, meadow, and gorse in village fields, held by Francis Harbard, Gent., p. a.	£0	11	0
2½ burgages, etc., held by Martin Kelly, p. a.	0	5	4
1 burgage, etc., held by Thomas Brymyngham, p. a.	0	2	0
6 a. arable at *Barnegyll*[1] *in said manor*, held by heirs of Robert Barnewall of Drymnagh, p. a.	0	0	6
40 a. arable in *le Hyghfeld*, *do.* near *Thomas Woode*, held by Patrick Chyllan, p. a.	0	17	3
1 meadow called *Tyrelles Woode* in village, held by Nicholas Scurlok, p. a.	0	2	6
3 parts of a burgage, etc., late *Kellys*, held by Agnes Perpoyn, p. a.	0	1	6
1 parcel of burgage, held by same, p. a.	0	0	9
1 tenement, etc., held by same for life, reversion belongs to heirs of Patrick Ballyngton, late husband of said Agnes, p. a.	0	0	10½
¼ burgage, held by same in her own right, p. a.	0	0	6
Small parcel of land, *do.*, p. a.	0	0	3
¾ burgage, *do.*, p. a. [MS. torn.]			
1 tenement, etc., 1¼ a. arable, held by Tamesina Newman, cousin and heir of William Newman, deceased, p. a.	0	3	2
In said village certain land called *le Commen Gryne*,[2] i.e., ¾ burgage between the *Towne Bryge* and the mill called the *Tokyngmyll*,[3] the other side of the Cammok river, held by tenants of village in common, p. a.	0	1	6
Total of rents of free tenants	£7	8	6
Suit of Court worth, p. a.	£0	4	0

Newtone de Kylmaynan.—

In village of Newton[4] near the forest called the Grete Woode are 160 [Ms. torn] a. arable, 4 a. meadow, 37 a. pasture and thorn bushes which Arnold Ussher holds to farm by deed, with tithes of village, granted by late prior, etc., p. a..	£6	13	4

[1] Barr-na-gcoill = gap of the wood. [2] Common Green.

[3] Probably the Tolling-Mill. The miller took his toll for grinding corn by a toll dish of iron or brass of a just measure which was chained to the mill. The miller was to pay to the mayor, if in the city, or to the lord of the Liberty, for the toll dish.

[4] Probably the village on north side of Island Bridge.

Nicholas Brymyngham now living in town of Rosse, Co. Wexford is a *nativus* [1] of the King belonging to said manor, but the jurors do not know the value of his goods or chattels.			
The whole rectory of Kylmaynan parish church is in the hands of the King, and so there is no *patronage* there.			
Perquisites of Manor Court with a custom called *Mary Gallons* [2] contributed by tenants of manor and said villages, p. a.	£2	13	4
Tithes of grain of rectory of parish church and of village of Newton at 8 couples of acres of grain, each acre 13s. 4d. p. a.	5	6	8
Altarages and other tithes of parish, p. a. . . .	2	0	0
Stipendiary priest celebrating there at charge of the King.			
Total of Rectory	7	6	8
Total of Manor with tithes of rectory .	£83	16	3
Deduct 30s. p. a. from parcel of land called *Walsshemanslandes* referred to above, held by James [——] (Fytzsimmonds) free of rent. And remains	£82	6	3

Rectory of Chapelysold [3] *with Chapel of St. Laurence.*—

Tithes of grain of rectory beside said manor, and chapel of St. Laurence, 6 couples of acres of grain, each couple, 13s. 4d., p. a..	£4	0	0
Altarages	1	0	0
1 pasture called *Canterelston* by Castellknok, of 40 a., which tithes, altarages, and pasture with *Melaghes Mede* referred to above, John Rawson, late prior, etc., by deed, 28 June, 30 Hen. VIII (1538), leased to Richard Savage and Alice his wife for 51 years at 5 marks *Irish*, finding a suitable priest to celebrate, and bearing repairs of chancel of said church and of chapel of St. Laurence, also contributing 1 loaf [4] and wax (*unum panem et ceram*)			

[1] I.e. serf, whose goods and chattels, as well as himself, belonged to the lord of the manor, in this case to the Prior of Kilmaynan.

[2] *Mary Gallons* seem to be the customs of so many gallons of butter given on a certain feast of the Blessed Virgin, probably 15 August.

[3] Chapelizod.

[4] Probably for the *Holy Bread*, which was blessed and distributed to the congregation at the end of Mass.

to said church, and refection [1] to Archdeacon of Dublin, which charges amount to 6s. 8d. p. a. Total of "farm" £3 6 8

City of Dublin.—

Within City of Dublin in *Wynetavernstrete* beside Church of Holy Trinity on N. side, a house called *le ffrankhouse* [2] which Patrick Feeld, Dublin, deceased, held of prior at rent, 4s. 2d. p. a., and finding for said prior and successors on their coming to Dublin and staying overnight 1 decent room unfurnished (*sine apparatu*), 1 stable with bedding for 2 horses, 1 white candle, and 1 bed with bedding, but unfurnished, worth at present, p. a., 3s. 4d. Said house Nicholas Hancock and other feoffees hold in discharge of last will of Patrick Feeld 0 4 2

In High Street, 1 house, formerly held by John Parker of Dublin, merchant, of late Hospital at p. a., 20s. Nicholas Gaydon and Simon Gaydon now hold said house by deed of John Rawson, etc., in consideration of certain sum paid to prior by said Nicholas and Simon, and other considerations specified in deed at 6s. 8d. p. a. for 35 years, payable at Easter and Michaelmas, and after said years prior, etc., to receive as rent, 20s. p. a. . 1 0 0

Richard FytzSymondes holds 1 house, etc., in *Boothe Strete* [3] beside the King's *Pillory*,[4] in socage, p. a. 0 5 0

1 house in High Street which Thomas Saresfylde occupies, p. a. 0 6 8

1 house in *Skynnersrowe* [5] which Richard Brygges occupies, p. a. 0 2 6

1 house in St. Patrick's Street which William Talbott of Roberstowne holds, p. a. 0 2 0

Said William also holds 1 enclosure of meadow beside Church of St. James, about 1½ a. p. a.. . . 0 1 4

In the High Street of St. Patrick,[6] 1 house which Thomas Barby, Dublin, merchant, holds, rent p. a. . . 0 1 0

Do., 1 house which said Thomas Barby holds, p. a. . 0 1 0

Do., 1 house which John Love of Dublin, carpenter, now occupies, held by Procurators of St. Nicholas in St. Patrick's Cathedral, p. a. 0 3 0

[1] I.e. at visitation by the Archdeacon. [2] Guest-house.
[3] Fishamble Street—booths for fisher-folk.
[4] Stood at junction of Castle Street and Christ Church Place.
[5] Christ Church Place. [6] St. Patrick's Street.

Also in the High Street called the *Newstreete* at S. side of bridge,[1] house held by Procurators of St. Nicholas within the walls, p. a.	£0	2	0
Do., 1 garden, etc., at back of St. Patrick's Cathedral between the land of Nicholas Wycombe on E. and lands of Vicars of St. Patrick's on W., and a park of Robert Fytzsymondes, Precentor of said church, at Cross Kevin Street (*viam cruciatus Scī Kevini*) [2] on N. which John Spencefeld now holds, p. a. .	0	1	4
In *Thomas Street* 1 house occupied by James Baker, p. a.	0	2	0
Within the *City Liberty*, 10 a. arable called *Kylmacargyn* near Donabroke,[3] p. a.	0	10	0
Do., small enclosure of pasture beside late House of Carmelites, Dublin, p. a., 6s. 8d. which Richard Caas now holds for life by grant of prior, free of rent			
Total of rents of City . .	£2	11	10

Rectory of Balyfermot.—

Tithes of grain of parish church of Balyfermott, 12 couples of acres of grain, each couple, 13s. 4d. Altarages, p. a., 26s. 8d., which Rectory, John Alen, Chancellor, holds by lease from Prior, etc., p. a., supporting all charges, etc.	£6	0	0

Manor of Cromlyn.—

1 messuage, 30 a. arable, 2 a. pasture, each acre at 12d., p. a., which Agnes Byrne, widow of John More, holds by lease from prior at 30s. p. a. . . .	1	12	0
In village of *Teghebrodan* [4] alias Kylmaynanbegge, Co. Dublin, 40 a. arable, 100 a. mountain, which Patrick Barnewall of Kylmahyok now occupies at will of King, p. a.	0	13	4
Tithes of grain of rectory of parish church of *Crowagh*,[5] land called *Harroldes Countrey*, leased by prior to John Wyrall of Dublin, shomaker, p. a. . .	1	0	0
In *Waspaldeston* near Newcastell, Co. Dublin, 40 a. which Richard Aylmer and Henry Croghan hold by lease fram prior, p. a.	2	6	8

[1] Over the Poddle.
[2] Old St. Kevin's Church stood near by.
[3] The city held a fee farm at Donnybrook, the site of the fair of that name.
[4] Tighbradan hill, above Rathfarnham, in Dublin mountains.
[5] Creevagh or Cruagh, in Dublin mountains above Rathfarnham.

Tithes of grain of rectory of parish church of Palmerston near Grenok, Co. Dublin, 14 couples of acres of grain, each couple 13s. 4d. Vicar receives remaining tithes and altarages. Advowson belongs to the King. (*recte* £9 6s. 8d.)	£8	0	0
Tithes of grain of rectory of parish church of *Garyeston*[1] with glebe, which Batholomew Blanchefeld of Dublin, merchant, holds by lease fron prior, etc., p. a. Vicar receives altarages. Advowson belongs to King	16	13	4
In village of *Grallagh*, 1 messuage, 5 a. arable, and in village of *Brounston*, 5 a. which John Benet and Christopher Bennet hold by lease from prior, etc., p. a.	0	10	0
In village of *Hollywoode*, same county, 7 a. mountain, each acre at 8d. p. a. which John Cruse occupies, p. a.	0	5	0
In village of *Hollywoodrath*, annual rent or pension out of village by hands of Lady Jeanna Talbott, widow, and Ailmer Newgent, and their heirs	2	14	8
Preceptory of Clontarff.—			
A hall, 2 towers, 1 kitchen, and other necessary buildings, with stables and barns necessary for "farmer," worth nothing p. a. beyond repairs at his charge. A dove-cot, p. a.	0	3	4
In adjoining fields of manor 80 a. arable, each acre 12d.	4	0	0
2 a. meadow at 12d. per acre	0	2	0
2 a. underwood, at 12d. per acre	0	2	0
7 a. gorse and heather, at 12d. *do.*	0	7	0
Total of Manor	£4	16	4
Within the manor, 1 messuage, etc., called *Bushelles Ferme*, and 65 a. arable, 3½ a. meadow, 3 a. pasture, each acre 12d.	3	11	6
1 messuage, etc., called *Whitefferme*, 49 a. arable, 4 a. meadow, 7 a. pasture, each acre 12d. p. a.	3	0	0
In adjoining fields 140 a. arable and pasture, each acre 12d. p. a.	7	0	0
20 cottages with gardens adjoining, cottagers paying p. a.	4	0	0
Cottagers work in manor for 1 day, sowing corn, worth 2d. each	0	3	4

[1] Garristown.

Each gives at Christmas 1 hen, price 2d. . . .	£0	3	4
A wood called *Pryorswoode at Cowlok*, 24 a. p. a.. .	0	6	8
An arm of the sea called *Clontarff Polle* (Pool), in which each shipowner plying ship and anchor and casting there, pays anchorage custom of 4d. Customs valued p. a.	0	6	8
Sum of extern lands of manor .	£18	11	6

Rectory of Clontarff.—

Tithes of grain of rectory of parish church of Clontarff, 9 couples, each worth 13s. 4d., £6. Altarages, £2.			
Stipendiary priest celebrates at expense of the "farmer." Which manor, with tithes, and altarages, etc., Thomas Plonkett, Gent., holds to farm by lease of prior, etc., p. a., finding curate to celebrate in church and repairing chancel and cottages at his own expense, £26 13s. 4d.			
Total of manor farm with tithes of rectory .	£26	13	4

Co. Meath: *In Manor of Reynoldston.*—

1 chief messuage, 60 a. arable, pasture, and mountain, each acre at 7d. p. a.	1	15	0
In village of same, certain lands and tenements formerly held by St. Mary's Abbey, out of which Prior of St. John's received as quit rent	0	4	0
Heirs of Christopher Ussher hold 1 messuage and certain lands in socage, p. a.	0	7	0
80 a. formerly held by William Busworth; quit rent, p. a., now held by Lord de Kyllyne (Killeen) free of rent.	0	16	11
John Saunders holds in right of his wife 1 messuage with garden and orchard, p. a. . . .	0	0	1
Total of lands and rents in Reynoldston . .	£2	19	0

In Village of Haserton, of manor of Reynoldeston.—

30 a. which Brian O'Hoye holds, p. a. . . .	0	15	0
Heirs of William Caddell de le Nall (The Naul) hold 1 messuage and 30 a. of the King in socage, p. a. .	0	5	0
John Caddell of Caddelston, 1 messuage and 24 a. p. a.	0	5	8
Total	£1	5	8

In Village of *Kyllogher*, Petrus Goldyng of Typpersole (Tubbersole) holds lands and tenements of King, p. a.	£0 4 4
In Village of *Merykston*, 1 messuage with lands and tenements which Nicholas Hancok of Dublin holds, p. a.	0 12 0
Total of manor of Raynoldeston, besides lands and tenements in Co. Meath of same manor	£5 1 0

Co. Dublin: *Manor of Balmacorus, Glanmonder and Ballyman.*—[1]

Wife of Robert Walsshe, deceased, holds to "farm" in country called the *Walsshmanslandes* in the Marches of Co. Dublin, by lease fron Prior of the said manor, p. a.	£2 0 0
In parish of *Balrothere* [2] lands and tenements called Barongerath, p. a.	0 11 3

In village of Kylpole [3] in country of O'Byrne, lands and tenements, and spirituals which cannot be valued as they lie among the Irish and no information can be had of them, and Prior received no profits from them for a long time past.

In parts of Wykelowe, i.e. in Estbothyn (Inisboheen) are 1 burgage called *le Frankhouse* and 10 carucates which cannot be valued through want of information as they lie among the Irish called O'Byrnes, and no profits received.

Co. Kildare.—Rectory of parish church of *Kylhehale* (Kilheel or Kilteel) and farm of preceptory or manor surrendered "freely" by John Rawson, *pretextu sursumreddicionis* (surredition), at Naas, 22 Nov., 1540, before Thomas Walssh and John Mynne, commissioners, assisted by Patrick Barnewall, Serjeant-at-law, and Richard Aylmer, on oath of John Roddy of Kylwarnyng, Donald Langhman, *do.*, Thomas Oferrall of Kylhehale, Patrick Edall, *do.*, Milmore (Myles) Broghaun, *do.*, Patrick [blank] of Oughterard, John Alone, *do.*, Richard Holer of Kyll, Edward Baret, *do.*, David Lalor, *do.*, John Colman of Castellwarnyng, John Wyne of Bysshopscourte, and Edward Typper of Typperston.

[1] Near Little Bray. The land of the Walshes. Given as in the Marches of Dublin, i.e. outside the Pale.

[2] Kilruddery.

[3] Near Newcastle, Co. Wicklow. Kylpole and Kilpeddar, i.e. the Churches of St. Paul and St. Peter.

Tithes of grain of rectory in ordinary years 280 measures of grain, each measure, one with another, at 10d., p. a., £11 13s. 4d. Thomas Alen now holds rectory to farm by lease from John Rawson, late prior, etc., p.a., £12 Irish, finding a suitable priest to celebrate in rectory, and bearing all charges ordinary and extraordinary of the rectory. Total of rectory £12 0 0

Manor of Kylhehale.—By indenture under seal, 29 Feb., 1540, John Rawson, by royal licence, 20 Jan., 1540, because of certain causes and considerations specified in the King's patent, granted and confirmed to Thomas Alen and Mary Alen his wife, the perceptory or manor of Kylhehale, and all castles, messuages, tenements, rents, reversions, and services, meadows, pastures, woods, etc., weirs, advowsons, knight's fees, court leet, sight of frankalpledge, legal liberties, and all possessions, profits, etc., in town and country of Kylhehale, Cromwelston near Calaghton, Kylwarryng near Castellwarryng, and town and demesne of Kylbryde with rights and appurtenances in Co. Dublin at *lez iii Castelles*,[1] and in towns and fields of Johnston, Rathmore, Skorlokston, and Naas, all land, possessions, etc., to said Thomas and Mary, and their heirs male (legitimate), and in defect of such to their assigns for ever; paying to prior and his successors £5 Irish, for all services, etc.; and said Thomas and Mary by reason of aforesaid are seised of said possessions, which cannot be valued in detail.[2] Total of farm, 5s. (*recte* £5).

Preceptory or Manor of Kylbegg, Co. Kildare.—Surrender made at Connall, Co. Kildare, 23 Nov., 1540, before Thomas Walssh and John Mynne, commissioners, assisted by Patrick Barnewall, serjeant-at-law, David Sutton and Richard Aylmer, on the oath of William Trott, vicar of parish church of Rathmore, Thomas Lang of Stertwell, Rory O'Donne of Bewkys, Melaghlyn McWarde of Temothe, Richard Walssh of Naas, Mulmori O'Beghanne of Stornyn, Maurice O'Donne of Sygynston, John Russell of Mylton, William McMuragh of Mylton, Conor of Bowlane, Manricius Oughologhyn (O'Hooligan) (*do.*), Cornelius O'Molamida (*do.*), Thady O'Bowlane (*do.*), and Edward Duff of Baronston.

1 chief messuage for use of the "farmer," worth nothing p. a. beyond repairs sustained by same.

2 messuages, 180 a. arable, manor lands, at 8d. an acre £6 0 0

[1] Three Castles, Kilbride, near Blessington.

[2] Thomas Alen, brother of John Alen, Lord Chancellor. The reasons mentioned in the King's patent for the grant to Thomas would be very interesting if available.

100 a. pasture, common and free to tenants, except as to exactions of *Quoyne et lyverey* (Coyne and Livery) and other impositions.

Tithes of grain of rectory of parish church of Kylbegg, 6 couples, each couple, 13s. 4d. = £4. Altarages, 40s. received by stipendiary priest[1] celebrating there. David Sutton and Edward Sutton, executors of will of Gerald Sutton, deceased, hold manor, lands, tenements, and rectory, by reason of a certain grant to deceased Gerald by John Rawson, late prior, at £10 p. a., and on condition of bearing all charges ordinary and extraordinary.

Total of manor and rectory . . . £10 0 0

Rectory of Brigida.—

Tithes of grain of parish church of St. Brigid near Osberston, Co. Kildare, 8 couples of acres of grain, each couple, 13s. 4d. (£5 6s. 8d.). Altarages, 40s.

Tithes of village of Shorlockston (Scurlogstown), 8 couples, at 13s. 4d. (£4 13s. 4d.). Altarages, 20s. David Sutton holds the rectory of St. Brigid, tithes, altarages, by lease from prior, p. a., £10. Supporting all charges, ordinary and extraordinary.

Total 10 0 0

Rectory of Johnston.—

Tithes of parish church, 7 couples, each 13s. 4d. (£4 13s. 4d.). Altarages, 10s. Tithes of parish church of *Gardeston*, 7 couples, each 13s. 4d. (£4 13s. 4d.). Altarages, 10s.

A third of tithes in villages of Typper and *Cardoxton*, 5 couples, each 10s. (50s.), which tithes and altarages of Johnston and Gardeston, and ⅓ of Typper and Cardoxton, John FytzSymonds of Dublin, junior, holds by lease from John Rawson, etc. (£13 6s. 8d.), and after his death and his assigns', the receiver to pay 10s. for an *obit*[2] within 30 days after the death of any one of them, and supporting all charges of the rectory. Total of rectory, etc. 13 6 8

Rectory of Balyfa.—

Tithes of parish church of Ballyfa, in villages of *Stablerston and Curragh* in said parish and in

[1] An *occasional* priest; neither a vicar nor a chaplain.
[2] I.e. Mass and office.

Hogeston in parish of Trymahoo, 4 couples, each 10s. (40s.). In villages of *Balynggyll* and *Garvok* in same parish, 3 couples, each 13s. 4d. (40s.). In villages of Curragh, 40 a. arable of Rector's glebe, each acre 8d. (26s. 8d.). Which tithes and grain in villages of Stablerston, Curragh and Hogeston with 40 a. in Curragh said David Sutton holds by lease fron prior, p. a., £4. And tithes in Balyngyll and Garvok and tithes of grain and hay of churches of Kylcock, Clane, and Clonshambowe, and tithes of grain, hay, lands and tenements in Thymohoo, Culgargan and Curduff. Thomas Luttrell, knt., and said David Sutton hold to farm by lease from prior, etc. Vicar of above parish church receives tithes of grain in village of Ballyfa and altarages of whole parish. Said vicar supports all charges ordinary and extraordinary of rectory. Advowson of vicarage belongs to King £4 0 0

In village of *Kylcock, Co. Kildare.*—3 messuages, etc., of rector's glebe of parish church: each tenant pays 2s. (6s.). In the fields 5 a. arable, each acre at 12d. (5s.). Tithes in villages of *Branganston, Corteston, Cowton, Cloncest, Portglory, Lauragh* and *Goddersgraunge*, 12 couples, each at 13s. 4d. (£8 13s. 4d.). Two parts of altarages, 30s. Above rectory and tithes of grain and hay of churches of Clane, Clonshanbowe, and tithes of all lands and tenements of Thymohoo, Culcargan, Curduff, Ballyngyll and Garvok in Aryst, Thomas Lutterell and David Sutton hold by lease from prior, p. a. Other tithes and altarages of Kylcok the vicar receives. Patronage and advowson belong to the King 20 0 0

Rectory of Clane.—Tithes in village of Clane, 12 couples, and in villages of *Ballycappo, Betaghston*, and *Little Newton*, 8 couples, each 13s. 4d. (£12 13s. 4d.), which Thomas Lutterell and David Sutton hold to farm by lease from prior, at rent specified above in extent of Kylcock. Vicar receives remainder of tithes and altarages and bears all charges. Advowson belongs to King. Certain messuages, lands, etc., in village of Clane which David Sutton holds to farm, p. a., 40s. 2 0 0

Rectory of Tymahoo.—Tithes, 8 couples, each 10s. (£4). Two parts of altarages belong to rectory, p. a., 33s. 4d. Held by David Sutton, supporting all charges. Vicar receives remainder of tithes and altarages. Advowson, the King's . . . £5 13 4

In Village of *Ballybole*, alias *Bollyland* near Clane, 50 a. arable, which William Eustas holds by lease from prior, p. a., £53 0s. 4d. Tithes of parish church of *Downyngoo*, 7 couples, each 10s. (70s.). Vicar receives altarages and rest of tithes. Advowson, the King's. Tithes of parish church of *Caraugh*, 9 couples, each 10s. (£4 10s.). Tithes of Dowyng and Caragh, James FytzGerald of Balysonan holds by lease from prior, p. a. Vicar of Caraugh receives rest of tithes and altarages. Advowson, the King's 10 6 8

Rectory of le Naas.—Tithes of parish church of Naas, 30 couples, each 13s. 4d. (£20). Which rectory Margaret Flemyng, widow, holds to farm by lease for life. Reversion to Gerald Aylmer by lease from prior, etc., p. a., £20. Vicar receives rest of tithes and altarages, supporting all charges. Advowson, the King's. In village of Naas, a house which John Tyrell holds, p. a., 6s. 8d. . 20 6 8

Rectory of Kyllusty.—Tithes of parish church, 11 couples, each 13s. 4d. (£7 6s. 8d.). Thomas Lutterell holds rectory by lease from prior, p. a., £6 10s., supporting all charges. Vicar receives rest of tithes and altarages, supporting all charges of vicarage. Advowson, the King's. Total 6 10 0

Rectory of Rathmore.—Tithes, 16 couples, each 10s. (£8). Walter Trott, vicar of said church holds rectory by lease from prior, etc., p. a., £10. Receives rest of tithes and altarages in right of vicarage, supporting all charges of rectory, except repairs of chancel of church which are borne by the King. Total 10 0 0

Parish Church of Bowdanston.—Late prior used to receive in right of Hospital certain fruits and emoluments from said church through the hands of prior of Conall and of vicar of said church . 0 13 4

Tithes of *Oregan* and *Russenatt* in the land of the Irish called Odyns (O'Dunns), formerly worth £8 13s. 4d. *in precio* XVIII. No profit now obtained.

Rectory of Kylsen.—Charles Rowe O'Connor holds said rectory lying among the Irish and used to pay £4: nothing now.

Tithes of *Kyllenagh* in parts of Lexie (Leix), formerly worth 53s. 4d. Now chaplain O'Conor receives them, paying nothing.

Rectory of Tullaghevyn with glebe in land of Offalley under the Irish O'Connor, formerly worth 100s.; nothing received now

Perceptory of Tully.—Prior used to receive from Commander of Tully for said Preceptory, 100s.; now in King's hands.

Cubenger in Aryst.—Donal Moryssh and Peter Deghan hold tithes of Cubenger, and pay at feast of St. Patrick 60 *virgas panni linei* (yards of linen) and at Michaelmas 15 lbs. of wax, and 5s. . . . £1 13 0

Rectory of Clonshambowe.—Extent made at Clane, 1 Dec., 1540, before William Cavendyssh, commissioner, with others assigned, on oath of John Russell of Clayne, Manrise Odoghmryte, cleric, Laghlin O'Melone, of same, John O'Melone (*do.*), Edward Deige, Cormick Kelly, and Charles McDowly.

Tithes, 6 couples, at 13s. 4d. each, besides tithes of vllage of *Belgare*, and 14 a. in *Hoggyston*, and altarage of vicar, £4. Which rectory Thomas Lutterell and David Sutton hold as in extent of Kylcock.

Rectory of Balraith alias *Balrane.*—10 couples, each 13s. 4d. besides tithes of *Baltersson*, Paynston and Grange of Wyttock. Altarage to curate . . £6 13 4

Rectory of Maynan.—Tithes 10 couples, each 13s. 4d. besides tithes of villages of *Balrent* and Ballynbrytt, and altarage to vicar 6 13 4

Village of Tully.—Extent of preceptory of Tully and other possessions in Barony of ffaylye (Offaly) made at Kildare, 25 Nov., 1540, before Thomas Walssh and John Mynne, commissioners, assisted by Patrick Barnewall and Richard Aylmer, on oath of Thomas Shurlok, cleric, John Russell of Clane, Dermot McThomas of Kildare, Thady Becan, cleric, Malachy McDonaghoo of ffroniston (Frenestown?), Dermot McDavy (*do.*), Patrick Dempsey of Kildare), Dermot Negari (*do.*), Thady McCormyk (*do.*), Rerici (Rory) Carroll

(*do.*), John Gunewes of Pollardston, Cormack Broo of Rathbryde, Dermot Otrury of Tully, Patrick Duff (*do.*), Thomas O'Mulbryde of Donuncry, Maurice Bullocke of Downene, William Duff of Penam, Patrick Clerk of Ballyfax, Donald Sherman (*do.*).

Site of manor of Tully on which is built a castle or fortress, necessary to "farmer," with orchard and garden and 60 a. arable, 2 a. pasture, p. a., 60s. In Tully 3 messuages, 100 a. each acre 12d. now occupied by Dermot Trury and others, 100s. Each tenant gives for customs 4 ploughdays, 4 cartdays, 2 Hookes (hokedays), 1 hen, amounting to 10s. 6d. One cottage, rent 2s. and customs, 2 hookes, and 1 hen = 6d. A water mill, worth p. a., besides repairs, 26s. 8d. Rectory, 4 couples, each 13s. 4d. Altarages, 10s. In all, 70s. Total of village of Tully	£13	6	8
Town of Moreton.—2 messuages, 40 a. arable, occupied by McLaghlyn and McLaghlyn Oge, worth p. a., 40s. They give between them as customs 8 ploughdays, 4 hookes and 2 hens = 6s. 8d. Also 40 a. now waste. 1 cottage at 2s. p. a.; customs, 2 hookes and 1 hen = 6d. Total	2	8	10
Village of Frereton.—2 messuages, 60 a. held by Mawen O'Gwyn and Cormac McKylmerton, p. a., 60s.; customs 8 ploughdays, 8 cartdays, 4 hookes, 2 hens = 6s. 8d. A cottage, 2s. p. a. and customs, 2 hookes and 1 hen = 6d. Total . . .	3	9	2
Town of Brallessan.—1 messuage, 6 a. occupied by Donald Beagan, p. a., 6s.; no customs.			
Rectory of Downene.—Parcel of Preceptory; 4 couples besides 4 couples now waste, and $\frac{1}{3}$ tithes and altarages received by vicar = (60s.). Advowson of vicarage belongs to the King.			
Rectory of Rathbryde.—Parcel of Preceptory; 3 couples, besides 2 couples now waste, each 10s.; altarage, 13s. 4d p. a. Total	3	3	0
Rectory of Calveston.—Parcel of Preceptory; 4 couples, besides 4 couples now waste; and $\frac{1}{3}$ tithes and altarages coming to vicar (40s.). Advowson of vicarage, the King's.			
In *Terwen* and *Prompelan*, 20 a. occupied by John McNele, with tithes, p. a., 20s.			
Rectory of Founteston.—Parcel of Preceptory; 2 parts			

of tithes = 3 couples, at 10s. each, besides ⅓ tithes and altarages coming to vicar (30s.). Advowson of vicarage, the King's.

Tithes of *Moreton* near Kilka, 2 couples, each 10s. (20s.).

Tithes of *Kilcale* near Connall, 1 couple, 15s.

Portion of tithes of *Kylcorker*, 2 couples, 26s. 8d.

Portion of tithes of *Ballycullen*, 2 couples, each 13s. 4d. (26s. 8d.), when land is occupied, but now waste as they lie in the Irish Marches of the Mores (Moores).

Said Preceptory of Tully with all its members, etc. David Sutton holds by lease of late prior, and supports all charges, at p. a. Irish money . . £22 13 4

Co. Carlow.—Extent of *Preceptory of Kyllerge*, and all lands and possessions, made at Kilka, Co. Kildare, 27 Nov., 1540, before Thomas Walsshe and John Mynne, commissioners, on oath of Donald McKelly of Frereton, Edward McKelly (*do.*), Brian O'Callan (*do.*), Dermot O'Curren (*do.*), Manrise McHugh (*do.*), John Langton, and Robert Tobbyn (*do.*).

In village of *Frereton*, 1 ruined castle on the borders of the Irish called McMurroughs, Moores, Brynes, and 3 messuages; in village of *Court of Kyllargan*, 2 messuages and 9 a. arable and 5 a. pasture and underwood of great measure, each acre containing 2 acres, which Donald Moyne and others hold, each acre, 2s. 8d. p. a. = 23s., and for victuals, 52s. p. a.; for customs 30 ploughdays (10s.), 60 cartdays (10s.), 15 turfdays (15d.), 15 hookedays (2s. 6d.). In said village and village of *Russelston*, 15 a. great measure, now waste by reason of war of said Irish. Worth when leased with customs, £6 13s. 4d. Total . £5 2 3

In village of *Tollaghfell*, 1 a. great measure, containing 16 a. of small measure, p. a., 3s. 0 3 0

Village of *Myganne*.—Preceptor of preceptory had ½ said vill. of 7½ a. great measure, each acre = 4 a., now waste and unoccupied as they lie beside the *Barrowe* river which is on the borders of the Irish called the Mores.

Rectory of Kyllarge, in villages of Kyllarge, Frereton, Courte de Kyllargan, Russelston, Bossarston, Ardynheth, Ballynraghyn. Worth when lands are sown, £20 p. a. On account of war of said Irish, worth now £8 p. a. 8 0 0

Rectory of Kylmakiall, in villages of *Kylmakaill, Caridogh. Castellcoile, Granewiltoer, Polston, Ballyshordan* and *Ballynbully*, worth £8, besides stipend of curate and other charges of "farmer," and are leased to Thomas Langton, p. a. . . . £8 0 0

Co. KILKENNY.—Rectory of *Palv(n)erston*, now in occupation of James, Earl of Ormond, worth 20s. p. a., besides stipend of curate, and leased to said Earl 1 0 0

Total of Preceptory of Kyllerge . £22 6 3

Preceptory of Clonnalle.—Extent of preceptory, and lands and possessions in Co. Kilkenny, made at Casshell, 13 Jan., 1541, before Anthony Sentleger, Deputy, John Mynne and William Cavendyssh, commissioners, on oath of Dermot Ryan, bachelor *utriusque juris*, Edward Effernan, cleric, Philip Royth, John Morysshe, Walter Nelgan, and Walter Flemyng.

1 chief messuage with garden and haggard yard, 8 tenements, 20 a. of great measure, 2 a. pasture, 2 a. of huge trees (*grossarum arborum*), 2 a. bog; each acre arable = 8d. (13s. 4d.). Customs, each of 8 tenants gives 9 days ploughing, 6 days carting, 3 *precharias* called hookedays, in autumn 3 days for cleaning the crops, and 1 hen, worth p. a. . . £1 18 8

Rectory of *Clonnall*, belonging to said preceptory; tithes and altarages of Clonnall, 70s. p. a., *Ardevale*, £4., *Clannekeadagh*, 40s., *Artheclare*, 40s. In all, besides tithes and altarages of Kilmore, Kyllecrye and Cloneffo, with 10 a. glebe assigned for stipend of curate there, £11 10s. Said preceptory leased to Earl of Ormond and Richard Dwyre, p. a. . 4 0 0

Tithes of *Galn(u)emoy* and *Glasshare.*—Parish church of *Herk* in Galn(u)emoy near Osseryan, and parish church of Glasshare; rectories worth £17 6s. 8d. Richard Roth and Robert Roth, merchants of Kilken(ny), hold the tithes to "farm" by lease from late prior, etc., at £10 for tithes of Herk, and 26s. 8d. for tithes of Glasshare. Total, p. a. . 11 6 8

Village of *Cotterelsbole*. Countess of Ossory holds village for life by lease from late prior, free of rent.

Town of *Kylkenny.*—A house and garden beside Cathedral, and 4 a. which Dermot Smyth holds, p. a. . 0 8 0

[£17 13 4]

Co. WATERFORD.—Extent of preceptories and other possessions, made at Waterford, 18 Jan., 1541, before John Mynne, commissioner, assisted by William Brabazon, Under-Treasurer, and Patrick Dowdall, on oath of Patrick Walssh, Edward Shurlock, David Bally, James Wyse, Robert Strong, Richard Boysshe, Edward Shurlok, James Lumbard, Leonard Bruse, Henry Gall, Edward Clare, William Baly, and others.

In town of *Kilbarry*, 120 a. arable, pasture, wood, p. a.	£0	13	4
Village of *Ballynleash*, 60 a. *do.*, p. a.	0	6	8
Village of *Carganard*, 60 a. *do.*, p. a.	0	6	8
Village of *Ballyowe*, 60 a. *do.*, p. a.	0	6	8
Village of *Ballenemoney*, 120 a. *do.*, p. a.	0	13	4
Tenants give between them 1 day ploughing, 1 hooke-day in autumn, 1 hen, 1 sheep worth 8d., 1 pig worth 20d.; in all 2s. 11d.	0	2	11
Tithes of preceptory, p. a.	4	0	0
	£6	9	7
Village of *Croke*.[1]—120 a. p. a., 23s. 4d. Diverse tenants have free passage[2] of the water there, and pay as head rent, 20s. Another passage worth p. a., 40s. Edward Butler is free tenant of village of *Dromynagh*, p. a., 12d. James Madden, *do.* of *Farenn(m)eologh*, p. a., 20d. Tithes of Croke, except tithes of fish, p. a., £4. Tithes of fish ordinarily, £4. Customs as in Kilbarry, 2s. 11d. Tenants give between them 1 day's ploughing, 1 hookeday in autumn, 1 hen, 1 sheep, 8d., 1 pig, 20d.; in all, 2s. 11d. All leased to William Wyse, *armiger*, p. a. (for village of *Croke*)	£12	0	0
Village of *Killure*.—120 a. p. a., 13s. 4d. 6 cottages for which tenants pay among themselves, p. a., 40s.			
Rectory of *Whalyng*.—Two parts of tithes, and altarage, p. a., 40s.			
Rectory Illanekane.—Worth, besides altarages as stipend to curate, p. a., £4.			
Rectory of *Drimkanan*, *do.*, £4.			
Rectory of *Kylseyntlaurence*, *do.*, £2.			
Total of said Preceptory [blank]. All leased to William Wyse, p. a.	13	6	8

[1] Crook.
[2] At Passage, Co. Cork.

Passage of Water of Waterford.—William Wyse holds *Passage*, 1 water-mill called *Colepeckes Mylle*, 3 a. in Kylbarry, and 3 messuages in Waterford, p. a., £14. Leased to said William by late prior, p. a. £14 0 0

Village of *Loghdowan*. William Wyse holds 120 a. p. a. 0 13 4

[£14 3 4]

Co. Wexford.—Extent of Preceptory of *Kylcloghan*, and all possessions, made 23 Jan., 1541, before John Mynne, commissioner, along with Anthony Sentleger, Lord Deputy, Thomas Walssh and William Cavendyssh, commissioners, on oath of Matthew Lovell, cleric, Philip Raymond, cleric, Nicholas Leffan, James Wyken, Richard Lowes, Richard Powere, John Chapman, Laurence Gangeogh, John McGyll, James Comy(n)k, Nicholas Wadyng, Patrick Wall, Richard Walssh, John Calle, John Devereux, John Cosger, Henry Ketyng, Nicholas Ketyng, Robert Ketyng, Richard Calgay, and John O'Murrey, tenants and farmers of said lands and tenements, etc.

Site of manor of Kylcloghan contains 1 castle or fortress, well and suitably repaired, and very necessary for defence of the land there and safe custody of goods and chattles of tenants of the King and inhabitants in time of wars of the Caverners (Kavanaghs) and other Irish to whom the castle lies adjacent.

Manor lands: 120 a. arable at 4d. an acre (40s.), 2 a. meadow at 12d. per a. (2s.), 3 a. wood, worth nothing, as included in the arable land: all 42s. £2 2 0

Also other lands, mountain, etc., of which nothing is known, as from time immemorial they are waste and unoccupied.

Village of *Hooke*.—Alexander Redmond holds 360 a. arable, meadow, and pasture at 20s. p. a. head rent. Nicholas Laffan, free tenant, 120 a. *do.* at 6s. 8d. *do.* Total of village 1 6 8

Parish of *Tempulton*.—John Caell, tenant at will, 3 a. p. a., 12d.; 2 capons and 1 hookeday in autumn, 7d. Richard Talon, 3 a. p. a., 12d.; same customs, 7d. Robert Ketyng, 3 a. p. a., 12d.; same customs, 7d. John Manglere, lands in Ballyer called *Scorlok*, of 8 a. p. a., 2s.; same customs, 7d. Nicholas Waddyn,[1] lands called *Lyes*, 15 a. p. a., 5s.; same customs, 7d. Alice Dongyn, 1 tenement with garden, p. a., 6d.; same customs, 7d.

[1] Wadding. The ancestors of the celebrated Fr. Luke Wadding, O.F.M. (1588-1657) came from Wexford.

Laurence Wylmot, 5 a. p. a., 16d., 1 capon, 1 hookeday, 4d. James Comynk, lands called *Cookes* (Crooke's) *landes*, 16 a. p. a., 4s., 2 capons, 1 hookeday 7d. John Maygyll, lands called *Wyken*, 18 a. p. a., 4s. 6d., same customs, 7d. Nicholas Ketyng, lands called *Johan Hores Land*, 18 a. p. a., 4s. 6d.; same customs, 7d. Matthew Lovell, lands called Hores Land, 7 a. p. a., 2s. 1 capon, 1 hookeday, 4d. Patrick Vale, lands called *Kellys Grounde*, 6 a. p. a., 18d.; same customs, 7d. Patrick Mason, lands called *Scorlok*, 8 a. p. a., 2s.; customs, 7d. Edward Gregory, lands called *Whytmay*, 18 a. p. a., 4s. 6d.; customs, 7d. Johanna Tege, 9 a. p. a., 2s. 4d.; customs, 7d. James Woode, 16 a. p. a., 4s.; customs, 7d. Robert Gybbon, lands called *Dolyon ys Land*, 9 a. p. a., 2s. 3d.; customs, 7d. James Wyke, lands called *Dolyans Land*, 18 a. p. a., 2s.; customs, 7d. Said James, lands called *Santerys Land*, 8 a. p. a., 2s.; customs, 7d. James Lourys, holds freely village of *Lowystowne* (? Lamystone) of said parish, p. a., 10s. Said James, free tenant of 20 a. in *Lamystowne*, p. a., 2s. 6d. And [blank] Halton, free tenant of 60 a. in Lamystowne, p. a., 6s. Robert Ketyng, free tenant of lands in *Lamystowne*, 2s. 6d., p. a. James Wyken, free tenant of 60 a. in Palmerston, 5s. p. a. John Oge, free tenant of 20 a. in *Tempulton*, 50 p. a. James Wood, free tenant of 1 messuage and 6 a. at 18d. p. a. James Maren(*v*)ell, free tenant of lands called *Slyne ys Gronde*, 20 a., 5s. p. a. Richard Walssh, in *Tempulton*, 40 a. called *Hoore*, 10s. p. a. John More, free tenant of lands called Stant(on), 30 a. at 8s. p. a. Henry Ketyng, free tenant of castle of *Homisland* and 30 a. at 3s. 4d. p. a. Total of parish . . £5 15 4

Rectory of Hook.—Tithes, 2 parts, besides ⅓ and altarages to the vicar, 66s. 8d. p. a. Advowson, the King's 3 6 8

Rectory of Tempulton.—Worth, besides stipend of curate, p. a. 5 6 8

Town of Wexford.—In Faythstrete, 24½ burgages; the tenants pay 24s. 6d. p. a. In *parish of St. Mary*, 1 tenement which Andrew Ketyng holds, 6s. 8d. p. a. — — —

Total of Preceptory . . . £19 7 11

Extent made at Wexford, 27 Jan., 1541, before John Myne, commissioner, assisted by William Brabazon, Sub-Treasurer, and Patrick Dowdall, on oath of Thomas Fytzhenry, Walter Devereuxe, Denis Haye, Nicholas Codde, Patrick Meyler, Patrick Lamport, and others of Wexford.

Village of *Ballegellagh*, 60 a. p. a.	£0	3	4
Village of *Rochestowne*, 120 a. p. a.	0	6	8
Village of *St. Brigid in Tamon*, 2 messuages, and 4 a. p. a.	0	3	4
Tithes of *Balysyllan*, p. a.	4	0	0
Tithes of *Kylbryde*, p. a.	2	0	0
Tithes of *St. Brigid in Tamon*, p. a.	0	13	4
Tithes of *Whytchurch* in parish of *McInyrre*, 106s. 8d. p. a., now waste and unoccupied because of war and rebellions of Irish called Cavenaghes.			
Rectory of *St. Michael's, Wexford*. p. a.	2	0	0
Rectory of *Duncormik*, £20 p. a. Leased to Walter Chener (or Chever) and Walter Devereux, p. a.	10	10	0
Town of Wexford.—House or Hospital of St. John at said town, with 2 enclosures, orchard, and tithes of St. John's and St. Brigid's parish churches in same town, £4 13s. 4d. p. a., assigned as stipend of curates of said churches. And in *Seynt Johnstrete*, 23¼ burgages pay among themselves 23s. 4d.	1	3	4
	[£40	7	11]

Co. Corke.—Extent of Hospital of St. John at Corke made at Corke [blank], Feb., 1541, before Walter Cowley, Solicitor-General, and James Whyte, assisted by Anthony Sentleger, Deputy, and William Cavendyssh, Thomas Walssh, and John Mynne, on oath of Richard Skyddy, Nicholas Browne, David McStalard, Manrise Fyley, and others.

1 church roofed with tiles, ruined and in decay. 5 a. called the *Mrs.* [Manor's] *Field*, occupied by Richard Newgent, Clement Tyrre, and Michael Tyrre of Cork, 26s. 8d. p. a. 3 small parks of 1 a. occupied by said tenants, 6s. p. a. Also 1 a. called *Gortnoclogh*, occupied by same, 6s. p. a., and 7 gardens held by same, 7s. p. a. Walter Galwey as free tenant, 3 gardens and 4 a. at 5s. p. a. William Tyrrey, *do.*, 3 gardens and 4 a. at 5s. p. a. Walter Galwey, Richard Roche and James Roche, *do.*, 6 a. called *Necarrykgynne*, 4s. p. a. Patrick Galwey, 2 a. at

8d. p. a. John Meagh, 1 messuage in Corke called a *Frankhouse*, 12d. p. a. Richard Nugent, 1 garden, 12d. p. a. Richard Newgent and Robert Gowley, 1 a. called *Symons Parke*, 16d. p. a. Thomas Brenaghe, 1 garden, 6d. p. a. John Tyrrey, 1 garden, 14d. p. a. Heirs of Christopher Saresfylde, 1 park called *Kele*, of 1 a. at 16d. p. a. Dominick Martell, 1 garden, 10d. p. a. Margaret Hyerman, 1 garden, 10d. p. a. Richard Gowley, 1 garden, 10d. p. a. A bog called *Monere* in which the Lord has 60 *sarcinas equinas globarum* (horses' loads of lumps or sods) about 5s. p. a. And 10 vacant plots leased for 6s. 8d. p. a., now waste. At Cork, 2 gardens occupied by William Meagh, 2s. p. a. (worth 3s. 4d.). John Meagh, 1 messuage in Cork, 12d. p. a. Tithes of said lands, with tithes of 60 a. in *Ferynnyre*, 66s. 8d. p. a. Total of Hospital . £7 3 10 making £10 15s. 9d. *Irish.*

Preceptory of Morne alias *Meny Nymone.*—Extent of possessions, made at Corke [blank], Feb., 1541, before Walter Cowley, James Whyte, Anthony Sentleger, William Cavendyssh, Thomas Walssh, and John Mynne, on oath of Walter Galwey, John Skyddy, Michael Walter, David Walsh, Richard Gowley, Patrick Copinger (?) John Meagh, Richard Skyddy, and others.

1 large church roofed with tiles. 1 curtilage with diverse houses roofed with straw in tenure of Dermot, son of Cormakogge, now waste.

Village of *Morne.*—12 a. at 5s. p. a. Now waste.

Village of *Kylcowan.*—300 a. worth £7 p. a. if the land was inhabited: now waste and unoccupied because of war and rebellion aforesaid.

Co. Lymyrycy (Limerick).—

Rectory of *Ardskye.*—John Barry holds at will, p. a. . £2 0 0

Rectory of Kylcorne.—Worth 40s. p. a.; now waste because of war.

Rectory of *Granagh.*—Worth 53s. 4d.; now only 40s . 2 0 0

Rectory of *Garryclone.*—Worth 40s.: now occupied by Karyllaghan, p. a. 0 6 8

Rectory of *Kylmorye.*—Worth £4; leased because of war for 2 0 0

Rectory of *Kylmoghyl.*—Worth 40s.; now waste.

Rectory of *Mocrompne* (?).—Worth 20s.; now waste same cause.

Rectory of *Ballyburne.*—Worth 20s.; *do.*, *do.*			
Rectory of *Inchegemlagh.*—Worth 20s.; now only 10s.; *do.*	£0	10	0
Rectory of *Agherys.*—Nobody knows its value before it became waste.			
Rectory of *Clonedrohid.*—Worth 40s.; now waste, because of war.			
Rectory of *Movy(cl)dye.*—Leased for 40s.; *do.*			
Rectory of *Carrygroughanbeg.*—Leased for 20s.; *do.*, *do.*			
Rectory of *Whytchurch* alias *Tempell Geall.*—Leased for 40s.; *do.*, *do.*			
Rectory of *Kyltauny*, lately leased for 40s.; now leased for 20s. because of war	1	0	0
Rectory of *Moallye.*—Lately leased for 26s. 8d.; now waste, *do.*			
Rectory of *Kylvoyll.*—Waste, *do.*			
Tithes in le Nany (Any), 10s.; now waste, *do.*			
Rectory of *Shangarry in Imokell*, p. a. . . .	1	6	8
Rectory of *Rostelan in Imokell.*—Occupied by Maurice, brother of Earl of Desmond. p. a. . . .	2	0	0
Rectory of *Graunge.*—Occupied by said Maurice. .	1	6	8
Rectory of *Clomyne.*—Lately leased for 13s. 4d.; now waste.			
Total of rectories, besides waste lands . .	£12	10	0
Irish money,	£18	15	0

Co. Meath.—Extent of possessions, made at *Dulyk*, 10 May, 1541, before Thomas Walssh, commissioner, on oath of William Darcy of Platen, *armiger*, Nicholas Eustas of Dulyke, Nicholas Corbally, cleric, rector of parish church of Dulyke, Thomas Hamelyn of Smetheston, William Byrt of Tolloge, Brian Byrne of Stamolyn, Edward Sherley, vicar of Ardcath, John Browne of Dulyke, Nicholas Fowlen (*do.*), Thomas Corbally of Lounderston, Thomas Tuyt of Ryverston, William Tanglot of Dowanston, Peter Shane of Rath, Richard Clerke of Colpe, Philip Butterley of Maryv(n)erton, cleric, Henry Byrt of Drogheda, Nicholas Davy of Tymole, and others.

Village of *Hetheton.*—1 messuage, 40 a. arable, pasture, mountain, gorse, moor. John Savage holds by lease from Robert Cowley, "farmer" of manor of Raynoldston, p. a.	£1	0	0

Annual rent, 6s. 8d. from lands, etc., of Peter Goldyng, Typersole	£0	6	8
And do., 6d. form lands of Arnold Ussher, i.e. 1 messuage and 1 dove-cot in said village	0	0	6
Walter Delahyde, in said village, holds in right of his wife, Jenette, 1 messuage and 15 a. of the King at 16d. p. a., parcel of manor of Raynoldeston, Co. Dublin	0	1	4
Total of village	£1	8	6
Village of Hamondeston.—Matthew Bathe holds lands, etc., of the King in manor of Raynoldeston at 2s. 8d. p. a. And 1 messuage and garden parcel of house of Holme Patryk at 6d. p. a. Heirs of Henry Duff hold lands at 14d. p. a. Thomas Talbot of Dardeston and others hold lands, etc., at 8d. p. a. Total of rents	£0	3	1
Village of Racaston.—Johanna Pyperd of Balrothery holds lands, etc., p. a.	0	6	8
Village of Curragh.—Peter Golydyng, *do.*, p. a.	0	13	4
Village of Mananston.—Lands in the King's hands through the outlawry of Christopher Eustas; rent, 1 lb. of pepper, p. a.			
Village of Duleke.—1 messuage called a *Frankhouse;* John Kerry now occupies it at will of King, p. a.	0	6	0
Village of Hylton.—60 a. p. a.	2	0	0
Village of Hogeston.—Rent of lands of Thomas Byrt, p. a. (it is unknown by what title)	0	6	8
Village of Rychardston.—6 a. held by Thomas Saresfylde. Rent, p. a.	0	6	8
Rectory of Pyerston Laundy.—Tithes: in village of Pyerston Laundy *alias Lekue*, 4 couples, each 13s. 4d.; these with lands in Hylton held by John Fynglas by lease from prior, p. a. Vicar receives remainder of tithes and altarages. Patronage and advowson belong to the King.	3	6	8
Rectory of Taveragh.—Tithes: in village of *Jordanston*, 4 couples; *do.*, *Castelton*, 9 couples; *do.*, *Moreton*, 2 couples; *do.*, *Ryverston*, 6 couples, each 13s. 4d. p. a., £13 6s. 8d. Vicar receives remainder of tithes and altarages. Advowson, the King's. John Fynglas holds said rectory to "farm" by lease of late prior, etc., p. a.	11	0	0

DROHHODA.—Extent of possessions, made at Droheda, XII May, 1541, before Thomas Walsshe, commissioner, on oath of Patrick Whyte, Henry Byrt, Walter Dowdall, Christopher May, cleric, Richard Gray, cleric, William Foster, Peter Cadell, James Bathe, Thomas Wyratt, John Whyte, Thomas Berell, Stephen Whyte, Walter Russell, Patrick Russell, Roger Fellys, Nicholas Dowdall, Richard Byrne, George Warde, Roger Symons, Walter Dardyse, William Philipp, Nicholas Hanlon, Stephen Roche, and Richard Weston.

In *le West Strete*, on the S. side, a porch with a room built above it, through which is an entrance in a certain messuage to the Church of St. Mary on the W. side, and the messuage of Patrick Whyte on the E., and the King's way on the N., p. a. . £0 2 0

CO. LOUTH.—Extent of possessions, made at Thermonfeghen, 13 May, 1541, before Thomas Walssh, commissioner, assisted by Patrick Barnewell, on the oath of Roger Gernon of Mayn, Peter Whyte of Mylyston, Thomas Gernon of Cowleston, Brennan (? Brian) O'Shoroghan of Molencrosse, Henry McMayhon of Kylsaran, Patrick McMayhon of Williamston, Patrick McGenet of Boles, Stephen McLou(n)che of Hoyghlyn, William Molan of Mounsterbuge,[1] John O'Quoyne of Castelloumagh, William Fylde of Tyrowe, Raymund Hanlon of Stonehouse, Patrick Whyte of Donler, Richard More of Bernemeth, James Bello of Graf(s)tonston, Richard Calman of Porte, Olmer (Oliver) Verdon of Kyltalagh, Thomas Bobe of Donany, Rawlen Lyddy of Parsonston, Moragh O'Donnell of Cruston, and others.

Perceptory of Kylsaran.—An old stone house with small garden, 1 curtilage, 1 area called an *Haggard*, worth nothing p. a. beyond repairs. 120 a. arable, pasture meadow, moor and wood of manor lands, each acre at 8d. = £4. 1 water-mill, 13s. 4d. p. a. besides repairs and charges of "farmer." 9 cottages, each 6d., each cottager repairing his cottage. Total . £4 17 10

Village of *Mounsterbuge.*—2 messuages, 60 a., each acre at 12d. = 60s. William Molan and John Calan, occupiers, p. a. 3 6 8

Village of *Ga(e)rnanston.*—1 messuage, 5¼ a. parcel of preceptory of Kylsaran, p. a. 0 2 0

Village of *Mayn*, parish of Kylsaran.—1 messuage, p. a. 0 1 6

Village of *Raynoldston.*—10 a. p. a. 0 3 4

[1] Monasterboice.

Village of *Thermonfeghen*.—1 ruined messuage, p. a. .	£0	1	0
Village of *Donade*.—1 messuage, now waste.			
Village of *Mayne*, parish of Mayne.—4 a., held by Patrick Ferty, p. a.	0	3	8
Village of *Dysert*.—1 messuage, held by Thomas Turmyn, p. a.	0	1	0
Village of *Moyclare*.—1 curtilage, held by Rory More, p. a.	0	0	4
Village of *Porte*.—1 messuage and small enclosure held by Richard Calman, p. a.	0	3	0
Village of *Kyltalagh*.—1 messuage, 2 enclosures of pasture held by Olmer Verdon, p. a. . . .	0	6	0
Total of rents [*blank*] . .	[£4	8	6]

Village of *Williamston*.—Wm. Clynton of Clyntonston, tenant at will of the King in manor of Kylsaran, quit rent, p. a.	£0	4	0
Village of Rothyston.—James Garnon, knt., lands, etc., rent, p. a.	2	4	0
Village of *Dromcashell*.—William Rath, lands, etc., p. a.	0	1	0
Village of *Donlere*.—James Graston, lands, etc., p. a., 2s. 4d.; Walter Bello, knt., *do.*, 12d.; Aghorcagh McWygyn, *do.*, 6d.			
Manor of Kylsaran with all its churches, tithes, etc., held by Olmer (Oliver) Plunkett, knt.			
Village of *Tempelton in Cowley*.—An old castle thrown down, and 120 a. waste for last 12 years, on account of the Irish of Ulster's occupation,[1] and still waste.			
Village of *Moreton in Cowley*.—A castle, 120 a., and church, now waste for same reason.			
Said lands, tithes, altarages, rights, etc. in Templeton, Moreton, and Molagh in Cowley, said Olmer (Oliver) Plunkett, knight, holds by lease of late prior, etc., 66s. 8d. p. a., finding chaplain to celebrate in parish church of Moreton at expense of said Olmer (Oliver).			
Total of "farm" . . .	3	6	8

Village of *Ardee*.—A house called *Frankhouse*, now waste.			
Rectory of Kylsaran.—Tithes in village of *Kylsaran*, 2 couples; *do.*, *Myleston*, 2 couples; *do.*, *Mayne*,			

[1] O'Neil's invasion.

3 couples; *do.*, *Couleston*, 1 couple; *do.*, *Mollyngcrose*, 3 couples; *do.*, the *Bulles*, 1 couple; *do.*, *Adamston*, 1 couple; *do.*, *Williamston*, 1 couple; *do. Dromcath*, 2 couples; each couple, 10s. = £8. £8 0 0

Altarages, 40s. There is no vicar here but a stipendiary priest at the charge of the "farmer" there.

Rectory of Kelemoke.—Tithes in village of *Haklen*, 2 couples; *do.*, *Phophelston*, 3 couples; *do.*, *Byllokston*, 1 couple; *do.*, *Hunterston*, 1 couple; *do.*, *Anegloge*, 2 couples; *do.*, *Blakeston*, 2 couples; each couple, 10s. = 110s. Vicar receives remainder of tithes and altarages. Patronage and advowson, the King's 5 10 0

Vicar pays for his house to the rectory, 12d. p. a.

Rectory of Donlere.—Tithes of parish church of Donlere belonging to Rectory of Kylsaran: in village of Donlere, 6½ couples; *do.*, *Burryn*, 1 couple; *do.*, *Athclare* and *Newhall*, 1 couple; each couple, 10s. = £4 5s. Vicar receives remainder of tithes and altarages. Advowson, the King's . . 4 5 0

Rectory of Garnanston.—Tithes, parcel of Kylsaran, 2 couples, each 10s. = 20s.

Rectory of Moyclare.—Tithes: in village of *Kn(u)yrston*, 1 couple: *do.*, *Stonehouse*, 1 couple; *do.*, *Ballynelygan*, 1 couple; *do.*, *Ballyntegert*, 1 couple; *do.*, *Rathwyre*, 1 couple; *do.*, *Tenowre*, 1 couple; *do.*, *Catellonmagh*, 1 couple; *do.*, *Taghrowe*, 1 couple; each couple, 10s. = £4. Vicar receives remainder of tithes and altarages. Advowson, the King's.

Rectory of Porte.—Tithes: in village of Porte, 2 couples; *do.*, *Martenston*, 1 C.; *do.*, *Begansland*, 1 C.; *do.*, *Pryorton*, 1 C.; each C. 10s. [*blank*] [£2 10s.]. Altarages, 20s. And there is no vicar, but a stipendiary priest at charge of "farmer." Total 3 10 0

Rectory of Toloneston.—Tithes: in village of Toloneston, 2 couples; *do.*, *Cnok* (Knock), ½ C.; *do.*, *Droghedell*, ½ C.; *do.*, *Cokleragh*, ½ C.; each C. 10s. = 35s. . 1 15 0

Altarages to late house of St. John of Ardee who used find stipendiary priest to celebrate in said church, p. a., 40s. 2 0 0

Rectory of Creomerton.—Tithes: 2 couples of hay, each 6s. 8d. = 13s. 4d. Neither vicar nor stipendiary priest, nor altarages as the church is waste on account of the Irish in the Ferney country.

Rectory of Kepok.—Tithes of chapel of Kepok belonging to rectory of Kylsaran: vill of Kepok, 3½ C.; *do.*, *Lytell Ardagh*, 1 C.; *do.*, *Lytell Crabtre*, 1 C.; each C. 10s. = 65s. £3 5 0

Tithes of grain, 10s. 0 10 0

Rectory of Kylpatryk.—The rectory and whole parish totally waste as they were burnt by O'Nele and his Irish accomplices about 2 years ago.

Above rectories, tithes, with rights and appurtenances said Oliver Plunket, knt., holds to farm as parcel of said preceptory, with the manor of Kylsaran, etc., by lease from late prior, etc., at £53 6s. 8d. p. a. 53 6 8

Rectory of Carlyngford.—Tithes of grain, 2 parts of parish church of Carlyngford, 9 C. each 10s. = £4 10s. Said tithes with those of hay and remainder of altarages belonging to rectory leased to Oliver Plunket, knt., by late prior, etc., at £6 p. a., said Oliver supporting all charges besides repairs of Chancel. Tithes of fish caught in Carlyngford river (*rivulo*) at £6 p. a., which Richard Rawson of Bristoll holds to "farm" by lease from late prior, etc., 40s. p. a. A third part of the tithes of grain belongs to the Archbishop of Armagh by right of his archbishopric. Remainder of tithes and altarages the vicars of said church receive. The advowson for two turns belongs to the King because of the dissolution, and for the third turn to the Archbishop of Armagh. Total of tithes, etc. 8 0 0

Rectory of Mounsterbuge.—Tithes: village of Mounsterboge, 1 C.; *do.*, *Newton*, 1 C.; each C. 10s. = 20s. Altarages, 26s. 8d. No vicar but stipendiary priest at charge of "farmer."

Rectory of Dysert.—Tithes: village of *Dysert*, 2½ C.: *do.*, *Graf(s)tonston*, ½ C.; *do. Barnmeth*, 2 C.; *do.*, Smeton (?), 1 C.; *Great Smeton*, 2 C.; each C. 10s. = £4 10s. Altarages, 40s. No vicar but stipendiary priest at charge of "farmer."

Rectory of Clonkeyghan.—Tithes: vill of Clonkeyghan, 1 C.; *do. Corbolles*, 2 C.; each C. 10s. = 30s. Altarage, nothing, as there is no church there. Parishioners go to other churches.

Said rectories of *Monnsterboge*, *Dysert*, and Clonkeyghan, with rents and services out of *Termonfeghan*,

Donlere, and *Donade*, said Oliver Plunkett, knt., holds by lease from late prior, etc., at £10 13s 4d. p. a., supporting all charges £10 13 4

Preceptory of St. John of Ardee.—Village of *St. Johnston* in Ardee, and rectory of *Rathmolyn* in le Cayll. Not valued, through lack of information as they lie among the Irish called McGwynnes and O'Halles[1] where the King's brief does not run. Jurors say that Dovalbeagh McGwynne now occupies manor and rectory aforesaid, p. a. 3 6 8

Co. MEATH: *Preceptory of Kilmaynanwood.*—Extent made at Slane, 15 May, 1541, before Thomas Walssh, commissioner, on oath of Laurence Dowdall of Raynoldston, gent., Laurence Tase of Swaynston, Migel Carolan of Kylmaynanwood, Donald O'Mulledy of Boyane, Magonius Offay, *do.*, Henry Corbally of Chamerston, Christopher Drake of Rathood, Robert Tyrrell of Rou(n)sk, John Halpeny of Ramakryghan, Donald O'Mulrean of Slane, Nicholas O'Mulphadryk[2] of Shaunogher, Charles O'Mulphadryk, *do.*, William Magourt of Boyane, Owen O'Keralan of Shanogher, and others.

Preceptory or Manor of *Kylmaynanwood* situated on extreme confines of Meath between parts of *le Brenny* where O'Rele (O'Reilly) and parts of *le Farne*, where MacMahons, Irish, dwell. One old ruined castle and 4 messuages, worth nothing besides repairs, and leased with the under-mentioned.

Village of Kylmananwood.—3½ poles (*pollate*) of arable, pasture, mountain, moor, and underwood, each pole containing 60 a. of which 2½ poles lie waste for the past 6 years on account of war of Bernard McMaghon and other Irish, and are still uncultivated, and the remaining pole is worth p. a. . £1 6 8

Village of Doynagh.— 6 messuages and 3 poles, of which 1 pole lies waste and uncultivated for aforesaid reason, and the other 2 poles worth p. a. . . 2 13 4

Village of Sancore, anglice *Olde Corre.*—3 poles, of which 2 are waste for aforesaid reason, aud 1 is worth p. a. 1 6 8

Village of Ballemodagh.—3½ poles, of which 2 are waste, said reason, and 1½ worth p. a. 1 13 4

Village of Cowhyll.—3 poles, of which 2 are waste, said reason, and 1 is worth p. a. 1 6 8

[1] Evidently the Magennis and O'Hanlons.
[2] Maol-Phadraig or Gilpatrick.

Rectory of Kylmaynanwood.—Tithes of grain, namely, oats (no other kind), p. a., 66s. 8d. The Bishop of Kilmore receives as procurations 16s., and 4 jars (*lagenas*) of honey, price of each jar, 3s. 4d. = 13s. 4d. There is no endowed priest [i.e. no vicar] but a stipendiary priest as charge of "farmer." And James Flemyng, Baron of Slane, holds said preceptory and rectory, and the other possessions at £6 13s. 4d. p. a. by lease from late prior, etc., supporting all charges £6 13 4

Manor of Kylmaynanbeg at Kellys, not far from the confines of *le* Brenny where the Irish O'Relly, captain of his nation dwells, and other possessions. Extent made 16 May, 1541, before Thomas Walssh, one of the commissioners, assisted by Patrick Barnewall, Serjeant-at-law, on oath of Richard Whyte of Clou(n)gell, gent., Richard Plunket of Kylmaynanbeg, gent., James Everard of Randelston, gent., Patrick Plonket of Gybbeston, gent., Richard Cashell of Oreston, husbandman, William Brady, of same, John O'Goyn of Taltyn, John Rely of Donaphatryk, Hugh McCollyn of Kylmaynanbeg, John O'Culran, *do.*, Dermot McGylecalghyll and (of) Robynston, John McMahon of Dromkrey and others.

1 chief messuage, 1 barn, not valued as included among undermentioned manor lands. 60 a. arable of manor lands, each acre 12d. = 60s.

Village of Kylmanynanbeg.—4 messuages, and 80 a. arable, each acre 12d. = £4, and 1 messuage not valued as included in aforesaid lands, and 30 a. pasture, gorse, and heather, not valued, as said lands according to the custom of the country are not leased but held in common by the tenants. And 8 a. meadow, each acre 6d. = 4s.

A water-mill, worth besides repairs and charges of "farmer," 20s. p. a. Tithes of grain, 2 couples, each C. 10s. = 30s. (20?) at least as they are derived from *siligine* [a kind of very white wheat] and oats. Tithes of grain of other lands belonging to rectory of *Kellys* in same parish.

Total of lands and tithes . . £9 4 0

Village of Sydenrath.—60 a. which Thomas Fytz John of Fyneston now holds at 60s. p. a.

Village of Gardenrath.—60 a. held by Richard le Dwych of Cokeston, 60s. p. a.

Vill of Kellys, 24 a. called *Bathys land;* Richard le Dwych, 24s. p. a. *Do.*, 1 messuage called *Our Lady Howse*, now waste.

Village of Overston.—320 a. at £18 13s 4d. p. a.; also 40 a. waste, 20s. p. a.; 40 a. bog and common pasture, held by tenants in common, free, according to custom, as they are considered waste.

Village of Donapatryk.—4 messuages, of which 1 waste, and 60 a. held by Ronan O'Rely and William McInrye, 40s. p. a. Beyong the bridge on the way to *Talyn* a piece of ground on which stood a water-mill turning on the *Blak Water*, now thrown down, and worth nothing.

Village of Bowles.—60 a. arable, 2 a. meadow, 2 a. pasture, held by James Everard, 53s. 4d. p. a.

Village of Myleston.—60 a. occupied by Patrick Plunket of Gybbeston, 53s. 4d. p. a.

Village of Clongell.—40 a. occupied by Richard Whyte, 40s. p. a.

Village of Mukfyld at *Caselyston.*—4 a. occupied by John O'Gowyn at 2s. 8d. p. a. Total of extern lands . £36 6 8

Free Tenants.—Richard le Dwych of Cokeston holds village of *Kerraneston* of the King, parcel of manor of Kylmaynanbeg, 30s. p. a.

Robert Lutterell, cleric, rector of parish church of Kylvery, holds village of *Casshelston*, *do.*, 4s. p. a.

Richard Ledwych of Cokeston, James Begge of Maghyre, Richard Begg of Fryselston, and Robert Talbot of Kenlys hold certain lands and tenements in Kylmaynanbeg, by suit of court of said manor.[1]

Christopher Barnewall, Robert Barnewall, Thomas Barnewall, Peter Barnewall, Richard Whyte, Thomas FytzJohn, Thomas Plonket, Thomas Mulsett, John Plonket, Henry Corbally, Thomas Dyllon, Richard Begge, James Everard, Matthew Begg, and John Rowe, hold separate lands and tenements in village of *Overeston* of the King in manor of Kylmaynanbeg by suit of manor court held twice a year at Overeston. Total of rents of free tenants, 34s.

No *nativi* [serfs] belong to the manor. Tenants and occupiers of manor are and were always free of all

[1] I.e. for their attendance at the manor court.

customs, tolls, and other charges in all towns, burghs, vills, and of all subsidies and exactions called *Quoyne and Lyvery* and other impositions, except of Lyvery during 2 days and 2 nights at most when the Barony of Kenlys is burdened with such imposition.

Total of Manor £47 4 8

Rectory of Talyn.—Tithes: village of *Talyn*, 2 C.; *do.* Hordelyston, 2 C., each 10s. = 40s. Altarages, 40s. No endowed vicar, but stipendiary priest celebrating at charge of Thomas Barnewall, "farmer" there, who also pays to Bishop of Meath for procurations 4d. and for Synods, 12d.; to Archdeacon of Meath, 7s.; to Archbishop of Armagh, primate of Ireland, every third year, 3s. 4d. p. a., i.e. 13½d. Total of Rectory . . 3 7 6½

Rectory of Donapatrick.[1]—Tithes: in village of *Donapiryk*, 4 C.; *do.*, *Tancardyston Fynlaghston*, 4 C.; *do.*, *Gybbeston* and *Troyston*, 4 C.; *do.*, *Bowles*, 1 C.; *do.*, *Overston*, 16 C.; *do.*, *Randelston*, 4 C.; *do.*, *Casselston*, 2 C.; *do.*, *Jakeston*, ¾ a., each C. 10s. = £15. Remainder of tithes and altarages the vicar receives by right of vicarage. Advowson, the King's. Thomas Barnewall of Robertston holds to "farm" the manor, lands, tithes, etc., except a portion belonging to vicarage by lease of late prior, etc., at £33 6s. 8d. p. a.

Total of manor, lands, etc., of Kylmaynanbeg . 33 6 8

Rectory of Dromcre.—Tithes: in village of *Dromkre*, 2 C.; *do.*, *Robynston*, 7 C.; vill of *Johnston*, 7 C.; each C. 10s. = 40s. Altarages, 10s. Thomas Lutterell, knt., holds same to "farm" by lease from prior, etc., 53s. 4d. p. a. 2 13 4

Rectory and Village of Rathmolyan.—5 messuages, 35 a.; *do.*, *Colronan*,[2] 1 a.; each messuage, 12d. p. a. = 5s., each acre, 12d. = 35s. Tithes: village of *Rathmolyan*, 5½ C.; *do.*, Isotteston, 4½ C.; *do.*, *Molynatagh*, 2 C.; *do.*, *Cloncorre*, 3 C.; *do.*, Colyntragh and Bolyn, 4 C.; *do.*, *Corbally*, ½ C.; *do.*,

[1] Downpatrick.

[2] Kilronan? The clerk of the inquisition probably misunderstood the northern pronunciation of *Kil*ronan and rendered it *Col*ronan.

Topertiun(m)an, 3 C.; *do.*, *Troman*, 5 C.; *do.*, *Casselton*, 6 C.; *do.*, *Rath* and *le Coldar*, 5 C.; each C., 13s. 4d. = £25 13s. 4d. Vicar receives remaining tithes and altarages. Advowson, the King's.

Rectory and Village of Kyllaghconogan.—In said village, 10 cottages, 80 a., each acre, 2s. = £8, at most, as these lands are free from all exactions and impositions. Tithes: village of *Kyllaghtologan*, 2½ C.; *do.*, *Keranyston*, 2 C.; *do.*, *Clongreny*, ½ C.; *do.*, *Colnekevan*, 2 C.; *do.*, *Keylvalyver*, 1 C.; *do.*, *Colronan*, 6 C.; *do.*, Donowre, 2 C.; *do.*, Kylbargh, 1½ C.; *do.*, *Crossanyston*, 2 C.; *do.*, *Mochewood*, 1 C.; *do.*, *Derconghor*, 1½ C.; *do.*, Balybyr, 2 C.; *do.*, Glaghmorye, 3 C.; *do.*, Moyfeagh, 1½ C.; *do.*, Parktowne, 2 C.; *do.*, Portelef(s)ter, 4 C.; *do.*, Balrobyn, 10th of 30 a.; *do.*, Partan, 2 C.; each, 13s. 4d. = £25 13s. 4d. Altarages, £4. Archbishop [*sic*] of Meath receives of said church, 7s. p. a. as procurations. And Thomas Lutterell, knt., holds to "farm" said rectories of Rathmolyan and Kyllaghconogan with lands, etc., in said villages by lease from late prior, etc., at £42 p. a., supporting all charges.

Total of Rectories of Ramolyan and Kyllaghconogan £42 0 0

Rectory and Village of Marterye.—In said village 9 a. each 12d. = 9s. 1 enclosed pasture of 2 a. each 4d. = 8d. Tithes: village of *Martery*, 3 C.; *do.*, *Castelmarten*, 1 C.; *do.*, *Fenokston*, 3 C.; *do.*, *Aleyston*, 2 C.; *do.*, *Harbston*, 4 C.; *do.*, *Jordanston*, 1 C.; *do.*, *Stapelston*, ½ C.; *do.*, *Babcod*, 2 C.; each 10s. = £8 5s. Altarages, 106s. 8d.

In said church (Marterye) was formerly a Cross with beam (*statera*) at which the people made oblations, while the Cross was standing, of 40s. p. a. Now, nothing, as the Cross has been taken away. No endowed vicar, but stipendiary priest celebrating at charge of "farmer" of rectory. Bishop of Meath receives as Synodals, 21s. p. a.; Archdeacon of Meath, 7s.; Archbishop of Armagh, primate of Ireland, each 3rd year, 13s. 4d.

Thomas Barby of Dublin, merchant, holds rectory, etc., to "farm" by lease from prior, etc., £13 6s. 8d. p. a.; and one pair of *Blonkettes* [blankets], 4s. each;

and 16 capons at 3d. each = 4s.; and 3 cows at 10s. each = 30s.; and after death of said Thomas and his assigns who die during the term of the lease, 6s. 8d. for an *Obit*; and supporting all charges belonging to rectory. Total of "farm" . £15 4 8

Villa of Fowre.—A house, now waste, called a Frankhouse which Thomas Lutterell holds with rectory of Dromkre.

Village of Molyngare.—A house, occupied by [*blank*] . 0 3 4

Extent of lands, etc., in villages of *Grenoke*, *Donboyne*, and *Knokmarke*, and in town of *Trym*, 18 May, 1541, before Thomas Walsshe, commissioner, on oath of Stephen Peperd of Ballybyn, Mayor, Simon Lang of Donboyn, Robert More of Ballybyn, Edward Colgon of Pou(n)nderlogh, John Neele of Rathbegan, John Flemyng of Grenok, William Barry of Donboyn, John Growe of Rathtough, William Lucas, *do.*, Partick Wyle, *do.*, Thomas Woodward, *do.*, Peter Sparke, *do.*, John Bryan, and John Whyte, *do.*

David Walssh, cleric, holds in fee of town of Trym 1 house called a Frankhouse at 6s. 8d. p. a. . . £0 6 8

Village of Donboyn, 1 messuage, now waste, 30 a. each 12d. 1 10 0

Village of Grenoke.—Walter Chyver, knt., holds in fee 1 messuage and 120 a. of the King, quit rent, 26s. 8d. p. a. A house occupied by Nicholas Roth; rent to prior unknown to jurors.

Village of Cnokmark.—2 a. called *Mortymers Lez* [Lees] for a long time waste, no profit.

Co. Limerick.—Extent of possessions belonging to Hospital or Preceptory of Ane [Any], made at Limerick, 23 Jan., 1541, before William Cavendysshe, commissioner, on oath of David Ryse, John Commynge, James Foxe, Philip Fannyng, George Sexten, Walter Whyte, Nicholas Stakepole, Edward Lang and others.

All buildings of the preceptory are staunch as at time of dissolution. There are some superfluous buildings which might be thrown down; they are useful only for "farmer" dwelling there; a cemetery and other conveniences within precinct of preceptory; all enclosed in 1 a.; worth nothing besides repairs.

Village of Ane.—220 a. arable, 40 a. pasture, 20 a. bog, in hands of diverse tenants, at 40s. p. a. One water mill, worth, besides repairs, 13s. 4d. p. a. And 12 cottages, tenants paying among themselves 8s. p. a. Customs, 12 days ploughing, called

plowdays, 6 hokedays in autumn; from each cottager 3 hokedays in autumn, 1 hen = 10s. 1d. Total of village	£3	11	5
Rectory of Hospital.—Worth, p. a.	3	6	8
Rectory of Ane.—p. a., 40s. Advowson of vicarage belongs to James, Earl of Desmond	2	0	0
Rectory of Moretowne alias Ballenemoney, p. a.	2	0	0
Rectory of Balleynlog, p. a.	2	0	0
Rectory of Kylcallan, p. a.	2	0	0
Rectory of Keyrcorne, p. a.	2	0	0
Rectory of Ballyennard, p. a.	1	0	0
Rectory of Broo (Brue), p. a.	1	0	0
Rectory of Rocheston, p. a.	1	0	0
Rectory of Cnockelonge, p. a.	1	0	0
Rectory of Templebrydan, p. a.	1	0	0
Total	£21	18	1
Irish money,	£32	17	1½
Co. TYPPERARY: *Village of Carryk.*—1 messuage called Frankhouse which Adam Krettnagh holds, p. a.	£0	6	8
Village of Cashell.—1 messuage called Frankhouse, formerly worth 5s. now only about 8d.	0	0	8
Ormond in the land of O'Kenydes (O'Kennedy's) *Rectory of Garevskan* and *Kyllwarren*, formerly worth £6, now about 40s. p. a., because of rebellion of Irish called le Kenydes.	2	0	0
Rectory of Killeghen, Kyllayn, Kyllcon, Kyllyn, Kylboyll, and *Mennard.*—Patrick Oge FytzMorysshe holds by indenture aforesaid rectories, p. a.	6	13	0
Total of said Rectories	£41	17	9½
Sum of total extent of lands, tenements, and other possessions, both spiritual and temporal, belonging to late Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in Ireland, besides lands, rectories, and tithes waste, and rents	£726	13	3½
(About £10,899 *1914 value.*)			

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